WORKERS VANGUARD

Volume No. 22

4 January to 27 December 1991
(Issues Nos. 517-541)

Published by: Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 517

4 January 1991

Hoselros/NY Times

U.S. sends huge military force to seize Persian Gulf oil so it can dictate supply to its economically more dynamic imperialist rivals Germany and Japan.

Bankrupt U.S. Empire Goes for War

For the new year world capitalism openly promises war and depression. As the imperialists trumpet the "death of Communism," the U.S. economy is heading into another of the kind of tailspins foreseen by Karl Marx and others over a century ago. And while Gorbachev & Co. rush to join the Western bourgeoisie in stomping on the grave of Lenin, Bush's White House is calling forth a major imperialist military adventure in a desperate attempt to rescue the American empire from the dustbin of history, confirming Lenin's insistence that imperialism continually produces war. In the place of Jimmy Carter's nemesis Khomeini and Reagan's fixation on Qaddafi, Bush's former ally Saddam Hussein of Iraq is now the bugaboo, and you are supposed to shudder at the idea of Saddam getting control of the world's oil. But the real worry is: what will happen to humanity when *George Bush & Co.* tighten their grip on the world's oil?

The war drums get louder: the heavy U.S. tank battalions from the NATO/German theater are now arriving and getting a sand-color paint job; the second wave of aircraft carriers (*America* and *Roosevelt*) just left the East Coast and will reportedly be on station by January 12. Britain and France have filled out their expeditionary corps. To add more tension to the war atmosphere, the Pentagon announced it will begin vaccinating (some of) its troops against germ warfare (though there's no evidence that Iraq has biological weapons, and no one has ever used them). Meanwhile, Christmas and Hanukkah celebrations had to be carried out clandestinely under camouflage tents for fear of "offending" the Muslim state-religious authorities of the Saudi monarchy which U.S. troops are supposed to die for. Bob Hope's showgirls couldn't even get into the country, and his jokes were censored out of the media.

The bottom line is that *Bush wants war* for reasons that have little to do with Saddam Hussein and of course nothing to do with high moral principle. As columnist James McCartney notes (*Miami Herald*, 12 November 1990), "some Middle East experts believe that the U.S. Government has had a secret agenda in the Persian Gulf—a long-term master plan to establish American military control over the world's richest oil fields," and "Saddam Hussein handed them a golden opportunity." The accelerating slide of the U.S. economy into a bottomless pit has only led to a more frenzied escalation of the military mobilization despite the mounting costs. (War as a "solution" to economic crises...Karl Marx right again!) But the burnt-out Stalinists in Moscow and the liberal Democrats are still pipe-dreaming of a "peace dividend" and want to believe that Bush's war is just an anomaly that will go away, perhaps through some kind of deal.

On November 29, the U.S. rammed its war resolution No. 678 through the UN Security Council, twisting arms, crassly buying votes and summoning all the foreign ministers to New York to sign on. Yet when Bush announced a "peace" sop the next day, namely that he would send Secretary of State Baker to Baghdad to meet with Hussein "at a mutually convenient time between December 15 and January 15," oil prices starting dropping and everyone saw doves flying. Hussein released all the hostages as a good will gesture, and even floated dates for the meeting. But when he put out feelers suggesting Iraq might withdraw from almost all of Kuwait, suddenly Bush changed the terms—January 12 was now too late (only three days before his D-Day for Armageddon). Since the White House is determined that *the war over Kuwait must take place*, they can't have their *casus belli* reduced to such a ridiculous issue as sovereignty over a couple of uninhabited islands.

It's not as if the Iraqi strongman is unwilling to deal. As his information minister, Naji Al-Hadithi, pointedly told a journalist for the *Village Voice* (1 January):

> "So we do control 20 per cent of the world's oil. Until August 2 we were exporting one-third of it to the U.S., even though we knew you had a hostile policy toward us. You know we cannot irrigate the desert with our oil. We cannot drink it. All we can do is sell it."

Al-Hadithi pointed out how the U.S. uses its control of the grain market and technology as a club with which to beat foes and allies over the head—"you are always using food and know-how as political weapons in the Third World"—and added: "As far as Kuwait is concerned, it seems that all the Emir is interested in is his 70 wives. He still has all his money, even without Kuwait. You want to make the Kuwaitis happy? Then why not have the U.S. rent him another 70 rooms over at the Taif Sheraton where he's staying."

Establishment "foreign policy experts" have mooted terms for a deal, in which Hussein withdraws from Kuwait, and then after a "decent interval" the restored emir of Kuwait grants Hussein a lease on the islands he needs to give Iraq an outlet to the sea beyond artillery range from Iran, and perhaps more control over the disputed Rumaila oil field. So that Hussein can save face, and Bush can show he's got *cojones*, perhaps they would start

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Defend Iraq! Defeat U.S. Imperialism!

Iraqi Rulers' Bloody Reign

Saddam Hussein's War on Kurds, Leftists

SEE PAGE 10

Siamano Bana

Bring Down Özal with Workers Revolution!

Heroic Coal Miners Strike Shakes Turkey

BERLIN, December 30—For more than a month, 48,000 coal miners have waged a heroic strike that has galvanized the Black Sea town of Zonguldak, Turkey. Their strike has inspired the combative and restless working class, Kurdish and Turkish, throughout Turkey, fed up with the repressive Turgot Özal dictatorship. Solidarity strikes have occurred in Kurdish eastern Anatolia as well as among Turkish workers. On December 26, over 100,000 metal workers went on strike for better wages. Thousands of textile workers have also been on strike for more than a week. The strike movement is already the largest union action in Turkey since 1980. Turkey's largest trade-union federation, Türk-IŞ representing two million workers, has called a general strike for January 3.

The strike comes as the right-wing Özal government has aggressively committed Turkey to the imperialist war against Iraq. In response, the Zonguldak strikers have also made one of their demands: No to the war! Turkey is NATO's front line in the Near East. Özal has not only turned off the pipeline for Iraqi oil exports but invited U.S. forces and the German Luftwaffe to use Turkey as a staging area for an invasion of Iraq. The massively unpopular war drive has also meant stepped-up repression at home. A 16-year-old female student who hung a sign "No to War" in her school bathroom was immediately arrested and is threatened with a *24-year prison sentence*.

Thus the strike is clearly not just over economic demands. As the popular Zonguldak union and strike leader Şemsi Denizer told a reporter: "We want Özal's head" (*tageszeitung*, 15 December 1990). Children and women parade through the town chanting, "The fat president in Ankara is a workers enemy; Zonguldak will be the grave of the regime," and call "workers hand in hand to the general strike." By declaring the January 3 general strike "illegal," Özal has indeed put his regime on a direct collision course with organized labor.

The miners were once among the best-paid workers in Turkey. But ten years of military and bonapartist dictatorship following the NATO army coup, combined with 200 percent inflation, has caused a catastrophic drop in their living standards and working conditions as well as those of other workers in Turkey. Miners average $165 a month, less than a superexploited black miner in racist South Africa. Average life expectancy in Turkey is 67 years, in Zonguldak 57, and for underground miners 47. In the last ten years, 3,164 have died in the Zonguldak mines, where there has been no investment since 1956.

The just demands of the Zonguldak miners for a 450 percent wage increase and safer working conditions have mobilized the entire town. Mine occupations are accompanied by daily rallies and demonstrations, signs supporting the strike hang in every shop, the entire political spectrum from leftists to the social democrats and even the right-wing Dogruyol Party have announced support for the strike. No doubt the popular-frontist opposition wants to channel workers' combativity into getting a more "democratic" façade on vicious Turkish capitalism than the widely hated Özal dictatorship. A special military unit is stationed nearby at Kilimli to keep the miners in line. When they proved inadequate to stop the Zonguldak strike, Özal, who massacred dozens of workers during this year's May Day demonstrations, bused in 10,000 heavily armed police and soldiers. But support for the strike in the region is so solid that they have been relegated to directing traffic.

The Zonguldak strike has also inspired Turkish and Kurdish immigrant workers, particularly in Germany where they are a militant strategic component of the industrial proletariat. The strike received official backing from IG Metall and IG Bergbau (miners) and from the German DGB trade-union federation after Turkish and Kurdish union officials and workers staged a short occupation of DGB offices in Hamburg. Miners in the Ruhr, a large number of whom are Turkish and Kurdish, staged a one-hour solidarity strike this past week. Solidarity demonstrations are scheduled in Köln, Hamburg and Berlin to coincide with the January 3 general strike in Turkey.

Strike supporters have called on the German union movement to "hot cargo" (refuse to handle) any coal being shipped to Turkey. The DGB has stated that no coal is being sent, but they said the same during the 1984-85 British coal miners strike when German coal in fact was being shipped from Duisburg via Rotterdam. Supporters of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) have called on Hamburg dock workers and other trade unionists to back the Zonguldak strikers with monetary support and by vigilantly looking to stop strike-breaking shipments of coal to Turkey.

The solidarity actions take place at a time when the workers movement in Germany must fight assaults by the Bonn bourgeoisie on their immigrant co-workers as new racist anti-immigrant laws go into effect in 1991. Recently local authorities ordered the expulsion of a Turkish family on "ecological" grounds: overpopulation! Moreover, in a number of factories in the Berlin area, workers from the former DDR (East Germany) are being hired at wages substantially below those being paid to the Turkish workers. The SpAD calls for equal wages East and West, and demands "Full citizenship rights for immigrant workers." During the recent Bundestag (parliament) election campaign the Spartakist program was also published in Turkish (as well as Portuguese and Polish). Immigrant workers can play a key role in working-class resistance to the Fourth Reich of German imperialism.

In Turkey, the German army is active in training Turkish military units used to savagely suppress the more than ten million Kurds of eastern Anatolia. To this must be added the thousands of Kurdish refugees driven out of Iraq by Saddam Hussein in 1988, suffering yet another winter on the Turkish side of the border in tents. Turkish and Kurdish militants active in building support in Germany for the Zonguldak strike have told us that the miners have also raised the demand for the right of Kurds to use their own language. The Kurdish nation is balkanized between Syria and Iran as well as Turkey and Iraq; fighting Kurdish national oppression is key to proletarian unity in the Near East: For a socialist republic of united Kurdistan!

The Zonguldak strike and the rising tide of class struggle in Turkey, the imperialist war mobilization against Iraq and the dramatic collapse of Stalinism in East Europe and the Soviet Union create a rich opportunity to win Turkish and Kurdish leftists and workers to the genuine communism of Lenin and Trotsky. Desperately needed is an internationalist workers party that fights all forms of oppression, especially of women and the Kurdish nation, and fights uncompromisingly for working-class political power. Victory to the heroic Zonguldak miners! For the internationalist unity of Kurdish and Turkish workers! Bring down Özal with workers revolution! ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Imperialism and War

With the collapse of the Stalinist regimes of East Europe and the crisis in the Soviet Union, Western capitalist rulers proclaimed "victory" in the Cold War. Liberals spoke of a "peace dividend." Yet at this very moment Washington launched a new imperialist war in the Persian Gulf, targeting Iraq and seeking to reassert U.S. military dominance as it trumpeted a New World Order. This reaffirms Lenin's dictum that imperialism inevitably engenders wars for markets, plunder, subjugation of small nations and world domination. In 1917, as he politically armed the Bolsheviks to undertake the fight for power to the soviets, Lenin submitted this thesis as part of the party program.

World capitalism has at the present time, i.e., about the beginning of the twentieth century, reached the stage of imperialism. Imperialism, or the epoch of finance capital, is a high stage of development of the capitalist economic system, one in which monopolist associations of capitalists—syndicates, cartels, and trusts—have assumed decisive importance; in which enormously concentrated banking capital has fused with industrial capital, in which the export of capital to foreign countries has assumed vast dimensions; in which the whole world has been divided up territorially among the richer countries, and the economic carve-up of the world among international trusts has begun.

Imperialist wars, i.e., wars for world domination, for markets for banking capital and for the subjugation of small and weaker nations, are inevitable under such a state of affairs. The first great imperialist war, the war of 1914-17, is precisely such a war.

The extremely high level of development which world capitalism in general has attained, the replacement of free competition by monopoly capitalism, the fact that the banks and the capitalist associations have prepared the machinery for the social regulation of the process of production and distribution of products, the rise in the cost of living and increased oppression of the working class by the syndicates due to the growth of capitalist monopolies, the tremendous obstacles standing in the way of the proletariat's economic and political struggle, the horrors, misery, ruin, and brutalisation caused by the imperialist war—all these factors transform the present stage of capitalist development into an era of proletarian socialist revolution.

That era has dawned.

Only a proletarian socialist revolution can lead humanity out of the impasse which imperialism and imperialist wars have created.

—V.I. Lenin, "Revision of the Party Programme" (May 1917)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth International)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3 week interval December by the Spartacist Publishing Co 41 Warren Street, New York NY 10007 Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377 GPO, New York NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions $7.00/24 issues Second-class postage paid at New York NY POSTMASTER Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377 GPO, New York NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 517 **4 January 1991**

Morning Star

Mass meeting of striking coal miners in Zonguldak, Turkey. Sparked by low wages and repressive dictatorship, strike wave is largest union action since 1980 coup.

The Truth About Aptheker

People's Daily World

Herbert Aptheker and his apology for Stalinist repression of the 1956 Hungarian workers uprising.

Used to be, the Communist Party USA saw itself as having the Soviet franchise. Khrushchev or Brezhnev would at least hold occasional international confabs in the Kremlin where Gus Hall could represent the U.S., while they pursued their quest of "peaceful coexistence" with the White House. And CPers who spent their waking hours building the local Democratic club could go to sleep secretly believing they were somehow defending socialism in the Soviet Union. But Hall is out of step with Gorbachev's "new thinking," which explicitly rules out international class struggle and in any case has no place for a Communist Party in Bush's America, not even the reformist caricature of one which the CP has been for so long. The crumbling of Stalinist bureaucratic rule has left the CPUSA a demoralized and increasingly irrelevant mess.

Mally/Philadelphia Inquirer

1989: When CP leader Gus Hall could still get his picture taken with Gorbachev.

But all is not lost, says resident party "theoretician" Herbert Aptheker in a pamphlet entitled *Marxism: Demise or Renewal?* An expanded version of an article by the same name earlier printed in *Political Affairs* (December 1989), this pamphlet graces their lit tables along with South African CP leader Joe Slovo's *Has Socialism Failed?* (see *Workers Vanguard* No. 504, 15 June 1990) to show that the party really is with it. Aptheker holds out a glimmer of hope to the dwindling CP ranks: "This is a time not for despair but renewed dedication." Preaching that history is full of "setbacks and new starts," he points to the new starts of this era: "perestroika and glasnost. Their chief engineer comes out of Soviet society, out of its Communist Party." Well, so did Stalin, who replaced Lenin's internationalism with the lie of "socialism in one country," which meant no socialism in the USSR and no revolution anywhere else. And now Gorbachev is taking this to its conclusion by opening the doors to capitalism in the Soviet Union itself.

Aptheker wants to demonstrate that the CPUSA, deriving its strength from the American Revolution and Enlightenment humanism, was a pioneer in perestroika. In the pamphlet version (dated 30 March 1990), Aptheker tries to explain the counterrevolutionary tide sweeping East Europe in the face of bankrupt Stalinism. He points to Poland and Hungary, but conspicuously "forgets" East Germany—quite a feat, considering the Fourth Reich election victory only a few days before. Perhaps he didn't feel up to explaining how the DDR was handed over to the West German bankers by Gorbachev and the East German Stalinists.

Aptheker, it turns out, saw it all coming years ago. "Permit me to note," says the esteemed Dr. Aptheker, "that in a book published...thirty-three years ago, I called attention to 'a general underestimation of the strength and persistence of nationality feelings, not least in the era of Socialism'." "In that same source," Professor Aptheker continues, "is excoriated the 'rigidity, bureaucracy, resort to illegal methods' which besmirched Socialist states." Moreover, "I went on to affirm in this work, published in 1957: 'What is required is the institutionalizing of the right to dissent'." And that's not all: he goes on to explain how this "source" holds up "inquiry and challenge" against "dogma," how "this same source" insists that "unconditional inviolability" of the "legal procedure" is key to "the fullest flowering of Socialist democracy," and so on and so forth.

Whoa there, hold on a minute! Could this be the same Herbert Aptheker whose name has become synonymous with slavish apologies for every twist and turn, every zig and zag emanating from the Kremlin? *The* Herbert Aptheker whose pen was ever ready to prove Stalin's aphorism that paper will take anything written on it? Comrade Aptheker must have been a little noticed prophet before his time. But where did these admonitions of socialist rectitude appear, what is this wondrous work, published in 1957? You have to rub your eyes when you finally see it in the footnote—why, it's *The Truth About Hungary*! This archetypal Stalinist hack job justifying Khrushchev's suppression of the 1956 Hungarian workers uprising is such a compendium of prevarication that its high points are half-truths, working down to quarter-truths, eighth-truths and so on down to a solid foundation of outright inventions. This piece is so notorious that it put the kibosh on any Marxist titling a new work "The Truth About...."

Aptheker's "Fascist Counterrevolution" in Hungary

To be sure, every word of his that Aptheker now quotes is to be found in the book, crammed into a ten-page conclusion which is preceded by 247 pages packed with lies. In typical Stalinist fashion, and fully in line with Kremlin pronouncements, Aptheker offered up some hackneyed "criticisms" of the *previous* Hungarian regime headed by the tyrannical hutcher Rákosi, which had been replaced by the liberal Stalinist Imre Nagy (with Khrushchev's blessings). It was the Hungarian workers' move to assert their own political power, arms in hand, that led Khrushchev to order the tanks in. *The Truth About Hungary* was a diatribe devoted to demonstrating that the *pro-socialist* Hungarian workers insurrection was a counterrevolutionary putsch controlled by the CIA and the Catholic hierarchy aimed at restoring the prewar fascist Horthyites to power.

Shane Mage, then a leading member of the Shachtmanite Young Socialist League, wrote an incisive refutation of Aptheker's account of the Hungarian Revolution called *"Truth" and Hungary —A Reply to Aptheker*. The Hungarian Revolution dramatically vindicated the analysis and program of Trotskyism—here was a workers political revolution shattering the parasitic caste of the Stalinist bureaucracy. Largely as a result of this experience, Mage and a significant section of the YSL leadership shortly thereafter went over to the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, where they subsequently became the core of the Revolutionary Tendency, precursor of the Spartacist League.

Aptheker seized on the re-emergence of Hungarian fascists to "prove" that the workers uprising was initiated and led by fascists. The fascists did attempt to crawl out of their sewers, but it's funny how Aptheker never noticed that the workers drove them back. The workers councils explicitly opposed the danger of capitalist restoration, and were hardly enamored of Cardinal Mindszenty. Mage notes that Aptheker's account ends on November 4, while well into the next month the workers councils continued to lead a fierce struggle against the Soviet intervention. (The Soviet troops originally in Hungary had to be pulled out because many fraternized with the workers.) As late as December 12, all Hungary was gripped by a general strike.

As to Aptheker's pronouncement that "It is a fact" that after October 30 "the Socialist fundament of Hungary is omitted" from the speeches of Nagy and other government leaders, Mage wrote succinctly: "'It is a fact' that, like so many other of Aptheker's 'facts,' this statement is simply *not true*." The claim that the Nagy government was pro-imperialist is given the lie by the presence and example of General Pal Maleter, who in organizing the new armed force warned against "reactionary elements, wanting to re-establish the old prewar regime" (see "The Hungarian Workers Uprising of 1956," *WV* No. 483, 4 August 1989). Nagy, Maleter and their comrades were executed by the Stalinists who crushed the '56 uprising. Aptheker's indictment of them was an ex post facto brief for the prosecution—a Vyshinsky after the fact.

Just as Aptheker today sweeps under the rug his earlier view of the Hungarian uprising as a counterrevolution, so then he swept under the rug any embarrassing holdovers from previous Stalinist twists and turns. After Rákosi was deposed, they "rehabilitated" László Rajk, charged with "Titoism" and murdered by Rákosi in 1951. As Mage points out, in 1957

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John Sadovy

Hungarian generat Pal Maleter (far right) joined anti-Stalinist workers revolt, vowing, "There will never be capitalists and landowners in Hungary again." Below, Budapest workers topple statue of Stalin during 1956 Revolution.

AP

Young Spartacus

Segregated Schools in Milwaukee, Minority Scholarships Under Attack

For Quality, Integrated Education for All!

Education has always been grasped as a prized weapon in the struggle for black emancipation. The black troops who turned the tide in the Civil War against the slaveowners went into battle with their spelling primers strapped to the same belt as their cartridge boxes. Knowledge—and a good musket—were recognized as the necessary artillery to combat servitude and enforced ignorance. A direct gain from the defeat of the slavocracy in the Civil War was the establishment of a public education system for all. But the defeat of Radical Reconstruction ushered in a period of Jim Crow segregation and separate and unequal schools for black people—a situation that still exists de facto, if not *de jure*, today.

In decaying capitalist America, puhlic education has gone to hell and schools resemble repressive holding pens more than institutions of learning. Even at the university level, at so-called integrated, liberal college campuses "Up North" and in the South, racist attacks punctuate a reactionary move toward the resegregation of education and social relations at every level.

In Decemher the federal Department of Education tried to cut the slippery rope minority students are forced to climb to even make it into college in this country. In an Orwellian application of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Michael Williams (a black Reaganite ideologue and point man for "education president" Bush) declared that scholarships for minority students are discriminatory and illegal! This transparent Republican appeal for a white "backlash" vote in the '92 elections provoked loud protests from students, educators and civil rights organizations. Bush's hatchet men scurried back behind closed doors to revamp their plans for racist rollback.

Young Spartacus

10,000 students march on Wall Street, May 1989, protesting tuition hikes that would throw poor, minority and working-class youth out of school.

The normative standard for the U.S. ruling class is to offer its downtrodden and exploited black masses abstract equality: the *illusion* of formal democratic rights in a whole system of racist oppression that wipes out any economic means for achieving genuine equality. But today's rulers are so ominously intent on reversing every gain black people have won that they don't even bother with the lying promises. They revel in slick TV ads demanding "equal rights" for whites and a vote for toxic racists like Jesse Helms. Minority scholarships provide, in an entirely too limited and inadequate way, some access to education for a few blacks. The real "special admissions" programs at colleges in this country are that if you're rich and white and your daddy donates to his alma mater, you get in.

Peter Conant

American capitalism's "recreational facilities" for youth in South Bronx ghetto.

Black youth, particularly young black men, are fast becoming "missing persons" from a society that's locked them into ghettos with no exit from poverty, unemployment and cop terror. At *minimum* what's necessary is massive funding of public education, a husing program extended to the suburbs where the better schools are, and jobs for all. To really open the schoolhouse doors to minority youth, the Spartacus Youth Clubs fight for open admissions and no tuition and a state-paid living stipend for students. The elite private universities should he nationalized and open to all! Hands ofl minority scholarships!

As a result of *struggle* in the civil rights movement some gains were wrested from the government which decided it had better throw some money at the problems of black America lest the whole country blow up. But now they're not throwing money at anything except themselves, prisons, killer cops, and a war mobilization in the Persian Gulf. The racist rulers of this country have decided that the financial cost of black life is expendable overhead.

Segregated housing, racist cop terror, unemployment and the violence against black people in the "war on drugs" all send a straightforward message that American capitalism is no longer interested in preserving the lives of poor blacks as a "reserve army of labor." There's less need for educated blacks in a period of economic decay. Moreover, education is dangerous—it can make people "uppity" and unwilling to serve as ignorant foot soldiers willing to spill their blood without question for the ruling class in the next bloody war.

The big lie of the civil rights movement was its preaching of reliance on the federal government as the defender and protector of the oppressed. Even a basic democratic right like equal education requires a revolutionary fight based on the power of the integrated labor movement. The bedrock of racial oppression in this society is the capitalist economic system which keeps blacks oppressed as a doubly exploited race-color caste. The

Letter on French Student Protests

Paris
7 December 1990

Dear Comrades,

We noted two translation errnrs in the *Young Spartacus* article in *WV* No. 515 on the high school student struggles in France (in the section which was translated from the LTF [Ligue Trotskyste de France] leaflet) which give a mistaken view of part of our program concerning questions of education.

In the second paragraph the translation of "*baccalauréat*" as "high school diploma" is incorrect. The *baccalauréat* is not simply a diploma which ratifies the completion of secondary school, as is the case in the U.S. It is a supplementary selective exam, given at the completion of secondary school, which eliminates slightly more than 30 percent of the candidates, not counting those who are eliminated in the two years preceding the *baccalauréat*.

Also in the second paragraph, "*les systèmes de cycles à franchir dans les universités*" was translated as "the obstacle course of grades and exams," which completely deforms the meaning nf the sentence. Indeed, we are absolutely not for the abolition of grades and exams, and in the article in *Le Bolchévik* No. 106 (from which the leaflet was drawn), we were careful to explicitly note that "our attack is not directed against the system of grades or the criteria of technical evaluatinn as such." What we are referring to is the French university system in which the passage from the first to the second cycle, in particular, is governed by de facto quotas. From 30 to 50 percent of all students, depending on the field of study and the university, are eliminated in the second year, *after* the strict selection for admission to university. In addition, students have only three years to successfully complete their first cycle of study. Two cycles are necessary to have a real university diploma; a flunk-out during the first cycle means that students can no longer register for university.

In conclusion, some observations on the university in France may help clarify the question. Unlike the United States, the university system is state-controlled. Therefore, class selection is determined not only by mnney, but through a sophisticated system of selection by flunk-outs. In fact, the French educational system is conceived from top to bottom to eliminate as many people as possible as quickly as possible. Furthermore, it seems that the directly job-oriented aim of university studies, from the moment of admission to university, has become much more pronounced in France than in the United States because of the increasingly tight hold of employers over the universities through their financial donations. That being said, all of the current reforms tend to bring the French system more into line with the American system; for example, each university now grants its own diplomas and therefore not all diplomas have the same value.

Plateau/Reuters

Thousands of students protest school conditions in Paris demonstration last November.

A final note is that during the recent high school movements originating in the working-class suburbs, the demand for *quality education* was rightly placed at the center of the students' demands.

Comradely,
Josie

class-struggle fight for socialism, for a society where those who labor rule, is the path to black freedom.

Jim Crow's New Clothes: "Voluntary" Segregation

While the government is taking steps to further segregate colleges, at the secondary school level a dangerous move toward "voluntary segregation" is afoot. In response to the desperate conditions of inner-city youth and the government's utter failure to provide quality, integrated public education, some black politicos and educators are urging the establishment of Jim Crow schools segregated by race and sex. In Milwaukee, two "African American Immersion" schools have been designed as segregated schools for black male youth in the elementary and middle grades. Similar plans are being debated in New York, Detroit, Baltimore and elsewhere.

Two generations since the landmark *Brown v. Board of Education* overturned the doctrine of separate and *un*equal education, black and white children rarely attend the same schools. Busing for school integration is dead—killed by liberals in Congress abetted by violent racist mobs in the streets. White flight has left schools in most major cities with declining tax revenues, decrepit facilities and an overwhelmingly black and Hispanic student enrollment.

Black youth are routinely "tracked" out of pricier college prep programs, disproportionately disciplined, and young black males in particular are tagged as "problem learners." Meanwhile segregated housing patterns assure majority white suburban schools of hefty property taxes and facilities resembling scenic country clubs for a chosen few (although posh surroundings do not necessarily make fnr learning, and among rich and poor in this country there is a growing "equality" of ignorance).

What looms behind the proposal for segregated schools are the deadly and grim facts of life and death for hlack male youth. Nearly one out of four black men between the ages of 20 and 29 is in prison, on probation nr on parole. Forty percent of black males in their 20s are unemployed. The death rate for black men in Harlem over the age of 40 is higher than that of the same population in Bangladesh! For millions of black women there are no jobs, welfare is disappearing, and the government's "workfare" program threatens to rip away welfare benefits *and the children* of single mothers who won't take whatever subminimum job Big Brother wants them to slave at. All these social conditions reflect the vicious poverty and deprivation of basic needs endemic to capitalism, the root cause of the black American nightmare.

Ironically, the proposal for "voluntarily" segregated schools is made by turning upside down the argument advanced for integration by NAACP attorneys Thurgood Marshall and Spottswood Robinson in the watershed *Brown v. Board of Education* battle. Supreme Court Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote in 1954 that to separate black children from white children solely because of their race generates "a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way unlikely ever to he undone." The advocates of the Milwaukee plan grotesquely claim that segregation is necessary for black children to understand their own self-worth.

This is a big step backward. As Kenneth Clark, the black sociologist whose research guided the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, said, the plan makes no sense, "unless this society wants to regress." He added, "For adults to impose this nonsense on children is academic child abuse. It's outrageous. It's absurd. It's a continuation of the whole segregation nonsense" (*New York Times*, 12 November 1990).

Self-segregation of black males will only serve to reinforce and legitimize the social segregation that already exists. Just as freedom fighters in South Africa reject the program for bantustan education pushed by the apartheid racists, we denounce a plan to segregate black male youth in holding pens in the name of "African American Immersion"! In a racist society, separate is always expressly unequal—a guarantee of inferior facilities and greater social regimentation for blacks.

Library of Congress

Ebony

Literacy is a weapon in the struggle for freedom. Above: black Civil War soldiers with schoolteachers and spelling books. Below: civil rights activists in 1960s demonstrate for integrated education.

Black History and Class Struggle

The Milwaukee program is packaged under the rubric of cultural nationalism and stresses the need for black teachers and a curriculum centered on African culture and the achievements of black Americans. But in America today, youth of *all* races are lacking the basic skills —reading, geography, mathematics—that *any* culture demands. At bottom, however, these segregated schools have little to do with discovering race pride as an expression of dignity, and nothing to do with race consciousness of black oppression. To reduce the fight against institutionalized racism to a question of individual self-esteem is a not-so-new twist on the old "blame the victims" theme.

Segregating black children from white, and black boys from girls, buys into the racist condemnation of all black males as incipient criminals who must be isolated and whipped into shape. This is not the militant black nationalism of the '60s, which at least expressed opposition to this whole racist system, although it lacked the program to change it. Today's move for segregated schools is a cynical cultural-nationalist *withdrawal* from struggle which lets the racist white ruling class off the hook and bolsters the

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Government Spits on Vietnam Vets

Stuart Kiehl

Conrad/NY Times

Crippled veteran speaks out against Vietnam War in 1971. Twenty years later, black antiwar veterans in October 20 NYC protest against Gulf war moves.

It's only 15 years since the Vietnam War ended with the final military defeat of the imperialist lackeys of the brutal and corrupt Saigon government. But the new generation of American youth know very little about that war. To mobilize the country for a new war in the Persian Gulf, the warmongers in Washington seek to overcome the population's lack of appetite for another bloody imperialist adventure (the "Vietnam syndrome") by falsifying history. One of their favorites is the bald lie that antiwar activists "spit on" Vietnam vets. This war propaganda is calculated to cleave a chasm between soldiers and antiwar activists today and to mold military recruits in the spirit of blind obedience to their rulers.

The Vietnam War deeply polarized American society and almost destroyed the U.S. army. The Vietnamese workers and peasants fought a revolutionary war, despite Stalinist misleadership, to rid their country of imperialist occupiers and put an end to the rule of the landlords and capitalists. Having fought the Japanese and the French, they then took on the U.S. military machine and fought it to a standstill. Two million Vietnamese, soldiers and civilians, were killed by American bullets, napalm and bombs; the CIA's "Operation Phoenix" selectively assassinated at least 100,000 people in the deliberate attempt to deprive the Vietnamese Revolution of leaders and cadres.

American soldiers increasingly came to realize that they were fighting a war of mass murder against a people who would not give up. Here at home, the vast mass of American working people and minorities—whose children were doing the fighting—were growing increasingly bitter and hostile to the government. They had little opportunity to show their opposition, as the Cold War trade-union leaders like George Meany were stridently pro-war and remained so even after the bourgeoisie (or at least its more intelligent representatives) realized they'd better extricate themselves.

Demulder/Gamma-Liaison

Defeat of U.S. imperialism in Vietnam: NLF tank smashes through gates of presidential palace in Saigon, April 1975.

Meanwhile, the pro-Democratic Party spokesmen who dominated the peace parades carefully avoided building opposition to the war that could really pose a challenge to the status quo. Arguing the need to keep the movement "broad" (in other words, to keep it right-wing enough for the Democratic Party politicians), they actually cut themselves off from masses of thoughtful working people who opposed the war but were not about to enter into battle against the government under the leadership of a cringing crew whose idea of "struggle" was big ads in the *New York Times* pleading, "Please Mr. President, where is your voice for peace on Christmas?"

What finally forced the Americans to make the last mad scramble from the roof of the U.S. embassy in Saigon was that the Vietnamese *won* the war on the battlefield—a victory that we Marxists hailed as a crushing defeat for U.S. imperialism. Two years earlier, U.S. rulers pulled the troops out when they realized that something "worse" than just a massive parade of antiwar students could happen: strike actions at home and wholesale mutinies among the troops in Vietnam. Returning soldiers often went directly into antiwar protests. Radical activists ran coffeehouses near army bases so that soldiers could come and talk politics; they worked to reach soldiers and vets with leaflets exposing the imperialist nature of the war and urging GIs to exercise their democratic rights as citizens to express their views.

Who really spit on Vietnam vets was the U.S. government! First it sent them off to die for imperialism while filling their ears with lies that the Vietnamese population longed to drive out the Communists and would welcome the American "liberators." Vietnam veterans hardly got a hero's welcome on their return nor could they feel like heroes—many were mentally "wasted" with fear and guilt at the war crimes they took part in or witnessed.

Today, veterans physically maimed and psychologically scarred in the Vietnam War are among the many victims of the cutbacks in vital medical and social services which the rulers have demanded to solve their fiscal crisis. One need only step inside any Veterans Administration (VA) hospital today to see how the government spits on the Vietnam veterans.

The Legacy of Abuse

Vietnam is unique as the war America *lost*; therefore the Vietnam vet is ill-suited to serve as an ideological symbol of the American rulers' "Manifest Destiny" to police the planet. Yet even veterans of America's "successful" wars can hardly be assured of a hero's welcome by the rulers who send them off to kill and die, as a look at the experience of World War I vets shows.

A study conducted in Wisconsin in the early '20s showed that fully one-quarter of the state's prisoners were veterans, jailed overwhelmingly "for actions concerning money or property, mostly seizing food or funds to buy food so they could feed themselves and their families." W.E.B. Du Bois described the situation in the NAACP's journal, *The Crisis*:

> "... hungry soldiers roam the streets of the cities without money or work. They discuss the four billion dollars coined by the big business of the United States last year. They read from the Federal Income Tax reports that the millionaires have increased by 22,000 in the U.S. since the war began.... All this was done while the soldier boys were risking their lives on the fields of Flanders. And yet, there is wonder at social unrest."

Racism and Jim Crow segregation especially fueled discontent among black vets returning from Europe, who had tasted equality in France and were emboldened by military experience. One black veteran, Paul Filtron, spoke for many when he said, "If that modern 'Ku Klux Klan' thinks that these hard fighting, straight-shooting veterans of the World War are the same timid field hands, crouching in terror, they have another 'think' coming." A parallel experience was in store for black vets returning from Vietnam and many, like Elmer Geronimo Pratt, a decorated Vietnam War veteran, joined the most militant expression of the movement for black rights, the Black Panther Party. Fighters like Pratt survived Vietnam only to come into the cross hairs of their own government's guns in the FBI's dirty COINTELPRO war against the Panthers. Framed for a murder that the FBI's own wiretaps prove he did not commit, Pratt has languished in prison for *20 years*.

After World War I, the combination of domestic discontent and the example of the Russian Revolution scared the wits out of America's rulers, who went on a massive "red scare" targeting communists, anarchists, foreigners—and thousands of veterans who had the audacity to demand the relief they were due but denied. (A "bonus bill" for veterans was passed in 1924 but did not provide any benefits until 1945!) In the summer of 1932 an unusual and very integrated protest, the "Bonus March," was born. From cities and towns across the country, veterans streamed into Washington, D.C. by caravan, by rail and on foot. By June of that year, 40,000 World War I vets were camped in a ramshackle shantytown in the nation's capital and picketing the White House for relief.

President Herbert Hoover's "intelligence" reports proclaimed the Bonus Marchers an imminent Communist insurrection, while the press denounced them

CBS

Decorated veteran Geronimo Pratt, imprisoned by U.S. government in war to eliminate Black Panther Party.

Education...

(continued from page 5)

reactionary status quo. A Memphis educator was explicit about the need to "incorporate the work ethic value and respect for property" (*Commercial Appeal*, 16 December 1990). Sounds more like one of those "boot camp" prisons for blacks they've set up under the "drug war" than a school!

Certainly the internalization by blacks —and whites—of racist stereotypes is a most pernicious and crippling effect of racism. Black history and the struggles of oppressed peoples of all races are excluded and belittled in school textbooks. The social conscience and pride that come from participation and leadership in struggles against racist oppression is not the education the bourgeoisie wants you to get. Marxists solidarize with every genuine effort to expose the racist ideology which presents oppression as "natural" and even just. The Spartacist League's *Black History and the Class Struggle* pamphlet series highlights the history of fighters like John Brown, Frederick Douglass, Toussaint L'Ouverture, Malcolm X and others because that history must be reclaimed by the working class and minorities to fight the injustices of the present.

But the idealist concept of "African American cultural values" is a bogus abstraction. There is no distinct set of values that all blacks adhere to. There's a world of difference between Angelo Herndon, a black Communist who led black and white unemployed workers during the Depression and who for his leadership was thrown into jail for leading a "slave insurrection" in Atlanta, and say, Martin Luther King Jr., whose turn-the-other-cheek pacifism and liberalism shackled blacks to the Dixiecrat Democratic Party. Moreover, any conception of the role of black people in society cannot be separated from the social mechanisms and institutions that transmit such knowledge. School textbooks today celebrate King for his misleadership of black struggle—and omit that he was assassinated in Memphis where he went to support a sanitation workers strike, or that he opposed the Vietnam War. Black revolutionaries like Herndon are still a complete "blank space" in "official" history.

Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!

For a small "talented tenth" black elite, token gains of the civil rights movement brought more black faces in high places and a tier of black Democratic Party mayors who act as overseers of inner-city ghettos on behalf of the racist capitalist ruling class. Like Booker T. Washington, whose authority grew in the wake of a wave of racist terror that smashed Radical Reconstruction and who glorified segregation of the races, black misleaders today push cynical segregationist schemes in the face of resurgent racism. They've made their peace with the system and aren't about to lead any fight against it.

Faced with a labor movement that's done little to defend the black population (or itself) from the bosses' attacks, and seeing no gain from gradualist liberal integrationism, ghetto youth and petty-bourgeois college students gave a hearing to the sinister demagogue Farrakhan with his message of segregation and "black capitalism." But capitalism only works for people with capital, and exhortations for blacks to "pull yourself up by your own bootstraps" are meaningless if you have no money for boots.

For a layer of petty entrepreneurs seeking to profit from pathetic "black capitalist" schemes, segregation poses a chance to exploit *"their" market*, *"their" people*, *their way*. This perspective is nothing new. Black business owners were the last to join the civil rights movement because they knew black access to white-owned firms would hurt their pockets.

To comprehend the futility of "black capitalism" one need only look at a list of Fortune 500 firms, or consider the fate of historically black colleges. Blacks aren't missing from the echelons of the bourgeoisie because of a lack of self-esteem, but because a small minority, the ruling class, makes the rules, writes the laws and tax codes to perpetuate the rule of the rich, owns and controls the government, and uses the cops and courts to "legally" terrorize ghettos and barrios. In the main, these racist rulers also control the boards of major universities and historically black colleges. The difference: black colleges get a fraction of the crumbs thrown toward education while ostensibly integrated colleges get billions.

As a haven from resurgent racism on the campuses, backward white peers and narrow-minded professors, black schools have an understandable appeal to students under attack. At the same time, protests over substandard facilities and educational opportunities at Howard, the University of the District of Columbia, Tuskegee, Morris Brown College and Fisk highlight the dilemma. What's needed is a fight for free, quality, integrated education for all!

The case for integrated schooling was argued powerfully by Frederick Douglass, who fought his way out of slavery, educated himself, and became a powerful leader of the left wing of the abolitionist movement. In 1872 he wrote:

> "From our observations during a trip to the South we are convinced that the interests of the poor whites and the colored people are identical. Both are ignorant, and both are the tools of designing educated white men; and the poor whites are more particularly used to further schemes opposed to their own best interests.... The cunning ex-slaveholder sets those who should be his enemies to fighting each other and thus diverts attention from himself. Educate the colored children and white children together in your day and night schools throughout the South, and they will learn to know each other better, and be better able to cooperate for mutual benefit."

The tasks Frederick Douglass confronted after slavery was smashed still remain and the promise of black emancipation is still unfulfilled. The battles at hand require the leadership of an integrated workers party that will fight to achieve black liberation through revolutionary integration in a socialist society. Finish the Civil War! Black liberation through socialist revolution! ■

WV Photo

Norfolk longshoremen march for busing in 1983. Signs say, "ILA All the Way Against Segregated Schools."

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as fascistic brownshirts. Hungry and ragged, the unarmed vets were militarily besieged by the government they had served. Herbert Hoover dispatched General Douglas MacArthur and his sidekick Dwight D. Eisenhower to oust the vets from the capital and burn their shanties to the ground. As MacArthur's forces advanced on them with mounted cavalry, tanks, machine guns, rifles and bayonets, the vets and their families stood and sang "My Country 'Tis of Thee" and then defended themselves as best they could with sticks and stones.

The War At Home Against Vietnam Vets

As Clausewitz wrote, "War is the continuation of politics by other means." Military service continues the politics of race and class oppression as the sons and daughters of working people are sent to fight for the bosses' interests. About the only thing that blacks, Hispanics and the poor get first crack at in America is death, and the Vietnam War was no exception. But for them, the war didn't end with American withdrawal and the heroic Vietnamese victory.

Vietnam veterans returned home to a battle they're still fighting against a government which has no use for the maimed, ailing and desperate reminders of a war U.S. imperialism lost. And the liberal antiwar movement collapsed as soon as the threat of having their own butts sent to Vietnam disappeared. In 1979, Robert Muller, a leader of Vietnam Veterans of America, remarked bitterly:

> "I'd like to take a full page ad in the newspapers and say, 'Dear Liberals: For years your slogan was Bring the Boys Home. Well, we're home. Now where are you?'"
>
> —Paul Severo and Lewis Milford, *The Wages of War* (1989)

Today a huge number of Vietnam vets are homeless, many evicted from their homes while still awaiting that first disability check from the VA. First established as the Veterans Bureau in 1921 under the notoriously corrupt administration of Warren Harding, the VA has always been a vehicle for political patronage and an arm of the government to *limit* the costs of veterans rather than provide them with necessary services and wages of war. Under the Nixon administration the VA became a political dumping ground for CREEPs (the Committee to Re-Elect the President).

The American economy was bankrupted by the Vietnam War and vets came home to spiraling inflation, mass unemployment and cuts in their benefits. The G.I. bill which actually enabled many World War II vets to go to college *and* pay the rent had hardly been adjusted for inflation in a generation. A lousy $200 a month was given to Vietnam vets to cover tuition and all living expenses!

U.S. techniques of genocide and destruction in Vietnam also posed a host of new mental and physical health problems that the VA doesn't even recognize, much less relieve. The traditional diagnoses of "combat fatigue" and "shell shock" proved inadequate to describe the mental trauma of American soldiers who couldn't forget the unspeakable outrages they were ordered to commit against Vietnamese people. A new "disease" designated "post-traumatic stress disorder" (PTSD) had to be invented. The VA does not recognize drug addiction as a "symptom" of PTSD, which puts vets in a Catch 22: if they can cope without drugs or alcohol then they're insufficiently "stressed" and can't get help; if they hit the bottle or the needle they're spurned as filthy drug addicts and won't get benefits either. According to the Black Veterans for Social Justice, many veterans are finally healing their psychological wounds by traveling to Vietnam and offering their services to help rebuild the country the U.S. government tried to "bomb back to the Stone Age."

The army lied to soldiers about Agent Orange, a chemical defoliant containing deadly dioxin which was dumped on the Vietnamese countryside, the Vietnamese people and an estimated 450,000 American troops. This toxin causes cancers of soft-tissue organs, rare liver afflictions, chloracne, festering sores and infertility. There is an abnormally high level of crib death and horrible birth deformities of children of veterans who were exposed to Agent Orange. Of course the deadly effects of Agent Orange, napalm, and anti-personnel bombs were overwhelmingly felt by the Vietnamese.

The story on Agent Orange was first broken by a caring and courageous black woman, Maude deVictor, a VA benefits counselor who began assembling data and researching the strange health problems of the Vietnam vets who came through her Chicago office. (Her own husband died of a mysterious cancer after returning from Vietnam.) What was the response of the VA? Maude deVictor was fired after speaking to the press about chemical poisoning. Under pressure, the VA began its own "studies" and found the veterans' complaints were "baseless." What the VA didn't make public was that the "expert" they brought on board to oversee the study, one Dr. Robert Holder, was the medical director of Dow Chemical Company—the manufacturer of Agent Orange!

Over 36,000 claims have been filed against the government for exposure to Agent Orange—*not one has been settled.* Uncle Sam makes it difficult for vets to sue the government: soldiers are expected either to loyally die for the ruling class on the battlefield or, if they survive, shut up and be thankful.

The canard that antiwar activists and radicals "spit on" vets is hypocrisy in the service of today's war mobilization in the Persian Gulf. Countering this lie—and showing who *really* spits on the vets—is part of our job as a revolutionary vanguard to provide the collective memory necessary for class struggle against the warmakers today. ■

Spartacus Youth Club Forums

Sink U.S. Imperialism in the Persian Gulf!

- **Defend Iraq Against U.S. Attack!**
- **For Labor Political Strikes Against the War!**
- **Down with the Sheiks, Colonels, Zionist Butchers— For Workers Revolution!**

Speaker: Ray Bishop, Spartacist League Central Committee

Friday, January 11, 8:00 p.m.
Room to be announced
Hampshire College
AMHERST

Sunday, January 13, 3:00 p.m.
Emerson 305
Harvard University
CAMBRIDGE

For more information call (617) 492-3928

In Memory of T. Clay Dickinson

A memorial meeting for our comrade Clay Dickinson, who died on December 11, was held in New York City on December 14. The many friends, co-workers, comrades and family members who gathered to share memories of Clay spoke to his zest for life and commitment to struggle that was, and is, an inspiration to everyone who knew him. Particularly in the last year, as his physical strength was sapped by the AIDS virus, he poured himself into the two great passions of his life, theater and revolutionary politics, with vigor that put the healthy to shame.

One comrade recalled that not even the grimness of hospitalization could fell Clay's spirit. Clay was a proud member of District 65/United Auto Workers and even from his hospital bed "talked union" with the hospital staff. Actors from the Sidewalks Theatre recalled Clay's attempt to organize a rehearsal for *Agamemnon*, in which he was to star, at his bedside. A lawyer at Rabinowitz, Boudin et al., the firm where Clay worked, remarked that while law firms are "not the gentlest" of workplaces, "Clay humanized us" while bringing meticulous order from commotion.

Clay was a powerful writer and speaker whose political clarity—and unsparing personal honesty—projected his convictions with great impact (see other excerpts from Clay's writings in *WV* No. 516, 14 December 1990). Coming to terms with the loss of his lover to AIDS, and the social consequences of a disease whose victims—the poor, minorities, homosexuals—are overwhelmingly people the ruling class would just as soon be rid of, Clay wrote an article for the People With AIDS Coalition *Newsline* (September 1988) which he titled "Death in Love Is the Very Song That I Sing, or Living with AIDS and Political Enlightenment" and said:

> "Looking on that situation now brings me back with a jolt as to how much gay (and women's) oppression is rooted in the sex roles institutionalized in the bourgeois nuclear family. 'Gee, Officer Krupke, naturally we're a mess.' An early gay liberationist (and sometime Maoist), I was won to the Trotskyist politics of the Spartacist League via what was originally called the Lavender & Red Union, a gay commie collective in, of all places, Hollywood, CA. With this political pedigree I had come to see myself as having worked free of internalized homophobia. Now I find large remnants of it still intact and feeding the cycles of depression. "Some who are gripped in the excruciatingly vulnerable nexus of the AIDS epidemic seek out religion, traditional or new age eclectic. Others focus on action philosophies of 'self-empowerment.' These others have been valiant in their efforts to mobilize resources among the afflicted. And in the face of the criminal inaction and institutionalized homophobia and racism of the capitalist government, they have accomplished remarkable feats of self-defense, the Community Research Initiative being particularly exemplary.
> "I, on the other hand, feel all the more compelled to opt for a political program that espouses fundamental social transformation. I'm not talking utopian dreaming here, but the urgent necessity for eradicating a system in deep crisis. The AIDS epidemic starkly highlights the barbaric consequences of a social economic system fueled by the profit motive. Most of us understand, I believe, the crying need for massive scientific research and treatment efforts coordinated on an international level. Yet we daily see evidence of how such efforts are blocked by the voracious profit seeking of the drug companies, the thoroughgoing bigotry and indifference of the government and the rivalries of competing nation states."

If the AIDS crisis renewed Clay's resistance to bigotry and social injustice, the development of his social conscience and his participation in social struggles began long before. Clay was very proud of what he described as his "stubborn Midwestern roots." His grandfather was a member of the Industrial Workers of the World, a "Wobbly" whose crusade against the bosses ended in a suspicious industrial accident.

In his youth, Clay studied and mastered the French language and traveled to France where, among other things, he fell in love with the food and became a gourmet cook. But his travels to France also shaped his political development. In May 1968, Clay saw the power of the working class in action, when France was brought to the brink of revolution. He returned to Chicago and participated in protests outside the Democratic Party Convention that same year. In the early '70s, Clay was active in the first gay liberation groups and also worked with a support group for the Black Panther Party.

Courtesy T. Clay Dickinson

Clay Dickinson (right) on stage: politics and theater were two of his passionate interests.

Clay came to the Spartacist League through a fusion between our party and the Red Flag Union (formerly Lavender and Red Union). Clay and his comrades were won from the gay liberation/lifestylist milieu to Trotskyism through a hard fight on the "Russian question," the political touchstone for all who lay claim to Marxism.

Recoiling from Stalinist bigotry against homosexuals, Clay studied Trotsky's analysis of the class nature of the Soviet state and concluded that the damage done by Stalinism could only be corrected by forging an authentically Bolshevik party as a beacon of human liberation and to defend the gains of the Russian Revolution, which were atrophied and undermined by the repressive and conservative bureaucracy. Although Clay left our organization shortly after the fusion, he remained an active sympathizer and rejoined shortly before his death.

Clay lived the watchwords that a Leninist party must be a "tribune of the people"—a standard-bearer for all those oppressed under class society. The fight against racial oppression was one that Clay particularly gave himself to. The late eighties were a period of upheaval in Haiti, manifested in the Haitian diaspora in New York City in huge protest demonstrations. With Clay's capacities in the French language, he was an able agitator for the Trotskyist program in this milieu. He not only sold more newspapers and subs than most comrades but translated our press releases for the Haitian press.

In the last year of his own life, Clay devoted his time and considerable abilities to save the life of another man, Mumia Abu-Jamal, a black political prisoner and MOVE supporter on death row. Clay helped give voice again to Mumia, an eloquent journalist the government wants to silence. Clay transcribed and proofread Jamal's columns from death row for publication in newspapers around the country. He returned to France in 1989 and worked with our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France to extend the campaign for Jamal's life internationally.

Clay utilized his position as a member of one of the most integrated unions in New York City, District 65/UAW, to bring Jamal's case to the labor movement and bring labor's power to bear in the fight to abolish the death penalty and stop Jim Crow "legal" lynching in this country. In the last days of his life, Clay sought to meld his theatrical talents with his political convictions and wrote a song he wanted performed for Jamal at the Partisan Defense Committee's fund-raiser for class-war prisoners. From his hospital bed he scrawled verses on the back of envelopes and prescriptions and phoned singers he knew to interest them in the project.

While the bourgeoisie gloated over the so-called "death of Communism," Clay never buckled. He saw the collapse of Stalinism, an obstacle to and perversion of revolutionary Marxism, as an opening to build Trotskyist parties throughout East Europe and the Soviet Union. After the Fourth Reich swept the elections in East Germany last March, Clay doubled his monthly financial contribution to the party and our Lenin-Liebknecht-Luxemburg ("3-L's") fund drive to continue our work in the DDR and points further east. Clay wrote:

> "Sure, electoral success would provide a welcome platform for revolutionary politics, but it's long been a clear tenet of our movement that the real and decisive action will be in the workplaces and in the streets. The German work underlines the 'international' in the ICL [International Communist League], and I think that's pretty exciting. The international focus was one of the main things that initially won me to the SL, and I can now see concretely how the upsurge in the DDR directly inspires abroad."

Clay enriched our understanding as a party, particularly of the AIDS crisis; he enriched the lives of individuals who worked with him. His tenacity as a communist fighter against tough odds is an inspiration, and we will honor him by continuing that struggle.

We print here Clay's application (excerpted) to rejoin the Spartacist League/U.S.

November 19, 1990

Dear Comrades:

I was thrilled when some of the comrades visiting me in the hospital recently filled me in on this consultative membership business and invited me to apply on that basis. I was also pretty overwhelmed with the massive demonstration of affection and support.... I'm cranking this out the same evening I finally won my freedom from the inhuman horrors of hospitalization. The idea here is to give some indication of my evolution back home to the party over the last several years after the years spent wandering (prowling may be more accurate) in the wilderness of the gay male demimonde and the pursuit of all its hedonistic pleasures....

So this letter is intended to constitute my application for consultative membership....

There are two essential questions that have defined my recent political evolution, the AIDS epidemic and the collapse of Stalinism in Eastern Europe.

I find that the AIDS crisis has placed under a microscopic perspective the barbarous contradictions of a system in glittery but pernicious decline and the desperate needs of the lowest, least powerful and most abused layer of its citizenry. I recently had a long conversation with a young black woman at a dinner that the good souls at the church around the corner from my apartment prepare for AIDS patients on Saturday evenings. Dawn told a tale that almost literally chilled my blood and made me choke with rage, and I feel it's eloquently illustrative of the larger social perspective of this crisis in capitalist America.

She and her husband had struggled from backgrounds of no privilege whatsoever to get fairly decent jobs and reasonably decent housing. Then AIDS struck her husband. As soon as it was evident that he was sick, he was immediately dismissed and put out to pasture on a welfare payment of $67 a month and Dawn struggled to support them both. Then she got sick, was fired and the two of them thrown into a welfare hotel with something around $300 a month in welfare payments (of course the city was paying about $1,500 a month to the despicable cockroach capitalists running the joint). Their room is about 5 by 7 feet. Just room for a bed and one of them to get up and move at a time. All personal belongings are stored in garbage bags piled to the ceiling in one corner. They're able to hang up a few things on overhead pipes. There's a small hot plate and one tiny refrigerator and that's about it. For a sink you have to go out into the unsafe hall, also for the only bathroom on the whole floor. You can imagine the difficulty in dealing with such conditions when you're fighting a disease characterized by regular bouts of the most devastating diarrhea.

The thing that keeps them alive is Dawn's remarkable courage and determination. She has ferreted out all the places in the city where free hot meals are served to people who have AIDS and places where groceries and clothing are given out free to AIDS patients. Her husband is totally bedridden with his sickness. However, the one organization that delivers free hot meals to AIDS victims in their homes won't come to their "home" because their drivers have been

WV Photo

Clay chairing session of Red Flag Union conference in Los Angeles, June 1977, where Spartacists (speaker, right) fought to win gay liberationists to revolutionary party.

WV Photo

Clay at July 1986 New York City protest against Supreme Court decision that upheld reactionary state laws targeting gays.

stabbed and robbed on several occasions. So Dawn feeds him by reheating the seconds she gets from the meals she's able to obtain for herself. What happens when she's not able to make the rounds on this circuit of decent church folks' charity is anybody's guess, but she's not likely to have any buddy service available to her. There was a tough looking young white woman sitting across the table who expressed total wonder at what Dawn was managing to accomplish, and Dawn quickly took her under her wing and started making a list of contacts, locations and phone numbers for the white woman, who at one point virtually broke down sobbing that this was the first time in the last 1-1/2 years since she'd been sick that she had been treated like she was a "civilized person." Her husband has already died from AIDS and she is struggling to care for herself and her two interracial children who are both infected, all with precious little help from any public agency.

I went home, turned on the TV news and saw Bush sweeping into some gala affair in Washington. In stopping to chat with the reporters gathered, he made some comment that the recently hacked together agreement to modestly raise taxes on the layer of his wealthiest billionaire and millionaire buddies somewhat more than their junior compatriots in the slightly lower bracket ran counter to all the traditions that made this country great, and it just wasn't "right." The searing contrast between these opposite poles in the declining imperialist heartland suddenly hit me like a knife in the gut and I let out a scream of rage that I'm sure left my neighbors wondering what the hell was going on, but I felt better after I did. We have to take the plight of the Dawns of this country before the organized workers movement and convince them that they must be defended and demand decent housing and medical care for all.

As to the heirs of Uncle Joe and their downfall, I initially had the knee-jerk reaction that we were seeing the historic refutation before our eyes of the Trotskyist position that neither the political revolution nor capitalist counterrevolution in the degenerated and deformed workers states could possibly be peaceful. However, as events unfolded and upon further reflection, I realized a couple of things were going on here. First the deformed workers states of East Europe in some ways were never ours since they were never led by communist parties in each country overthrowing their own bourgeoisies. But the Soviet Union, on the other hand, has always been ours and is the heartland of international workers revolution in this epoch. The emerging threats to the centralized planned economy as botched as it is by the Stalinist hacks and the collectivized ownership of productive property must be immediately defended by workers the world over, but certainly by those in the Soviet Union itself.

On further reflection, I realized that even in East Germany where the building of the Fourth Reich seems to have already firmly planted the institutions of the counterrevolution, the show was not over. Stick around folks. Reports indicate that it's already happening there and in the rest of East Europe that the workers are quickly becoming aware of what they lost and the lack of appeal in the newly blooming market economies with their newly blooming homelessness, bread lines, unemployment, underworld gangster operations, profiteering entrepreneurs, drug dealers and every stripe of fast buck hustler imaginable, i.e., just like the beacon across the seas in the USA.

The cradle to grave security and benefits of a centrally planned national economy that they all grew up with have to be looking pretty good to them right now, not to mention the sense of a collective pride in the society they were building. The opportunities offered by the new freedoms to distribute and obtain information offer a real and vital chance for the development of a revolutionary workers leadership schooled in the world historic lessons embodied in the program of Trotskyism that will make the completion or defeat of these counterrevolutions anything but peaceful, especially with the likely military intervention of Western imperialism.

The immediate need, of course, will be to inspire social revolutions in the West, particularly Germany, France, Britain and the U.S. When that happens the world is finally ours to develop in the egalitarian interests of the whole of humanity as opposed to the bulging pockets of the few. Revolutionary upsurge by workers in the East should directly inspire their class brothers and sisters in the advanced industrial West, especially when they see their own masters for the butchers that they really are, ready to blow up half the world to defend their perceived interests in the Middle East, and in the case of the U.S. throw hundreds of thousands of its unemployed workers forced to look for economic gain in military service at the rapacious appetite of the imperialist war machine and thereby restore some "health" to the seriously ailing economy. They haven't even been able to come up with the fig leaf of a moral crusade to fight some readily perceived evil.

Though nobody's exactly thrilled with the butcherin' Saddam, here again is a powerful illustration of the old Marxist principle so clearly articulated by Liebknecht that you've got to start with the main enemy who's right at home. When war breaks out the Iraqi workers must take advantage of the opportunity to take the tyrant's head and install their own government including the oppressed national minorities. So this more sober consideration stands in direct counterpoint to my brazen question at the first Iraq forum as

Courtesy T. Clay Dickinson

Clay's companion J.R., 1985 portrait by Robert Mapplethorpe.

to how the party could consider calling the Red Army to defend this monster. The point of course is not defending the monster but defending a small country that is being brazenly attacked by the high-tech forces of the imperialist monster, who has several times as many foul breathing heads.

Therefore, despite the great dangers to existing social gains in the East, I now feel very strongly that the collapse of Stalinism is offering revolutionaries the opportunity of a lifetime. Very soon we should no longer have to deal with the nemesis of Uncle Joe and his hideous crimes against the international workers movement and much of the general Russian population. Who's going to swallow even the most sophisticated version of the old McCarthyite "reds under the beds" crap with the likes of Boris Yeltsin at the helm? These developments should help us resist and expose the current trade-union tops and their shameful history of suppressing those very militants that were working in the interests of both their particular unions and the entire international working class. I've come to the conclusion, comrades, that the time for a healthy dose of revolutionary optimism is at hand. Though there seems to be some doubt that I'll make it until the following PB meeting, creating some pressure to get this in as soon as possible, I assure you that I have every intention of fighting this alien beast to the finish and in the process giving the party some of my best years.

Comradely,
T. Clay Dickinson

Saddam Hussein's War on Kurds, Leftists

Iraqi Rulers' Bloody Reign

As the White House assembles the most massive American expeditionary force since the Vietnam War, the Spartacist League has marched in protest demonstrations under our banners calling to "Break the Blockade of Iraq! Defeat U.S. Imperialism!" We stand with the people of Iraq against this imperialist aggression which will take hundreds of thousands of lives to impose Bush's "New World Order." And we stand with the working people and oppressed of Iraq against their bloody rulers, Saddam Hussein and his Ba'ath party, who were until recently backed by the U.S. In particular, we denounce the Ba'ath nationalists' slaughter of Iraqi Communist Party members and war against the Kurdish national minority, carried out with Washington's complicity.

A press report from more than a decade ago describes the hideous tortures which were meted out by the security police under Saddam Hussein's direction:

> "For example, prisoners are beaten with hoses, burned with cigarettes, given electric shocks, beaten on the sexual organs, stomach and chest until they vomit; prisoners are hanged, their heads are plunged into toilet bowls, they are forced to perform degrading acts; others are driven outside the city and shots are fired over their heads, etc. Some of those who have undergone such treatment have been mutilated or paralyzed. Others have been tortured to death."
>
> —*Le Monde*, 23 March 1979

Today imperialist rulers and Western media rehash stories of babies in Kuwaiti hospitals being yanked off life-support systems, but they were virtually silent about the tortures detailed above. This is because the thousands of men and women who endured that terrible ordeal, and the many who died in it, were Communists. The purpose of this repression was to liquidate the Iraqi Communist Party (ICP). And as he carried out this gruesome task, Saddam Hussein had the *support* of U.S. imperialism.

In a previous article ("Iraqi Rulers' Bloody Road to Power," *WV* No. 511, 5 October 1990), we described how the Ba'ath party came to power in Iraq as a result of the crushing of the revolutionary upsurge which followed the 1958 coup against the British-installed monarchy. The possibility was posed of uniting the Kurds and all oppressed behind the powerful CP-led working class in overthrowing the bourgeois order, but the Iraqi Communist Party subordinated itself to the nationalist regime of General Qassem. As the CP caved in (on orders from Moscow, which wanted to facilitate Khrushchev's Camp David parley with Eisenhower), militant workers were set up for repression and Kurds were pushed into the camp of traditional chieftains. When in 1963 Qassem's nationalist rivals of the Ba'ath party brokered a military coup, the result was a nine-month reign of terror. Ba'athist goons using lists supplied by the CIA dragged Communist militants from their homes and murdered thousands.

The ICP's suicidal capitulations in Iraq were only playing out the logic of Stalin's anti-revolutionary policies, summed up in the dogma of building "socialism in one country," the USSR. Under this nationalist watchword, which translated into opposing struggles for socialism elsewhere, the Chinese Communists were ordered to subordinate themselves to the bourgeois-nationalist Kuomintang, leading to the Shanghai massacre of 1927 under Chiang Kai-shek. Likewise the Indonesian CP was told by both Moscow and Beijing to follow the baton of nationalist leader Sukarno, resulting in the 1965 massacre of half a million leftists. A measure of the Kremlin Stalinists' betrayal of Marxism is that, for the sake of diplomatic maneuvers, they have for decades sold out to tinpot dictators like Saddam Hussein instead of mobilizing the working class to sweep them away.

Siarmand Bana

Tens of thousands of Kurds were driven out of Iraq by army offensive in summer of 1988.

Arab Nationalism and Anti-Communist Repression

In 1968 the Ba'athists were able to return to power in another military coup. Saddam Hussein set up a vast security apparatus whose chief—like himself, a prominent torturer under the previous Ba'ath regime—"had a penchant for conducting interrogations personally and extinguishing his cigarette inside the eyeballs of his victims" (Samir al-Khalil, *Republic of Fear* [1989]). Once again the nationalists' hand was strengthened by the capitulation of the Iraqi CP, which prostrated itself before the Ba'athists only to be crushed under their heel. In the first years of the regime, scores of Communists were arrested and tortured to death. Yet when the USSR signed a 1972 "friendship" treaty with Iraq, two CP leaders entered the government.

Reinforced by Soviet arms and assured of CP conciliation, the Ba'athists in March 1974 launched a massive military assault against the Kurds. For almost a year the Iraqi army napalmed and phosphorus-bombed Kurdish villages, driving thousands from their homes. Yet as the Kurds successfully held out, the Ba'athist regime turned for help to Washington and its ally, the shah of Iran. The U.S. imperialists, anxious to woo Iraq back into the pro-imperialist fold, were only too willing to help the Ba'athist regime smash the Kurds. So the CIA suddenly cut off their man, the feudalist "general" Mustafa Barzani. Iran agreed to close the border and cut off military aid to the Barzani-led insurgents, in return for Iraqi renunciation of its claim to the eastern bank of the Shatt al-Arab (the estuary of the river Tigris), its only outlet to the Persian Gulf.

As the Kurdish resistance collapsed, the Ba'ath launched a policy of forced "Arabization" of Kurdish regions, especially the oil-rich northern regions of Kirkuk and Mosul. Hundreds of thousands of Kurds were loaded on army trucks with what belongings they could carry and transported to the southwestern desert where some half million Kurds are today held in wretched concentration camps. Arab peasants from the south were offered a financial incentive to resettle the abandoned lands.

Having served its purpose, the Iraqi Communist Party again fell under the Ba'ath's fire. A growing number of CPers were imprisoned even as CP ministers were part of the government. Most were charged with carrying out political work in the army. In May 1978, at least 21 CP members and supporters in the army were executed, opening a new paroxysm of terror. Yet the Stalinists would pursue the path of class collaboration to the grisly end. A conference of CPs of the Arab countries in late 1978, while condemning the wave of repression in Iraq, pleaded that "a progressive Arab front" uniting Communists and Ba'athists was "indispensable" (*Le Monde*, 7 January 1979). For a full year after the eruption of anti-Communist repression, the CP government ministers would cling helplessly to their cabinet portfolios. By the spring of 1979 what was left of the Iraqi CP was either in exile or—an estimated 15,000 of them—in prison.

The wave of repression against Iraqi Communists provoked outrage on the part of working-class organizations around the world. The Spartacist tendency noted: "This juridical murder [of the 21 CPers] was part of a major crackdown on the mass party of the Iraqi proletariat by the bourgeois-nationalist Ba'athist regime" (*WV* No. 230, 27 April 1979). The imperialists did not protest the slaughter. They understood that it was part of a turn by Iraq toward the West—resulting in closer economic ties, arms purchases and toned-down opposition to the Egypt-Israel "peace" accord. A *New York Times* (30 July 1978) dispatch, noting the massacre of ICP members, was headlined "Iraq Is Now Seeking a Moderate Image."

For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!

In the carve-up of the Ottoman Empire following World War I, the Kurdish homeland was divided among four bourgeois states—Iraq, Iran, Turkey and Syria—and the Kurds were subjected to savage repression in all of them. The 1920 Treaty of Sèvres, which formalized the imperialist division of the "spoils of war," envisaged the formation of a (highly truncated) Kurdish state under U.S. mandate. Yet the British imperialists, anxious that this might undermine their control of the oil-rich province of Mosul, were quick to abandon even this caricature of "national self-determination."

In Iran, under both the shahs and the mullahs, Kurds have been denied even the most minimal national rights. In NATO Turkey they are officially designated "mountain Turks"—even speaking the Kurdish language in public can result in arrest, fines and torture. Small wonder that the U.S., as it works to combine these countries in a military alliance against Iraq, has been reluctant to press the question of the oppression of the Kurds. As an Iraqi Kurdish leader recently noted, "The West never misses an opportunity to forget about the Kurds" (*Wall Street Journal*, 3 December 1990).

In the 1980s, Kurdistan became a battlefield during the decade-long reactionary border war between Iran and Iraq. Baghdad carried out massive population transfers of hundreds of thousands designed to disperse the Kurdish national minority—20 percent of Iraq's population. During fighting in March 1988 over the border village of Halabjah, several thousand Kurds were killed in a poison gas attack, although evidence indicates that both Iraq and Iran may have used chemical weapons there. Immediately following the truce with Iran, in August of that year an Iraqi offensive drove 65,000 Kurds over the border into Turkey. An international uproar ensued over allegations of Iraqi use of nerve and mustard gas, and the U.S. Senate (eager to back off from Washington's pro-Iraq stance during the war) voted sanctions against Baghdad, but no clear evidence such as victims' bodies was produced.

It is often forgotten that, besides the four capitalist states which are inhabited by Kurds, there is a fifth country which

Kurdish homeland carved up by imperialists. Today it is divided among four capitalist states and the Soviet Union.

Healyites Got Blood Money

Incredibly, the anti-Communist repression in Iraq in the late 1970s was actually *supported* by one tendency which masquerades as Trotskyists, Gerry Healy's International Committee (IC), represented in the U.S. by David North's Workers League. They alibied the Ba'athist executioners, declaring: "This is a straight case of Moscow trying to set up cells in Iraqi armed forces for the purpose of undermining the regime. It must accept the consequences" (*Bulletin*, 16 March 1979). The Healyites' "justification" for the massacres of CPers was that "the Arab Ba'ath Socialist Party of Iraq has played a hundredfold more progressive role in the Middle East than Stalinism."

The Spartacist League had long described the Healy tendency with Lenin's phrase, "political bandits." In 1967 the Healyites became champions of a mythical "Arab Revolution," a catch phrase to justify tailing after Arab nationalist despots. By the mid-'70s, they had become press agents for Libyan strongman Qaddafi, and then shameless apologists for anti-Communist terror in Iraq (see "Healyites: Kill a Commie for Qaddafi," *WV* No. 230, 27 April 1979). The details of this sordid affair came out in 1985 following the spectacular implosion of international Healyism. Not only did Healy & Co. hail the extermination of Iraqi CPers, but they photographed protest demonstrations in Britain and turned over to the Iraqi embassy the pictures of Iraqi militants, fingering them for arrest, torture and possible death.

How was it possible for a group claiming to stand for "socialism" to support anti-working-class terror carried out by a capitalist government? The answer can be summed up in two words: blood money. A 16 December 1985 report by an IC Control Commission documented how their "founder leader" Healy and his cohorts like the actress Vanessa Redgrave had shuttled around Libya and various Near East countries—*including both Iraq and Kuwait!*—looking for and receiving subsidies to pay for their expensive daily press in Britain. (It should be noted that the implosion of Healyism didn't come about over taking the money, but only when the money ran out.) The Control Commission was only able to trace part of the money because no serious financial records were kept, but it published the amounts it was able to uncover, which were received from various countries over a seven-year period beginning in the mid-'70s:

Libya	£542,267
Kuwait	156,500
Qatar	50,000
Abu Dhabi	25,000
PLO	19,997
Iraq	19,697
Unidentified or other sources	261,702
Total	£1,075,163

(reprinted in *Workers News*, April 1988)

In exchange for this largesse to keep their showpiece press alive, Healy & Co. filled their pages with grotesque paeans to these very same Arab dictators. At the same time as they were alibiing the murder of Iraqi CPers, here is a sampling of what the Healyites had to say about Saddam Hussein's treatment of the Kurds:

> "The Iraqis are slandered with the tale that the Ba'athists 'shot thousands' and denied Kurdish independence....
> "In a statement in [the Healyite] *News Line* the party leadership critically appraised the efforts of the Ba'ath Party to solve the Kurdish question.
> "At the same time the [Healyite] WRP defended the Iraqi government from the CIA-organized forces of General Barzani."
>
> —*Bulletin*, 20 April 1979

Today David North cynically pretends that he and others of Healy's loyal henchmen and toadies didn't know that the "IC" was on the take. Yet we and others had denounced Qaddafi's patronage of Healy for years! Moreover, in the factional blowout which followed Healy's overthrow, British WRP leader Cliff Slaughter wrote a letter (14 January 1986) revealing that Australian Healyite Nick Beams had obtained tens of thousands of dollars from Near East regimes and had passed on the information to David North, who agreed not to raise the matter within the IC (see "On Baghdad, and Bagmen," *Australasian Spartacist* No. 138, September-October 1990). *Beware of these provocateurs for hire.*■

WV Photo

Healy's organization was bought and paid for by reactionary Near East regimes. Right: American Healyite press alibis Iraq's execution of 21 Iraqi Communists. Left: Spartacists denounce Healyite support to Arab despots, May 1979.

includes a significant Kurdish population—the Soviet Union. A conference held in Moscow last July to discuss the question of Soviet Kurds became a point of attraction bringing together Kurds internationally. In 1923, the young Soviet state created an Autonomous Republic of Kurdistan, roughly situated between Armenia and Azerbaijan—the so-called "Red Kurdistan"—which constituted "a beacon to the entire Kurdish people" (Gerard Chaliand [ed.], *People Without a Country* [1980]).

The Bolsheviks were able to cut across national divisions by offering full democratic rights to all nationalities. Lenin insisted that the USSR must be a genuinely free union of peoples. In order to accommodate the myriad peoples at different levels of national consolidation, a variety of soviet republics were established, including Union Republics for fully formed nations, Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republics for nationalities, as well as Autonomous Oblasts and Nationality Okrugs for various tribes. In areas of heavy interpenetration of peoples, such as the Caucasus, this produced a complicated checkerboard of autonomous regions while setting an internationalist framework for intercourse among the peoples.

It was precisely over the national question in the Caucasus that the first decisive political fight against the developing Stalinist bureaucracy was waged by Lenin. When Stalin attempted to force the Georgian, Azerbaijani and Armenian republics into a Transcaucasian federation, Lenin broke with him in late 1922. Lenin proposed to Trotsky a bloc against Stalin's chauvinist policies on the national question, and called in his suppressed "Testament" for the removal of Stalin from his post as general secretary. Stalinist rule would become synonymous with Great Russian chauvinism, national oppression and forcible population transfers. In 1929 the Stalinist bureaucracy put an end to the autonomous republic of "Red Kurdistan," and in the '30s many Kurds were deported from the Caucasus to Central Asia. Today this area has become the scene of communalist bloodletting as Gorbachev's policies of economic decentralization have intensified national rivalries.

The second time a Kurdish republic was established was under the military exigencies of World War II, when the occupation of northern Iran by the Soviet army led to the establishment in late 1945 of autonomous republics in Iranian Azerbaijan and in Kurdistan (the so-called Mahabad Republic). In the latter Kurdish was established as the official language of government and schools, and Kurdish periodicals appeared for the first time (including a newspaper for women). Led by a notable from the town of Mahabad, Qazi Muhammad, and supported by certain tribal leaders in the surrounding countryside (as well as the exiled Barzani clan from neighboring Iraqi Kurdistan), the short-lived republic made no real attempts in the direction of land reform. Yet it served as a rallying point for Kurdish exiles from Turkey, Iraq and Syria who came to Mahabad, seeing it as the core of the Kurdish liberation struggle throughout the Near East.

Yet unlike East Europe, where under the pressure of imperialism's Cold War Stalin was forced to carry out a bureaucratic overturn of capitalism, the Red Army withdrew from Iran in early 1946. The Kremlin hoped thereby to obtain oil and gas concessions from the shah, and also feared that a social revolution in Iranian Azerbaijan would raise the question of unity with Soviet Azerbaijan, opening the Pandora's box of demands for genuine self-determination within the USSR. As a result of Soviet withdrawal, the republics in Azerbaijan and Kurdistan collapsed, sacrificed on the altar of Stalin's vain search for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism.

The failure to achieve an autonomous homeland for the Kurds has left a splintered movement of innumerable Kurdish nationalist groups from the many Kurdistan Democratic parties—the KDP of Iran, which was launched several months before the founding of the Mahabad Republic; the KDP (Iraq), which was founded by Barzani as he fled Mahabad; the pro-government Iraqi KDP, founded in the '70s in the shadow of the ruling Ba'ath party; the KDP of Turkey, which was founded by Barzani supporters in Turkey—to a myriad of other more left-wing formations. Divided as they are, Kurdish nationalists still tend to look with favor upon the Soviet Union.

The Spartacist tendency, now the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), has energetically upheld the right of the Kurdish nation to self-determination. Several years ago, a representative of our tendency had the opportunity to address a conference of Kurdish militants held in central Europe. Our message of solidarity (*WV* No. 362, 14 September 1984) called "For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!":

> "Comrades, it was the great historic example of the Russian Revolution which dramatically confirmed that in the epoch of imperialism's decline, democratic rights and principles can be fully realised only by the revolutionary proletariat in power.... That the Kurdish proletariat exists primarily in the diaspora naturally and inevitably complicates your political tasks, but it is a problem that has been faced before. Indeed it was the resolute struggle of the Bolshevik Party for the right of self-determination for even the most underdeveloped of the oppressed nationalities in the tsar's prison house of nations which facilitated the conquest of power by the proletariat in Russia."

We support the establishment of a Kurdish state, yet as the solution to Kurdish oppression means defeating four reactionary bourgeois regimes, it can scarcely be conceived independently of the struggle for socialist revolution throughout the region. The Kurdish masses must look to an alliance with the Arab, Persian and Turkish proletariat. Saddam Hussein and all the reactionary rulers of the Near East must be brought down by the working people and oppressed who have suffered under their heel. This requires the construction of working-class parties fighting for a socialist federation of the Near East.■

Ligue Trotskyste de France demonstrates in October against imperialist invasion of Persian Gulf. Sign (right) reads, "For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!"

U.S. Empire...

(continued from page 1)

off with some heavy U.S. air strikes on Iraqi forces (without risking heavy U.S. casualties). And Washington would have an excuse to keep a large "peacekeeping" force permanently stationed in the region, one of its goals from the outset. Nobody can claim this is beneath the scruples of the White House. But Bush seems to have upped the ante to such a level that he is committed to driving out Hussein's forces with a large-scale ground attack. This could be bloody indeed for the U.S.

The Iraqi information minister noted that despite U.S. air superiority, "we know a conflict like this will be settled on the ground":

> "We are the defenders. In military terms, an invader needs a three-to-one advantage. We have over a million men in arms. I don't think the entire U.S. army is that big. And here we accept sacrifice. Do you know that during the war with Iran we lost 53,000 men just to regain one small city.... Fifty-three thousand men is what you lost during the entire Vietnam War. Do you think Mr. Bush can afford to lose 53,000 men to defend some hole in the Saudi desert?"

With their battle-hardened million-man army, some pretty sophisticated Western weapons systems (bought from France or seized from Kuwait) plus the superior MIG-29 fighters, as well as tank traps filled with drums of napalm and, of course, their chemical weapons, Iraq's rulers are set to make a ground assault as costly as they can for the imperialist invaders.

The Pentagon knows all this and so every month they keep saying they need a few more weeks, a lot more tanks, more planes, more ships, more everything. So when Lt. Gen. Calvin A.H. Waller, the deputy U.S. commander in the Gulf, said that U.S. forces wouldn't be combat ready on January 15, the brickbats started flying. Even the staid *New York Times* (27 December 1990) started talking about "McClellanism," referring to Civil War general George B. McClellan, whose penchant for delay so frustrated Lincoln that he finally fired him and installed Grant. Ironically, if it were up to the Vietnam-shell-shocked Pentagon there might not be a war, but thanks to a spineless Congress it's all been left to the warmonger in the Oval Office.

As the *Los Angeles Times* (28 December 1990) reports, the word from "senior government officials" is that Bush has decided to "move quickly to launch a massive military attack" soon after the January 15 deadline. Having assembled the largest armada since World War II (with *six* aircraft carrier battle groups) and a troop buildup that was not reached until halfway through that imperialist war, the Americans can "prevail" militarily. The Pentagon wants to try out all of their high-tech weapons, from cruise missiles and the M1 tank to "stealth" fighters, and even if most of them miss their targets (as in Panama), with such a concentration of firepower they will eventually hit something. The Iraqis have no sources of resupply, so it's only a matter of time until they run out of tanks.

But the U.S. doesn't have unlimited time—they have to get it over with in a hurry if they want to keep their international "coalition" from breaking up, and to avoid serious turmoil at home, where opinion polls continue to show a majority opposed to military action in the Gulf. Above all, the big question will be: What has Washington won if it "wins" on the battlefield? In addition to the prospect of a bloody slog on to Baghdad, unless they get rid of Hussein (the way Reagan tried to assassinate Qaddafi with the air strike against Libya), they will have succeeded in rousing tens of millions throughout the Arab world against the imperialist crusaders who will coldbloodedly slaughter hundreds of thousands of men, women and children, after first trying to starve them out. The fury could lead to the toppling of the narrowly based pro-Western regimes which have acted as front men for Bush, including in such key states as Egypt.

Kerbs/D.T. Feanny/SABA

Collapse of Freedom National Bank in Harlem (left) hit ghetto hard. S&L crisis, bank failures, real estate collapse: U.S. capitalism in big trouble.

From the outset, the Spartacist League/U.S. and the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) have sharply opposed the U.S.-led invasion of the Persian Gulf. Between the bloody Iraqi strongman and the autocratic ruling family of Kuwait per se, the world working class has no side. We take the side of the Arab masses, calling to bring down the sheiks, the colonels, the Zionist butchers—for workers revolution throughout the Near East! While various liberals and reformists have lined up behind Bush's "United Nations" cover, supporting the UN "sanctions" which are an embargo, an act of war enforced by the U.S.-NATO fleet, we proclaimed "Break the Blockade of Iraq!" While Bush attempts to assert U.S. global hegemony at gunpoint, this time with the treacherous complicity and support of the sellout Kremlin bureaucracy, the Spartacists call to "Defend Iraq! Defeat U.S. Imperialism!"

Frans-Laurent Masereel

In 20th century, control of oil is casus *belli*. Antiwar poster from World War I, "For Oil," by Belgian artist Frans-Laurent Masereel.

War-Depression

So now war is coming to the Near East, one of the few wars whose approximate starting date is known by all parties beforehand. Despite Bush's feeble talk of opposition to aggression (what about bloody U.S. aggression against Panama, Grenada, Libya, Nicaragua...?) and cynical references to the two-bit tyrant Saddam Hussein as another "Hitler," the American invasion is a crass grab for control of a resource which has been at the center of imperialist aggrandizement—oil. The immediate U.S. target is Iraq, but ultimately its aim is to bring its economically more dynamic imperialist arch-rivals Germany and Japan to heel. (No wonder that those two "allies" have hung back from sending any troops to the "international" coalition force in Saudi Arabia, and have dropped only a few pfennigs and yen into the American tin cup.) In fact, with his rhetoric of a U.S.-dominated "New World Order" and his string of ultimatums, it is war criminal Bush who is acting as a Hitler.

Dispatching "rapid deployment" forces to Saudi Arabia last summer even as Secretary of State Baker was squeezing the requisite "request" from King Fahd, the American president claimed U.S. troops were being sent in to defend "our way of life." Around the world, the Hollywood pitchman Reagan managed to sell the "American way of life" to the gullible as the road to instant prosperity. But after the Marines landed in Panama a year ago, installing a puppet president sworn in on a U.S. air base, instead of the $1 billion in aid promised by Bush only a pittance has arrived and thousands are still homeless, living in sweltering hangars. And when U.S.-backed Solidarność took office in Poland in 1989, instead of being showered with dollars, the Polish population was subjected to brutal capitalist austerity that has meant unemployment and hunger.

For while the Reaganite music of unbridled capitalism was at the top of the charts, the American empire was economically and socially rotting from within. The rich have gotten much richer while the poor became poorer, median real wages have fallen from $8.52 in 1973 to $7.46 today, and now even combined family incomes are below the '73 level, while an estimated three million homeless are on the streets and there were over twelve million unemployed last Christmas. And the economy has been brought to the brink of disaster. From being the world's leading creditor, the U.S. during the Reagan years became the world's largest debtor nation. A colossal $14 trillion in foreign and domestic debt (private, corporate and government) threatens to turn the long-awaited recession (now well under way) into a deep depression as bankruptcies feed upon each other.

The potential economic collapse is the result not only of a decaying productive plant, due to long-term lack of investment by capitalists seeking to maximize profits by moving production to low-wage countries and various forms of speculation, but also of direct government policy. The "leveraged" buyouts and takeovers, financed by looting the corporations being seized (through high-yield "junk bonds"), was facilitated by the deregulation of savings and loan institutions. As the entire S&L industry collapses under the weight of bad debts, and as the collapse of property values spreads from the Northeast and Texas to the rest of the country, now insurance companies and banks are in danger, with *almost all* of the *leading* banks skating on the edge of bankruptcy. And as *Time* magazine (15 October 1990) commented:

> "The problem is that the U.S. Government stands behind these institutions like a pillar of Jell-O, since it is already committed to an S&L bailout that could cost $1 trillion and owes a national debt of $3 trillion. If more bailouts are needed, the U.S. would have to borrow so much money from the credit markets that interest rates would be pushed upward in the midst of a recession, which would make conditions even worse."

Moreover, unlike the aftermath of the "Black Monday" October 1987 stock market crash, when infusions of Japanese yen shored up a tottering Wall Street, today Tokyo can't bail out the debt-addicted U.S. As a result of a stock market crash at home, in which the Nikkei index has fallen by close to 50 percent in the last year, wiping out more than $3 trillion in paper value, Japan is cutting back on foreign investment. While Japanese investors bought $26 billion in U.S. bonds in 1989, they unloaded $9 billion in the first half of 1990. Germany, meanwhile, is facing a trillion-mark bill for the cost of annexing East Germany. Since Chancellor Kohl, like Bush, has resisted raising taxes, Bonn has borrowed instead, sending interest rates up and pulling D-marks back from New York to Frankfurt.

With two stock market crashes in three years, and now the entire financial system in jeopardy, American capitalism is in deep trouble. And as it became evident

that the Reaganite Roaring '80s were not about to be followed by the Golden '90s, that recession/depression could no longer be held off, it certainly was convenient to the White House if the scapegoat for the economic crisis could be personified by Saddam Hussein rather than Neil Bush. The Gulf war is also convenient to the "military-industrial complex," which was facing big cutbacks and is now getting new orders. But this time around, with the U.S. budget deficit already soaring before the Persian Gulf invasion, war could really sink American capitalism instead of saving it.

Decline of the U.S. Empire

So today history repeats itself, with variations. The U.S. is no longer undisputed master of the capitalist world, and in fact its vanquished World War II enemies have now emerged with more modern and productive economic engines. Rivalries are already breaking out, such as at the trade talks in Brussels, which collapsed at the beginning of December. The U.S.' big advantage is that it still retains a war machine built in the Cold War and aimed at the Soviet Union. Now that the latter appears to be disintegrating, Bush has decided to seize the window of imperialist opportunity: before its war machine collapses on the empty shell of the American economy, he will hurl it into the Near East, seize the world's oil, and blackmail his would-be creditor-masters back into submission by threatening to turn off the spigot.

The evidence of U.S. imperialist decline is so widespread it has become the subject of heated controversy among

Nash/AP

Coffins start coming home: one of 21 U.S. seamen killed in ferry accident off Israeli coast.

bourgeois scholars, triggered by Paul Kennedy's 1987 book, *The Rise and Fall of the Great Powers*. Kennedy's suggestion that the evident decay has all the earmarks of classical imperial decline à la "Spain around 1600 or the British Empire around 1900" ignited a hue and cry from the bought-and-paid-for intelligentsia trying to deny reality. As he wrote, the U.S.:

> "is the inheritor of a vast array of strategical commitments which had been made decades earlier, when the nation's political, economic, and military capacity to influence world affairs seemed so much more assured. In consequence, the United States now runs the risk, so familiar to historians of the rise and fall of previous Great Powers, of what might roughly be called 'imperial overstretch'; that is to say, decision-makers in Washington must face the awkward and enduring fact that the sum total of the United States' global interests and obligations is nowadays far larger than the country's power to defend them all simultaneously."

And while he is no Marxist, Kennedy felt compelled to quote Engels—"nothing is more dependent on economic conditions than precisely the army and the navy"—a fact which does not augur well for America's future imperial adventures.

In an interview with the German news magazine *Der Spiegel* (3 September 1990), Kennedy drew a historical parallel to the Gulf war:

> "America is in danger of suffering a national blindness which has previously afflicted many great powers, when they sent their armed forces halfway around the globe.
>
> "Great Britain was capable of a similar display of power in 1899-1900, when it got involved in its bitter conflict with South Africa's Boers, 10,000 kilometers from home. London mobilized more than 300,000 soldiers from all parts of the world. The Royal Navy ruled the waves, no other power was capable of such an effort. That seemed to give the lie to the pessimists of the late Victorian era: England was, so it seemed, still Number One in the world."

Yet even though Britain "won" the battles, the Boer War exposed the advanced corrosion of the decaying Empire, which had been living a parasitic existence off the spoils of colonial plunder: "...the declining competitiveness of industry, the falling investments and growing trade deficit. And yet it was these weaknesses, not defeats on the battlefield, which later led to the collapse of its power." It might also be noted that in launching its attack on the Boers, "perfidious Albion" proclaimed aims of exalted moral purpose. That they could thereby grab the fabulously wealthy gold mines in the Transvaal, and that the British Army could try out its new Maxim machine gun, was just, well, "convenient." Sound familiar?

Today, Germany and Japan are feeling their increased imperialist muscle. Despite Bush/Baker's attempts to strong-arm them into paying for the military buildup in the Gulf, neither has come up with more than a measly billion dollars or so. Both governments, however, have shown great interest in eliminating the "peace" provisions of their U.S.-imposed constitutions which prohibit foreign military interventions. (In Japan this has run up against widespread pacifist sentiment in the population.) When the U.S. demanded that Tokyo cough up more, the Japanese parliament instead shaved its war ("self-defense") budget.

In Europe, Kohl's Fourth Reich, having swallowed up the former DDR (East German) deformed workers state into an imperialist Greater Germany, is no longer the "economic giant and political pygmy" that Social Democratic former chancellor Helmut Schmidt called it, but the proverbial 800-pound gorilla which can sit anywhere it wants. Following the collapse of Hitler's Reich in 1945, novelist Thomas Mann called for "a European Germany, not a German Europe." What we now have is indeed a German-dominated Europe, in which the Yugoslav, Danish, Austrian and Benelux currencies are formally tied to the D-mark, which is also the common currency for trade with East Europe, and Bonn has the final say in the Common Market.

For example, angered over British opposition to German reunification, epitomized by the "Ridley affair" in which one of Margaret Thatcher's cabinet ministers likened Kohl to Hitler, the new German Europe engineered the downfall of the Iron Lady. It is also noteworthy that the Persian Gulf crisis is the first international crisis since World War II where money didn't flee to the U.S. dollar. Instead the German mark and Japanese yen have become the currencies of refuge. Significantly, the Belgian,

WV Photo

Decay of American capitalism: Remnants of U.S. Steel plant in Cleveland.

British, Danish, Dutch, French, Italian and Spanish ships in the Gulf are under the command of the "West European Union," an obscure committee in London which doesn't even have secure phone lines to the Continent but was resuscitated in order that European forces *not* be placed under American (NATO) control.

In the 1970s, Jimmy Carter and various of his cohorts pushed the theme of "Trilateralism," in which the future would be dominated by cooperation of the three power centers of Japan, West Europe and the United States. The current power configuration is indeed triangular, but it is hardly marked by all-sided cooperation. Rather, the world is being redivided into a Pacific area dominated by the Japanese yen, a Europe dominated by the deutschmark, and the Western hemisphere controlled by the U.S. dollar. Hence Bush's push to expand the U.S.-Canada free trade agreement to include Mexico, and then the rest of Latin America. But simultaneously Washington wants to teach its obstreperous imperialist allies that this is now a "one superpower world."

Oil and Empire

Washington wants to gain total control of Persian Gulf oil in order to once again be able to squeeze its Japanese and German rivals and be master of the capitalist world again. And in the imperialist world there is only one way to do this—war. As Joseph Nye, author of *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (1990), a latter-day invocation of Manifest Destiny, recently put it, "the gulf will be a defining point," as it will decide whether the U.S. can still "lead" (read dominate).

In the 20th century, oil is what fuels an empire—tanks cannot move without it, not to mention planes and industry. This is even more true today now that armies have been completely mechanized: the Nazi army which invaded Russia in 1941 was still dependent on 650,000 horses, more than the number of motorized vehicles at its disposal, but it was the Panzer (tank) corps which made the difference, and they consumed vast quantities of fuel.

Hitler said he wanted *Lebensraum* when he invaded the Soviet Union in June 1941, but more to the point, he was desperate to get Russian oil for his tanks. According to the postwar interrogation of German foreign ministry official Hans Kolhe, who spied for the U.S. during the war, "The German need to obtain Soviet oil was deemed the primary reason for the attack.... Since the Soviet deliveries were insufficient to satisfy German demands for bringing the war [in the west] to a conclusion, the only recourse appeared to be the seizure and exploitation by the Germans of oil resources in the Soviet Union" (see Robert Goralski and Russell Freeburg, *Oil & War How the Deadly Struggle for Fuel in WWII Meant Victory or Defeat* [1987]).

Japan's Rising Sun empire was even more desperate for oil since it had to import it all—in 1937, for instance, Japan got 80 percent of its oil from California. So Japan sent its army and navy into Southeast Asia in June 1941 to grab the oil. U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt said that he had held off from cutting oil exports to Japan because "if we cut the oil off, they probably would have gone down to the Dutch East Indies a year ago, and you would have had war." (A year earlier, the U.S. had embargoed scrap iron exports to Japan.) With the Japanese invasion of Indochina, FDR imposed a freeze on Japanese assets in the U.S., which led to a de facto embargo on oil exports to Japan.

The Japanese war machine would now have to deplete its oil stocks and would eventually grind to a halt. Japanese foreign minister Toyoda explained in a secret message to his ambassadors to Germany and the U.S. that "the Japanese Empire, to save its very life must take measures to secure the raw materials of the South Seas." Thus it was widely

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U.S. Empire...

(continued from page 13)

expected in U.S. government circles in 1941 that FDR's embargo would force Japanese imperialism to attack. Historian Herbert Feis wrote in *The Road to Pearl Harbor* (1950), "From now on the oil gauge and the clock stood side by side. Each fall in the level brought the hour of decision closer." Secretary of War Henry L. Stimson wrote in his diary about a meeting with FDR on 25 November 1941, less than two weeks before Pearl Harbor:

> "He brought up the event that we were likely to be attacked perhaps (as soon as) next Monday, for the Japanese are notorious for making an attack without warning, and the question was how we should maneuver them into the position of firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves. It was a difficult proposition."
>
> —William Appleman Williams, ed., *The Shaping of American Diplomacy* (1956)

Whether or not FDR knew Pearl Harbor would be the site of the Japanese attack, it was clear he expected a war with the Japanese triggered by his oil embargo.

Likewise, control over oil supplies was a major issue in the first imperialist world war. The conflict was preceded by a battle over redivision of world oil between the U.S. Rockefellers (Standard Oil), together with the Rothschild-Nobel trust which controlled Russia's Baku oil fields, and the Germans who controlled Romanian fields. At the outbreak of the war the British moved to seize the Persian Gulf oil fields around Basra. Four years later, they moved on Mosul in northern Mesopotamia in order to grab the oil reserves there. Subsequently, the Foreign Office in London drew up the artificial borders between Saudi Arabia, the British-installed monarchy of Iraq and its protectorate of Kuwait in order to secure its domination of the area.

As Lenin noted in his pamphlet *Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism*, written in 1916, "The more capitalism is developed, the more strongly the shortage of raw materials is felt, the more intense the competition and the hunt for sources of raw materials throughout the whole world, the more desperate the struggle for the acquisition of colonies." All the more so today, though the colonies may be disguised as neocolonies and oil sheikdoms.

WV Photo

Spartacist contingent marches in 20 October 1990 demonstration in New York City against U.S. invasion of Persian Gulf.

For Class Struggle Against Imperialist War!

In the whole Gulf crisis, one of the biggest concerns of the White House and the Pentagon has been the "home front." After an initial wave of enthusiasm for Bush's "tough" stance of immediately sending in the 82nd Airborne, it has dawned on the American population that "their" president actually intends to go to war. And they're not crazy about it. One poll after another shows three-fifths to two-thirds of the population against attacking Iraq. The Catholic Pope decried the coming war, and the Protestant National Council of Churches has called for a day of prayer and fasting against the war. But George Bush is operating on the proposition that if you hold state power, it doesn't matter a hell of a lot what the population thinks. Or, as one Hollywood executive remarked, you can fool all of the people, all of the time, "if the budget is big enough and the advertising is right."

Certainly when it comes to the vaunted "democracy" of American capitalism, he has a point. Despite popular opposition to a war, the Persian Gulf was hardly an issue in the November Congressional elections, where the Democrats kept their lips zipped on the big issue. (Two days after the vote, Bush announced the second wave of troop deployments, whose only purpose was an offensive attack on Iraq.) There has been ample discussion of the fact that the U.S. Constitution delegates the power to declare war explicitly and exclusively to Congress, *not* to the executive, which was reaffirmed by the toothless War Powers Act which was supposedly designed to prevent a repeat of the Vietnam War. Yet the spineless Democratic-led Congress refuses to invoke its theoretical powers out of fear of sending the wrong "signal" to Saddam.

The ruling oligarchy of American capitalism, the Republicrats or what Gore Vidal calls the party of property, would dearly like to overcome popular opposition to another dirty (and losing) imperialist military adventure. No real opposition to the Gulf war will come from the bourgeois politicians: at most they have tactical differences over what they can get away with. But among the working people, the poor and particularly black and Hispanic minorities, who are disproportionately represented among the soldiers (including many women) who will die in Bush's war, the "Vietnam syndrome" is alive and well. Many among the troops have cried out to reporters that "this isn't our war." What's needed is a class-struggle leadership, independent of and fighting against the "bipartisan" parties of U.S. imperialism, to mobilize opposition in the streets, calling for political strikes against the war.

From the Near East to Europe and the United States, the key is to build a revolutionary, internationalist workers party fighting against the imperialist system of war and brutal exploitation. As Lenin wrote on the fourth anniversary of the Russian October Revolution, "the millions who are thinking about the causes of the recent war and of the approaching future war are more and more clearly realising the grim and inexorable truth that it is impossible to escape imperialist war, and imperialist peace...which inevitably engenders imperialist war, that it is impossible to escape that inferno, *except by a Bolshevik struggle and a Bolshevik revolution*." ■

Aptheker...

(continued from page 3)

Aptheker dutifully denounced Rajk's show trial as a "fearful injustice," but only the year before he still "maintained that Laszlo Rajk was an agent of the capitalist countries' secret police services."

Several years later Junius Scales, a former close friend of Aptheker's who had been a longtime CP organizer in the South and a Smith Act frame-up victim, recalled in his autobiography a meeting of CP leaders at the time of the Soviet intervention in Hungary:

> "Foster was holding court, seated at a table, and I heard him say in his hard, arrogant way, something to the effect that the Red Army would soon take care of 'this CIA "revolution".' I burst out, 'those are *working* people the Red Army is shooting down!' Then, more quietly, through clenched teeth, I added, 'If I were in Budapest now, I'd be throwing Molotov cocktails at Soviet tanks!'"
>
> —*Cause at Heart* (1987)

Scales writes of Aptheker's book, "Whatever it was intended for, The Truth About Hungary damaged Herb's credibility with thousands of people who greatly respected him as a pioneer in the field of Negro history. At that time he began to avoid me." So did the CP, which turned its back on Scales in the face of bourgeois persecution. Unfortunately the conclusion Scales drew from the Stalinist betrayal over Hungary was to abandon any concept of communism, as he split out with the rightist Gates faction in the direction of mainstream social democracy.

The Stalinist Art of Lying

With Aptheker as its chief "theoretician" (he headed the American Institute of Marxist Studies), the Communist Party justified any and every betrayal by the Moscow Stalinists while at home pursuing a "popular front" with the Democratic Party. Today that means hailing the mainstream black Democrats like Virginia governor Wilder, who campaigned on support of the racist death penalty. Meanwhile, Gorbachev welcomes the introduction of capitalism in the Soviet Union, and Aptheker's job is to put a good face on it.

Having denounced the pro-socialist Hungarian workers as counterrevolutionary 30 years ago, today Aptheker hails "new forms of economic ownership...not excluding individual ownership where helpful." Having then painted a proletarian political revolution as an imperialist plot to take over East Europe, today he applauds Gorbachev's "peace initiatives" handing East Europe to the imperialists on a silver platter. Aptheker cheers that the "peace forces are near full victory," only months before the war forces started piling hundreds of thousands of American troops into Saudi Arabia, with the treacherous support and complicity of Moscow. And the CPUSA openly calls for imperialist war measures in the form of United Nations "sanctions" against Iraq.

Going out of his way to prove that "Communism" is just as red-white-and-blue as any Reaganite yahoo, Aptheker snivels:

> "My commitment to radicalism and my desire for a Socialist United States did not depend upon the Bolshevik revolution of 1917.... My fundamental responsibility arises out of my citizenship and I do not feel called upon in any way to offer any apologies for the endeavors that have been my life since the mid-1930's. When this country engaged in a just war, I eagerly and earnestly supported it, largely by putting my energies into servicing 155mm howitzers for over four years."

Let's just set the record straight: first of all, the last *just* war fought by the U.S. bourgeoisie was the Civil War that smashed the Southern slavocracy and their black chattel slave system.

In World War II, it was the Red Army which waged a progressive war to defend the Soviet Union against Nazi Germany, while the United States fought to extend the American empire into Asia and Europe. On the part of the U.S. and the other imperialist powers World War II was no "just war" but an interimperialist conflict which left tens of millions dead. And the CP acted like the worst social-chauvinists whom Lenin had denounced in World War I. They enforced Roosevelt's no-strike orders and sabotaged struggles for black rights at home while hailing the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, even purging CP membership lists of their Japanese American comrades as they were led off to concentration camps on the West Coast.

While the Stalinists backed U.S. imperialism to the hilt in World War II, the Trotskyists fought to defend the Soviet Union, a bureaucratically degenerated workers state, and to promote the class struggle at home. They volunteered for hazardous duty on the Murmansk run, denounced Washington's refusal to admit Jewish refugees and defended Japanese Americans. Indeed, the first Smith Act victims, to the hurrahs of the Stalinists, were 18 Trotskyist leaders imprisoned for denouncing imperialist war and refusing to accept the bourgeoisie's *diktat* of "civil peace." More recently, as the Stalinists acquiesced to the tide of counterrevolution in East Europe, we Trotskyists were unique in fighting to mobilize opposition to capitalist reunification in Germany.

Aptheker once wrote that "controlling the past is of great consequence in determining the present and shaping the future; hence, hitherto exploitative ruling classes have gone to great pains to control that past" (*The Unfolding Drama: Studies in U.S. History*). That applies even more to the Stalinist bureaucracy which, precisely because it is not a new social class but a brittle caste resting atop proletarian property forms, requires for its rule an edifice of lies and police-state terror. And for this they need cynical practitioners of the Stalinist school of falsification like Herbert Aptheker, a quintessential exponent of what James P. Cannon described as the Stalinist "art of lying":

> "The Stalinists have discovered that the human brain is a delicately sensitive organ, easily affected for good or ill, depending on what hits it first and hardest, and susceptible to befuddlement as well as to enlightenment. The brain may be knocked into malfunctioning by blows of a club; and virtually the same effect can sometimes be achieved by the steady bombardment of propaganda disguised as instruction or indoctrination. The Stalinists know this and work at it."
>
> —*Notebook of an Agitator* (1958)

Or as Shane Mage wrote of Aptheker over three decades ago: "he is still a Stalinist. The same mirror which showed him a counter-revolution in Hungary once showed him and many others the 'truth' of the Moscow Trials, the 'genius' of Stalin, the 'fascism' of Tito, the 'guilt' of Rajk...." And now Aptheker has discovered the "renewal of Marxism" through capitalist restoration. ■

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Haiti...

(continued from page 16)

"Tit Eglise" (little church). As he traveled around Haiti and visited the U.S. in November, tens of thousands came out to cheer the radical priest. "Operasyon Lavalas" was supported by a coalition of more than 20 groups, including much of the left. *Haïti Progrès* published glowing campaign reports and a full-page "Homage to Titid," complete with a religious-like portrait radiating a halo of light, which began: "We salute you, comrade of the highest summits of the beautiful human adventure...." Yet far from being the "people's candidacy" touted by the left, "Lavalas" was from the start supported and financed by leading bourgeois figures. Throughout his campaign Aristide reassured the bourgeoisie that he did not intend to direct a revolution. He declared:

> "We give guarantees to the bourgeoisie.... We tell them: We are with you. You have nothing to fear."
> —*Haïti Progrès*,
> 28 November 1990

Despite the talk of "revolution" the Aristide candidacy has from the start been tied hand and foot to the bourgeoisie. The National Front for Change and Democracy (FNCD) which presented Aristide's candidacy is an alliance of various "leftist" groups with members of Haiti's bourgeois elite, dominated by Antoine Izméry. The latter, who served as treasurer for the Aristide campaign, is a "super-rich importer" whose family financed the campaign to the tune of almost $200,000 (*Economist*, 22 December 1990). According to *Libération* (19 December 1990) Izméry was instrumental in "conceiving, creating, and launching the Aristide candidacy." The Paris daily notes that "it is said that he is 'a repented smuggler' and that his democratic conversion dates from the day that the internal revenue service began to look into his income."

In his first address as president-elect, Aristide sought to reassure "you who have money" that "my dream is to protect your interests." He said of the mood of the demonstrators in the capital, "'Crush and break': no. *Déchouquage* [rooting out]: not yet." The reason, said Aristide, was that the people feel "we have put in a government, we will surely obtain justice." Yet this illusion will be rapidly dissipated. Aristide's campaign pledge of justice for the victims of the dreaded Tontons Macoutes (the Duvalierist terror squads) intersected an explosive rage on the part of the Haitian people for vengeance against their torturers. However, in this deeply polarized and hideously oppressed land, complicity in unspeakable crimes is pervasive at all levels of the ruling elite—and particularly within the officer corps.

In his post-election message, Aristide declared, "Peasants, workers, unemployed, your hour of deliverance has rung out." He called on the poor to organize "vigilance brigades" in an "avalanche of organizations" throughout Haiti. Yet at the same time, he scandalously addressed the Macoute terrorists as "our brothers" who he "loves," and called on them to "change" and "the army and police will help you." The army and police will indeed help these pathological killers, but not to change. While Aristide treacherously holds out a hand to these assassins, revolutionaries must translate the cry of the Haitian masses for justice into action with a call for *people's tribunals to root out the Tontons Macoutes!*

As Aristide prepares to take office on February 7, the U.S. has declared its willingness to work with him and has held out the prospect of economic aid—as long as he plays by the rules. U.S. officials who met with him found Aristide ready to "moderate much of his leftist platform" (*New York Times*, 20 December 1990). However, despite Aristide's assurances to the bourgeoisie, his room for "reform" of Haitian society is perilously narrow. Aristide will either play the role of groveling instrument of the Haitian bourgeoisie and the U.S. imperialist overlords or he will be swept away in a reactionary crackdown aimed at decisively disciplining the pitilessly oppressed population.

Haitian Army a Mortal Threat

That the elections took place at all is certainly the work of Washington, which has been trying to clean up its image in Latin America by installing elected regimes as better able to carry out the brutal austerity programs dictated by the IMF bankers' cartel. U.S. imperialism wants to defuse the explosive tensions which have been building since a mass upsurge brought down the Duvalier regime four years ago and raised hopes among the Haitian people for an improvement in their hellish existence. The last time elections were scheduled in November 1987 they were drowned in blood, as right-wing thugs backed by the military gunned down dozens of people waiting to cast their ballots. When a popular upsurge brought down the military regime of Prosper Avril last March, the U.S. embassy brokered the formation of a "caretaker" government to prepare elections.

Yet while Washington claims there is a "new breed" of officers committed to "democracy," the complicity of military officers with the Macoutes is pervasive. As the Council of State met last June to prepare the elections, a death squad in uniform calmly walked in and gunned down a member of the government and a union leader. As the election proceeded, Duvalierist strongmen re-emerged from the shadows. The sinister Roger Lafontant, former head of the Tontons Macoutes, flamboyantly returned from exile and was greeted at the airport by a delegation of military officers. Despite a warrant for his arrest Lafontant announced his candidacy (subsequently annulled on a technicality) and began appearing with a military escort. He flatly declared: "We will not permit [Aristide] to be president."

While centering his campaign on the Macoutes, Aristide steered away from the question of the Haitian army. The myth which Aristide is helping to propagate of a supposedly "democratic" Haitian army reinforces popular illusions which are deadly dangerous. At one point in the popular celebration of Aristide's electoral victory, hundreds of kneeling people gathered in front of the presidential palace to thank the soldiers gathered there. This did not prevent half a dozen policemen from firing on the festive crowd, killing a pregnant woman.

Dreaded Tontons Macoutes brandish weapons in last days of "Baby Doc" Duvalier regime.

For Permanent Revolution!

For the Haitian masses, who have suffered for decades under the boot of a military installed by the U.S. Marines when they occupied the country in 1915, the election of Aristide seems like a ray of hope. Many would-be leftists support Aristide, asking, what is the alternative? From a nationalist perspective, the possibility of workers revolution would appear faint in Haiti, long the most destitute country in the Western Hemisphere. The tiny proletariat is largely confined to small manufacturing and several state-owned industries such as electrical power. This underscores that the class struggle in Haiti cannot be limited to its national confines, but must be conceived as a battle in a social revolution which must embrace the entire Caribbean and ultimately the imperialist heartland of the United States.

Haitian workers in the diaspora, in the working class of several Caribbean countries and concentrated in North American cities from Montreal to Miami, can be a vital bridge in this international class struggle. The Dominican Republic, where Haitian slave-labor *braceros* are vital to the sugar industry, has been shaken by three general strikes since last summer protesting austerity and calling for the resignation of perennial rightist president Balaguer. In New York City there was a virtual general strike of Haitian workers last April when over 70,000 Haitian American workers demonstrated against a racist ban on Haitians donating blood as possible "AIDS carriers." It is the role of a revolutionary party to broaden such struggles and link up with the rest of the working class, particularly black American workers who often express a particular concern for the fate of their Haitian class brothers.

The Haitian working masses must be won to the internationalist perspective of Trotskyism, which fights for permanent revolution, raising on its banner demands such as land to the tiller and a constituent assembly—democratic tasks which, however, are impossible to achieve without a workers revolution that would sweep away the murderous army and break the yoke of Yankee imperialism. The workers in power, led by a Bolshevik party, would have to undertake socialist measures requiring international support simply in order to survive. Haitian workers elsewhere in the Caribbean and North America can provide a bridge to internatinnal class struggle. To clean out the corruption and systematic terror, to eliminate the desperate poverty, the only road for the Haitian masses is to uproot capitalism. ■

New York...

(continued from page 16)

Times once a week!

In opposition to the policy of Hall & Co., TWU workers are working to clean the *News* out of the system. At Coney Island shops, 200 workers on their coffee break ran off a *Daily News* truck. A member of the CFTWU told *WV* that motormen, car cleaners and maintainers at the 240th Street shop cleaned out some hawkers—and the cops were there in a flash. One black woman cleaner bitterly remarked that "you know if they shot someone in my neighborhood those suckers would never show up, but they're here in two minutes to defend that scab paper."

The *News* strike is a watershed battle for NYC labor—and it is in danger, as the Central Labor Council tops have allowed the Tribune Company to continue publishing. The strike is being derailed with a useless consumer boycott and reliance on Democratic Party politicians like Mayor David Dinkins, even as the NYPD guards the Brooklyn printing plant, arrests strikers and clears the streets for the scab trucks.

The determined pressmen and drivers who have been keeping the scab papers out of the newsstands are bearing the brunt of scab assaults and arrests. On December 27, scabs on a *Daily News* truck in the Bronx framed up two strikers—and got a $1,000 "award" from the *News*. Two New Jersey towns have dropped any pretense of "neutrality" and are being paid directly by the *News* for their police departments' strikebreaking duties. Meanwhile, the CLC traitors are allowing the best militants to be picked off, as over 100 strikers are facing charges ranging from assault to arson. All NYC labor must demand all charges be dropped against the *News* strikers!

The *Daily News* declared war on the Allied Printing Trades Unions. But the Allied misleaders are crippling the strike—they didn't want it, they didn't prepare for it and they can't win it. Strike militants must take direction out of the hands of the pro-capitalist union tops with an elected strike committee with the authority to appeal to the rest of NYC labor for solidarity in action—mass pickets outside the printing plants and hot-cargoing the ink and newsprint! Victory to the *Daily News* strike! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

U.S., Bankers Hold Army in Reserve

Haiti: Election Avalanche for Radical Priest

Long before the official announcement of the results of the December 16 Haitian elections, the desperately poor masses understood that their favored candidate, the Catholic priest Jean Bertrand Aristide, had been elected president by a landslide. Over 300,000 poured into the streets of the capital, Port-au-Prince, shouting joyously "Aristid prezidan!" and crowing like cocks, the symbol of Aristide's campaign. One reveler declared, "For us it is like a second independence." After a ham-handed attempt by globe-trotting election "observer" Jimmy Carter to get Aristide to calm the crowds in case he was declared the loser—i.e., *to go along with a rigged vote*—that night the U.S. officially greeted his victory. The Haitian president-elect thanked Washington for its support of the electoral process, praised the army and welcomed foreign investors.

UPI

Gentile/Newsweek

Haitian masses take to streets in celebration of election victory by Aristide (above).

Aristide's electoral campaign, dubbed "Operasyon Lavalas" (avalanche), galvanized Haiti's poor and saved the discredited elections. The immensely popular priest became a prominent dissident under the dictatorship of François "Baby Doc" Duvalier and survived several assassination attempts as he organized slum dwellers against the subsequent military regimes. Aristide initially called for a boycott of the elections, as did much of the Haitian left. When he declared his candidacy less than two months before the vote, voter registration stations were suddenly swamped with over two million applications as a record 85 percent of the potential electorate registered to vote. Initial returns showed Aristide with over 67 percent of the vote, while his nearest rival, former World Bank official Marc Barzin, received only 15 percent; Communist Party (PUCH) candidate René Théodore got 2 percent.

Aristide is a proponent of "liberation theology," known in the country as the

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NYC Subway Fire: TA Knew It Was Deathtrap

At the end of the morning rush hour on December 28, the No. 3 train was almost at the Clark Street station deep under Brooklyn, the last stop before it dips under the East River and into Manhattan, when an electrical explosion filled the tunnel with smoke. The 900 passengers on the train became increasingly panicked, as it took the Transit Authority bosses, sitting in their Jay Street offices only blocks away, *36 minutes* to organize backing the train out to the Borough Hall station. Rescue workers were sent blocks away to the wrong station—there was no one to aid the victims when the train finally came out of the tunnel. Over 180 were injured, two fatally, from smoke inhalation.

But they weren't the victims of a "freak accident"—the TA knew that the giant exhaust fans which service the 85-foot-deep Clark Street Tunnel haven't been operable since 1984. They're trying to blame it all on snowfall, but a transit official described this as "a snow job. It is a bald-faced lie" (*Newsday*, 30 December 1990). A track worker told *Workers Vanguard* that there are actually small stalactites dripping salt, destroying the insulation of the cable that shorted. Many transit workers suspect the polyvinyl chloride (PVC) conduit and insulation on cables in the tunnel was responsible for the acrid and deadly smoke.

Daily News Strike Stalls

If the fire had started in the tunnel under the East River the death toll would have been in the hundreds. Two years ago an internal TA report, ordered after the 1987 London subway inferno that killed 31 people, warned the fans "are used primarily to clear smoke from tunnels during a fire. Therefore, it is critical that they be in proper working order" (*Newsday*, 29 December 1990). Transit officials announced, "The biggest priority is the tunnel fans." But nothing was done, as the bridges, subways and other public works that were built in the period of ascendant capitalism are left to rot.

The Brooklyn fire wasn't the first time. In July 1989, 2,600 riders were trapped for hours in 115-degree heat in the subway tunnels beneath Queens, while an exhaust fan only 600 feet away wasn't turned on. Three dozen riders were injured. The day before the Clark Street fire, subway trains over the Manhattan Bridge came within a hair's breadth of derailment, as structural beams were discovered one-half inch from collapse during a safety inspection.

Last month, the TA announced the postponement or cancellation of $500 million in capital projects, including critical track and tunnel work. Hundreds of track and structures workers have been tossed on the street, a hiring freeze was imposed and hundreds of jobs slashed. Instead, the TA budget is spent arresting turnstile jumpers and guarding hawkers of the scab *Daily News*. Now they are arming the transit cops with 9mm pistols loaded with hollow-point bullets.

The Jay Street bosses have announced an "investigation" of the fire by their own Systems Safety Department, the gang which regularly scapegoats transit workers who are maimed and killed because of a TA policy that holds cheap the lives of workers—and subway riders. Transport Workers Union (TWU) members who work the subways haven't forgotten Daniel Walsh, Robert Nicholson, Stewart Melsinker, David Davis, Frank Davila and James Byrne—all killed on the tracks in the last two years.

What happened on December 28 was no "accident." As *Newsday* columnist Jim Dwyer said, "The death was expected and predicted. The reason can be summed up in a word. Fans." We think that the victims of TA policy—both riders and workers—should expose the TA bosses, and demand the real criminals serve some hard time in jail. After Walsh and Nicholson were killed last May, class-struggle militants in the Committee for a Fighting TWU (CFTWU) wrote that the TA bosses "substitute our blood for capital investment needed to repair this dilapidated death trap we work in.... The transit system will never be safe for workers or riders unless workers control safety."

Shut Down the *Daily News*!

The TWU tops have done nothing to protect riders, and less to protect workers, from the effects of the TA's budget-cutting ax. These compliant bureaucrats roll over for the TA at every opportunity. Local 100 president Sonny Hall even handed the strikebreakers at the *Daily News* their only victory in the two-month-long strike when he allowed scab hawkers, many of them homeless blacks and other minorities cynically exploited by the *News*, in the subways (see "NYC Labor Must Shut Down the *Daily News*," WV No. 516, 14 December 1990). Knuckling under to the no-strike Taylor Law and a judge's injunction, the TWU tops' only response has been to compete with the hawkers by passing out free copies of the labor-hating *New York*

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 518 | 18 January 1991

Defeat U.S. Imperialism! Defend Iraq!

Bush Goes for Mass Murder

Bush has his declaration of war from Congress and is about to launch a massive attack on Iraq, beginning with the terror bombing of Baghdad and other population centers. The Pentagon also has on site a huge arsenal of chemical and tactical nuclear weapons. At the same time, the crazed rulers of Zionist Israel will use the war to carry out their "Final Solution," exterminating and driving out the oppressed Palestinians. Hundreds of thousands—perhaps millions—of Arab men, women and children will be slaughtered and maimed by American imperialism and its allies.

Statement of the Spartacist League/U.S. on the Impending War

Democratic Congressman Les Aspin, who is privy to Pentagon war plans, promises a quick victory achieved solely through air power—2,000 sorties a day. But no war has ever been won by air power. The U.S. military dropped more bomb tonnage on Vietnam than the combined total of all the combatants in Europe in World War II! Yet American imperialism was defeated on the ground by the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants fighting for social revolution.

In Vietnam, U.S. forces faced light

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McDonnell Douglas Corp

Preparing for takeoff from aircraft carrier *USS Constellation*.

After Lithuania Crackdown

Imperialists Demand the Baltics

Every day we read about atrocities and massacres taking place around the world. Probably the Kurdish people in several countries suffer 20 fatalities a day. Of particular significance currently is the Turkish desire to seize the Kirkuk oil fields in the northern Kurdish areas of Iraq. In this they are apparently backed by the leadership of the new German Reich, provided that American force of arms prevails in the Persian Gulf.

Meanwhile the U.S. recently hailed its "liberation" of Panama in which a thousand or more people were killed in order to get General Noriega. This is called "Operation Just Cause." And now we are on the eve of a new major war, in which half a million American troops along with several hundred thousand soldiers from Washington's client states are poised to fall upon Iraq and slaughter its people. This, of course, is called justice. But when the Soviet Union thrashes about attempting to preserve their union of nationalities, this is called criminal.

It is in this context that we view Mikhail Gorbachev's actions in Lithuania against the right-wing secessionist government of Vyautas Landsbergis. On January 13, Soviet armed forces, using tanks, took over radio and television stations in the capital of Vilnius. Reportedly, 14 people, including one Soviet soldier, were killed. It has been announced that a National Salvation Committee, loyal to the central Soviet government, has taken power in the Baltic republic.

The crackdown in Lithuania made front-page headlines worldwide and has been blown up by the Western media into a new Soviet atrocity story. George Bush lectures Gorbachev that there was "no justification for the use of force" against "the legitimate governments of the Baltic states." The West European Common Market is threatening to suspend its $1 billion in aid to the USSR. And erstwhile West European Stalinist parties, such as the French Communists and the German Party of Democratic Socialism, have joined the new anti-Soviet campaign over "poor, little" Lithuania.

"The West's Gorbachev honeymoon ends," proclaims the London *Guardian*. Western ruling circles have hoped and expected that the Gorbachev regime would bring about the restoration of capitalism and dismemberment of the Soviet Union. He willfully abandoned East Europe to NATO and the Common Market. He agreed to the annexation of East Germany by the Frankfurt bankers at a time when there was still mass opposition to capitalist reunification among workers and intellectuals in the German Democratic Republic. Western, especially German, imperialism has been looking toward the breakup of the USSR, transforming the remnants into spheres of colonialist exploitation.

Since its declaration of independence last March, the Sajudis nationalist regime in Lithuania has been in the forefront of the drive to dismember the Soviet Union.

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Down with Capitalist-Imperialist Dismembering of USSR!
For a Socialist Soviet Federation–Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Fight the Anti-Arab Witchhunt!

If civil liberties are among the first casualties of war, then the toll is mounting even before the first bombing raid over Baghdad. The Pentagon has ordered censorship, press "pools" and military snoops to watch over reporters and keep the country in the dark about U.S. atrocities and the American body count. Antiwar activists have been arrested in Cleveland, Washington and Chicago. Now that it's officially "wartime," Bush claims the authority to arrest anybody suspected of being a "threat to national security." Federal and local cops are gearing up for a war on dissenters and a racist roundup of Arab Americans in the name of "anti-terrorism." Nightly, on TV there have been scenes of vicious bomb detection dogs attacking "suspects."

To help whip up a chauvinist frenzy and intimidate antiwar activists, Bush's "Justice" Department has ordered immigration authorities to photograph and fingerprint anyone with Iraqi or Kuwaiti passports entering the U.S. Most ominous of all is the FBI interrogations of Arab immigrants and American citizens of Arab descent for "terrorist" links. Hundreds of business and community leaders have already been questioned. James Zogby, director of the Arab American Institute, pointed out, "When the long arm of government reaches into your living room, it creates a political chill and silences political debate."

But the government has more than an intimidating chill in mind—racist targeting, "loyalty" investigations and more. Already in Germany, anti-terrorist squads have broken into apartments of Arab "suspects." Expulsions of Iraqis from Germany and Britain have begun. Albert Mokhiber, president of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee (ADC), expressed for many the fears of what lies ahead: "this is shades of the Japanese-American experience of World War II." More than 100,000 Japanese Americans were stripped of their property and thrown into horrendous concentration camps after the U.S.' oil embargo led to the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor.

To those who think it can't happen today—guess again. After the 1986 U.S. bombing raid on Libya, the government drew up plans to "intern" thousands of Arab immigrants in the U.S. The plan came to light in 1987 following the government's arrest and attempted deportation of seven Palestinians and one Kenyan who were well-established businessmen, students and working people charged with being supporters of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. An INS document entitled, "Alien Terrorists and Undesirables: A Contingency Plan," detailed plans to round up thousands of Arab immigrants in the U.S. and herd them into an already prepared 100-acre reserve adjacent to the Oakland Alien Detention Center in southwestern Louisiana.

FBI spokesman Sharon Smith denied any intent to intimidate, disingenuously claiming the feds aimed "to protect these people." Japanese Americans were given the same lie after FDR's "national security" pretensions were debunked. Popular Los Angeles disc jockey Casey Kasem pointed out, "the FBI knows that there has never been an incident of terrorism against this country by Arab-Americans, but there has been ease after case of violence against Arab-Americans, and one murder, Alex Odeh." Odeh, the ADC's first Western regional director, was the victim of a 1985 bombing murder. Although the FBI knew the fascistic Jewish Defense League of Meir Kahane was behind it, no one has ever been arrested for this real act of terrorism.

This racist witchhunt must be stopped! The Partisan Defense Committee calls on the labor movement and all defenders of democratic rights to smash this "terrorism" witchhunt and to defend those of Arab descent from government repression and racist thugs.

* * *

A decade ago the Reagan/Bush administration unleashed a broad assault on democratic rights to regiment youth and tame the population for war. Forced prayer in schools, attacks on abortion rights, gays and pornography were supposed to create ideological conformity, while a strengthened apparatus of state repression and terror—including the speedup on death row—was to terrorize those who didn't agree.

The Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal defense organization associated with the Spartacist League, has a long tradition of fighting the government's phony terrorism scare and defending its victims. We supported the successful SL suit against the FBI "Domestic Security/Terrorism Guidelines" which struck a blow against the feds' plans to criminalize leftist political activities, and now we have instituted a lawsuit to fight a deadly smear by WCAU-TV that supporters of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal are "misfit terrorists." The PDC has fought the many aspects of rightist and government assault on minorities and basic democratic rights—defending refugees from deportation to Latin American death squad terror, supporting the legal defense struggles of abortion rights activists, and initiating united-front mobilizations of the integrated labor movement against the KKK and fascist skinheads.

It is now officially admitted that the U.S. has a greater rate of imprisonment than any other country, and throws blacks in jail at a rate four times higher than apartheid South Africa. While the government and its mouthpieces deny it, scattered across this land there are many behind bars for their resistance to racist capitalist repression—*class-war prisoners*. Five years ago the Partisan Defense Committee revived the tradition of the International Labor Defense (ILD) of sending monthly stipends to class-war prisoners—a message of solidarity from the workers movement that they are not forgotten, and that the cause of their freedom is intertwined with the struggles against poverty, racism and war.

Santa Ana PD

October 1985: JDL terrorist bombing killed Alex Odeh of American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee in his Santa Ana, California office.

Currently we send stipends of $25 per month to 19 prisoners: former Black Panthers, like Geronimo ji jaga (Pratt), David (Mondo) Rice, Ed Poindexter; Hugo Pinell; 13 members and supporters of the Philadelphia MOVE organization, including Ramona Africa, sole survivor of the 1985 Mother's Day bombing of the MOVE home which burned to death eleven black people, five of them children; Mumia Abu-Jamal; and in Britain, an imprisoned supporter of the Irish Republican Socialist Party, Eddie McClelland.

The PDC just completed our yearly Holiday Appeal for the class-war prisoners. We sent over $1,600 in holiday gifts to the prisoners and their families. With benefits in Chicago, New York, San Francisco and Atlanta we raised over $9,000 for our stipend program. We would like to thank all *WV* readers who helped make this Holiday Appeal a success.

Many have been drawn by our work in defense of two former Black Panthers, Geronimo ji jaga (Pratt) and Mumia Abu-Jamal. Geronimo, framed up under the FBI's notorious COINTELPRO campaign to destroy the Panthers, has been behind bars 20 years for a murder the government knows he did not commit—FBI wiretap logs showed that Geronimo was 400 miles away. Jamal, a former Black Panther Party spokesman, prominent journalist and supporter of MOVE, was framed on charges of killing a Philadelphia cop in 1981. His case has become the rallying cry of death penalty abolitionists around the world. The holiday benefits brought orders for the PDC video, "From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal," a valuable tool to publicize Jamal's fight against the racist death penalty. From his cell he continues to speak out against racism, poverty and war (see column, page 10).

The struggles to defend democratic rights, to free the class-war prisoners, to stay the repressive fist of the state, are indivisible. We seek to build a mass organization of class-struggle defense, one capable of organizing marches of millions of workers around the world to save Jamal and free the class-war prisoners, like the protests that saved nine black youth from the chair in the Scottsboro case of the 1930s.

To learn more about the work of the PDC, and to join the campaign to save Jamal, we encourage *WV* readers to read our newsletter, *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription. For a single copy, send $1 to Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013 ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

American Imperialism—Enemy of Humanity

Today U.S. imperialism has invaded the Persian Gulf oil fields and is about to launch a war of mass murder against the people of Iraq. Proclaiming a "new world order," Washington props up the most murderous, reactionary regimes throughout the world, from the death-squad juntas of Central America to the Zionist butchers in Israel to sub-feudalist sheikdoms of the Arabian Peninsula. At the founding conference of the Fourth International, with World War II looming on the horizon, the Trotskyists called for an implacable struggle against American imperialism and its foreign puppets through international proletarian revolution.

The struggle against American imperialism is therefore at the same time a struggle against the coming imperialist war and for the liberation of oppressed colonial and semicolonial peoples. Hence, it is inseparable from the class struggle of the American proletariat against the ruling bourgeoisie, and cannot be conducted apart from it.... An indispensable ally in this struggle is the million-headed mass of American Negroes, in industry and in agriculture, who are also bound by many ties to the other groups of Negro peoples oppressed by American imperialism in the Caribbean and in Latin America....

The revolutionists in the United States are obliged to rouse the American workers against the sending of any armed forces against the peoples of Latin America and the Pacific and for the withdrawal of any such forces where they now operate as instruments of imperialist oppression, as well as against any other form of imperialist pressure, be it "diplomatic" or "economic," which is calculated to violate the national independence of any country or to prevent its attainment of such national independence.

—Founding Conference of the Fourth International, "Thesis on the World Role of American Imperialism" (September 1938)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732 7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: $7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 518 **18 January 1991**

Garry Gianninoto

Mindy Gianninoto

1947-1991

It is with profound sorrow that we announce the death of our comrade Garry Gianninoto. He died in his sleep on January 9, at the age of 43, after over a year of battling cancer.

Garry joined the Spartacist League in November 1978. He was a critical component of our Medical Commission, aiding in the treatment and care of members and their families even as he himself was dying. He also worked in our Circulation Department for most of his 12 years of membership, becoming the head of its production operation in January 1985 where he organized the printing of our internal bulletins and of our non-periodical literature, some of which had been out of print for years.

Garry was a Navy Medical Corpsman from November 1966 to July 1969, serving in Vietnam for eleven months in 1968. The war enormously colored his subsequent life. His recollections of this period are contained in "Vietnam: Racism and Rebellion Behind the Lines—A GI's View of America's Dirty War," printed in *Workers Vanguard* No. 513, 2 November 1990. This article was the result of Garry's input into "Blacks Don't Buy Bush's War" in *WV* No. 509, 7 September 1990, and he and his wife, comrade Mindy, worked with the paper to produce "Government Spits on Vietnam Vets" in the last issue.

Garry worked from June 1983 to November 1989 as a physician's assistant at the Harlem Hospital Center. His knowledge in this area led to the article "Harlem Hospital Hell" in *WV* No. 412, 26 September 1986. He helped formulate our political and organizational response to the AIDS epidemic, including a substantial contribution to our seminal "AIDS Devastates Gays, Ghettos" in *WV* No. 462, 7 October 1988.

As comrades in Germany who had known and worked with Garry in the New York center wrote upon hearing of his death: "He experienced firsthand two of the most brutal crimes of bloody U.S. imperialism, its devastating wars against revolutionary Vietnam and against black Harlem. His acute rage at social injustice, bolstered all too often by those experiences, infused our Marxist worldview with a blistering realism and revolutionary urgency." Garry understood that to change the rotting world he saw, it was necessary to build a party. He had a keen sense for both the full collectivity and the binding discipline of a combat organization, and he felt the most important thing he could do with his life was to be a member of the Spartacist League.

We extend our deep sympathy to Mindy and share her grief and bitterness at the untimely loss of our comrade and friend.

A memorial meeting will be held in New York City on the afternoon of Saturday, February 2. Those who wish to join Garry's family and friends in remembering his life should call (212) 732-7861.

Mexico and Permanent Revolution

The following statement is translated from Espartaco *No. 1, Winter 1990-91, published by our comrades of the Grupo Espartaquista de México.*

Mexico is unique in having had no less than three bourgeois-democratic revolutions, which have not been "interrupted" as some would have it, but rather frustrated, their leaders killed, their promises unfulfilled. Thus it is striking that virtually every national hero is a martyr. This is no accident, for Mexico is also the country where the "First World" of imperialism directly abuts the "Third World" of impoverished capitalist countries along a 3,000-kilometer border and with a history of scores of U.S. interventions. For much of the left, this gives rise to impotent nationalist rhetoric, in which they end up playing the game of the PRI [the Revolutionary Institutional Party which has ruled Mexico for the last half century].

Unlike the opportunists, we don't wrap our struggle with the national tricolor but rather we raise the red flag of proletarian internationalism. In this perspective, the geographical location of the country, which has historically weakened the nationalist bourgeoisie ("poor Mexico, so far from God, so close to the United States," lamented Porfirio Diaz) strengthens the position of the proletariat: the ties to the North American working class make it possible to unite the struggle for workers revolution in Mexico with class struggle that can explode the most powerful imperialism in the world *from within*. This is why Reagan and Bush are obsessed with their racist vision of a "red tide" of communism brought up from the south by brown-skinned immigrants.

The peasant-based Mexican Revolution of 1910-17 was the last of the bourgeois revolutions. It failed because the world had already entered the imperialist era, and to succeed the revolution required proletarian leadership. The incapacity of Zapata and Villa to establish a revolutionary regime during the year in which they occupied Mexico City is perhaps the clearest example in history of the incapacity of the peasantry to establish its own class rule. This was also the negative confirmation of Trotsky's theory and program of permanent revolution: that in the epoch of imperialism, to accomplish even the democratic tasks of the bourgeois revolution requires that the proletariat, led by a Marxist party, take power. Expropriating the capitalists and undertaking socialist tasks, the proletariat will have to struggle to extend its revolution internationally, particularly to the imperialist countries.

The *positive* confirmation of the permanent revolution came in Russia when the working poor of the countryside supported the proletariat, led by the Bolshevik Party, in the October Revolution. Lenin and Trotsky fought to extend Red October to the entire planet. It is in this sense that we raise the hammer and sickle symbolizing international communism.

The Mexican workers revolution will succeed where the bourgeois revolutions failed, because it will be and must be internationalist from the beginning. It must come to the aid of the heroically struggling working people of Central America and extend to the north, in common struggle with the workers and oppressed in the very entrails of the imperialist monster. It must be part and parcel of the class struggle in Asia, in West and East Europe, which has been key in the forming of the GEM. This is the goal toward which the Grupo Espartaquista de México is working as part of the International Communist League in the fight to reforge the Fourth International as the world party of socialist revolution. ■

Espartaco

Publication of the Grupo Espartaquista de México

No. 1, Winter 1990-91
(24 pages)

1,000 pesos/US$0.50

Subscriptions
4,000 pesos/US$2
for 4 issues

Espartaco No 1 will be sent to all subscribers to *Spartacist* (edición en español).

Make checks payable/mail to:
Spartacist Publishing Co
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

P. Linares, Apdo. Postal 453
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ESPARTACO
PUBLICACION DEL GRUPO ESPARTAQUISTA DE MEXICO
NUMERO 1 INVIERNO DE 1990-91 1 000 PESOS
Qué es y qué quiere Espartaco

Jeffrey Sachs Says: Let Poland Starve

Solidarność leader Lech Walesa kissed the red-and-white flag with the Polish eagle, brought in by the former anti-Communist government-in-exile in London, and proclaimed the "Third Republic of Poland" as he was sworn in as president on December 22. Walesa, who campaigned as "the man with an ax," vowed to continue the capitalist austerity policies which led to the unpopularity of his former Solidarność colleague, defeated prime minister Mazowiecki. After a year of this "shock therapy" Polish working people have experienced the shock, now many are asking where's the therapy?

Last fall, Jeffrey Sachs, the Harvard professor who has served as the key architect of the Solidarność government's economic "reform" program, sat in the glittering Marriott Hotel in downtown Warsaw. Out on the streets were old women, young men, mothers and children desperately trying to peddle whatever they could get their hands on in the hope of surviving another bitter winter. From his breakfast table in the Marriott, Sachs looked down at what his program of "free market" impoverishment had wrought and proudly told an American journalist that he is "extremely pleased" (*New Yorker*, 10 December 1990).

Almost a decade ago we warned that a victory for Solidarność would bring the "democracy" of brutal capitalist exploitation to Poland. Now you can see it: the unemployment lines, the soup kitchens, and a wave of crime born of desperate poverty. Even an anti-Communist journalist who visited Warsaw last spring, a bare three months after the Solidarność-led government implemented its "made in America" program for "rolling back Communism," was shocked at what he saw:

> "The number of drug addicts has grown dramatically. Gaunt-looking, panhandling AIDS sufferers have become fixtures around Warsaw's shopping malls. Crimes against property and muggings have reached epidemic proportions. Friends and family members who used to accept happily such gifts from America as aspirin, toothpaste or electronic gadgets, this year demanded mace."
>
> —*Detroit Free Press*, 28 March 1990

Jeffrey Sachs is the brains behind the misery, the poverty, the hunger, the escalating unemployment. No sooner had Solidarność been invited by the Stalinists to form a new government following the 1989 elections than Sachs was called in to advise the government on implementing its program for capitalist restoration.

Der Spiegel

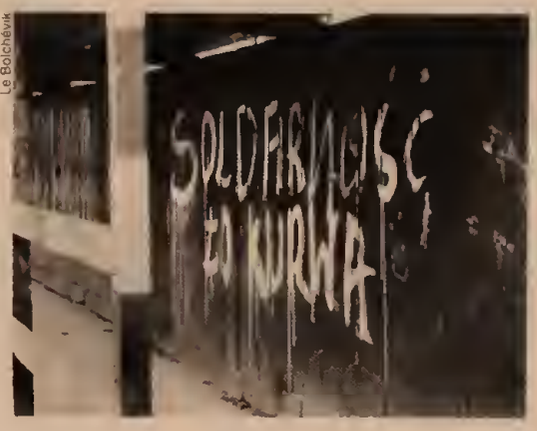
Der Spiegel

High-flying yupple Harvard professor Sachs (left), whose "free market" plans mean unemployment and soup kitchens for Polish workers.

Certainly, he had the credentials to do the job with a vengeance.

Over the past few years, the pudgy Harvard *Wunderkind* has emerged as a pre-eminent advocate of bare-knuckled "free market" capitalism. Sachs says his ideas were influenced by the "clear thinking" of Milton Friedman, the architect of the "economic shock treatment" in Pinochet's Chile which was enforced by a military dictatorship that murdered 30,000 Chilean workers and leftists, and paid for through the starvation of millions. In 1985, he got his first "practical" experience as an economic adviser to the right-wing regime of Victor Paz Estenssoro in Bolivia.

Sachs' solution to hyperinflation in Bolivia was to slash wages and state subsidies for food, and fire two-thirds of the tin miners. Today *50 percent* of the population of Bolivia is unemployed. Tin miners and their families have been reduced to begging in the streets. Outside of cities, four out of five children die before their fifth birthday. Almost half of the population have *no* medical services and less than 20 percent get any social security.



Le Bolchevik

On the walls of Wrocław: "Solidarność is a whore."

When confronted with present conditions of life in Bolivia, Sachs shrugged: "If you want to be cynical about it, you could say that Bolivia used to be a miserably poor country suffering from hyperinflation, and is now a miserably poor country without inflation" (*Wall Street Journal*, 11 September 1989). Yet it was on the basis of the "economic miracle" that he worked in Bolivia that Sachs was called in as the premier adviser to the Solidarność government!

In the heyday of Solidarność' mass mobilizations at the beginning of the '80s, a joke made the rounds in the Soviet Union: the Poles want to live like Germans and work like Russians. If Jeffrey Sachs has his way, Poles will live like Bolivians...and they will be lucky to find any work at all!

"Shock Therapy" for Polish Workers

Apparently Sachs was originally approached by the former bankrupt Stalinist regime in Poland who, having mortgaged the country to the Western banks, were looking for advice on imposing austerity measures to meet the demands of the bloodsucking International Monetary Fund. Sachs boasts that he replied, "Call me again when you've legalized Solidarność."

This got big play in an article in *Fortune* magazine (29 January 1990), titled "The American Out to Save Poland," which proclaimed that Sachs "works only for democratic governments or ones that are moving in that direction." Sure, like the right-wing Bolivian government which introduced Sachs' economic policies through the brutal military suppression of a 1985 general strike!

In an unpublished paper, "Creating a Market Economy in Eastern Europe: The Case of Poland," Sachs and his co-thinker David Lipton (another Solidarność adviser who has also served several Latin American governments) deride the former Stalinist regime *for being insufficiently brutal*. Sachs couldn't work with them because of "the planners' fear of unemployment; and the Communist regime's lack of legitimacy to impose strong austerity measures with public support, and the regime's unwillingness or inability to do so by brute force."

In contrast, Sachs considered that

DPA

Gilles Saussier

Gdansk's Lenin Shipyard, home of Solidarność, now on the chopping block under Sachs' "economic shock treatment." Peddlers in Warsaw's "free market."

Polish Elections: A Contribution From Ludwik Hass

We print below a commentary on the first round of the Polish presidential election written by veteran Polish Trotskyist Ludwik Hass, with whom we have a number of political differences. Our comrades of the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski note that in his contribution, Hass gives the impression that people who do not support Solidarność represent per se an anti-capitalist opposition. This is not true at the moment. Even if not directly organized by a pro-capitalist party, they could be won over by the Catholic church, which not only supports the government, but in the division of labor within the pro-bourgeois forces continues to exert influence over the ranks of every kind of opposition. Hence the need for a Leninist-Trotskyist party, fighting for the sharpest programmatic clarification, which "will be built from above through splits and fusions of ostensibly revolutionary organizations," as noted in the agreement for common work with the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). The SGP's analysis of the Polish elections, "For Workers Resistance Against Capitalist Restoration!", was printed in WV *No. 516, 14 December 1990.*

In the first round of the presidential election (25 November 1990), out of 27.5 million eligible voters only 16.7 million took part—in other words, three-fifths (60.6 percent). Only 6,570,000—two-fifths (40 percent)—voted for the leader of the "Solidarność" movement, L. Walesa, while 2,973,000 voted for another leader of this movement, Prime Minister T. Mazowiecki. At the same time, however, an "independent candidate" (as Tyminski, the Polish millionaire from Canada, describes himself) obtained 3,798,000 votes, that is, almost one-quarter (23.1 percent) of the participating voters. The three other candidates ranked as follows: the former PVAP [Stalinist ruling party] youth functionary W. Cimoszewicz, now transformed into a social democrat, got 1,514,000 votes (9.2 percent); the leader of the former lackey peasant party, Bartoszcze, got 1,176,000 (7.2 percent); and the representative of the moderately authoritarian/nationalist grouping, L. Moczulski, only 412,000 (2.5 percent).

These election results came as a total surprise to the "patented" experts on the political situation in Poland, including those from *Le Monde* and *Libération*. Their predictions turned out to be ridiculous. The reason was that they had believed, as if spoken by an oracle, all the information and assurances of their political cohorts from the former KOR (Committee for Workers Defense), such as Geremek, Kuron or Michnik, now leading figures in the Mazowiecki camp. For them it was self-evident that, if Mazowiecki would not outstrip his Solidarność comrade Walesa in the first round, neither would Walesa attain an absolute majority. Then, according to the election rules, there would be a second round on December 9. And that time Mazowiecki's victory would be assured, since voters for the other four candidates in the previous round would support him as a "defender of freedom and democracy." However, the second-highest number of votes was obtained not by this "democrat" but by Tyminski. And he will now be contending against Walesa.

Mazowiecki's pundits responded to this unexpected election tally promptly on the night of November 25-26: the people are spiritually sick and need to be cured! This was said in the TV studio and everyone heard it. Various representatives and intellectuals from this grouping repeated the same thing afterwards in many newspapers. This defeat of the KOR successors who were united with the former Stalinist "left" Catholics, and the success of a man almost nobody had heard of even four weeks before, mean basically one thing: every fourth voter was not so much enraptured with Tyminski as opposed to further rule by this layer of the bureaucracy. Against the rule of those called the "nomenklatura" in Poland today. Following the big victory of the Solidarność movement in the June 1989 parliamentary elections, people had been expecting the destruction of this rule. Yet what it brought was only shifts within this layer. Their "Catholic" group, which had hitherto been discriminated against, now moved into the foreground. Simultaneously and together with this, the political representatives of what had since the '60s been the "oppositional" part of this layer—i.e., that part which, compared to the rest, had been pressing for a more rapid transformation into a "normal" bourgeoisie—gained in power. This was precisely the people from KOR and part of the editorial staff of the Party's central political weekly, *Polityka*. The present election results are not just an ordinary defeat for this grouping, they sound its death knell.

Granted, this transformation is not so clear to the broad masses of working people. But they feel that their hopes were not fulfilled following the victory a year ago. The miners who protested in front of the Parliament building on November 23, two days before the presidential elections, shouted: "Down with

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AP

Szulecki/NY Times

"Man with an ax" Lech Walesa kisses prewar crowned-eagle Polish flag of counterrevolution (left). Protest vote of 25 percent went to "man from nowhere," dark horse candidate Stanislaw Tyminski (with his Peruvian wife, above).

Solidarność had sufficient popularity to impose a program of starvation, poverty and mass unemployment as long as they did it fast. He calls it the "big bang" theory. Sachs and Lipton approvingly quote the minister of planning in Bolivia from 1986-89, who summed up his government's wholesale assault on workers and the poor: "If you are going to chop off a cat's tail, do it in one stroke, not bit by bit."

Last January, Solidarność brought down the ax in Poland. The price of coal which is used for home heating shot up 600 percent, electricity 500 percent, bus and rail fares 250 percent. Over the past year, wages have been slashed by 40 percent while the prices of the most basic foodstuffs have more than doubled. Workers, who now pay more than a day's wages for a kilogram of sausage, speak of the nightmare of "First World prices at Third World wages."

Sachs scoffs at official statistics that show a 30 percent decline in the standard of living in Poland: "That is simply false, tragically false, a complete statistical fluke. That's the kind of figure you'd see in starkest wartime." The jet set Harvard professor, who is described in *Fortune* magazine as living the life of "two-paycheck yuppiedom writ large," boasts that store shelves are full, there are no more lines, inflation has been reduced. But in Lodz, women textile workers are barely able to feed themselves. Asked if they still had to stand in line to get food, they responded: "No. Now we just don't go to the store at all because we can't afford anything."

Sachs sneers back: "you're putting no value whatsoever on your time." According to this Orwellian "economic" logic, time equals money and now that people in Poland are no longer wasting time standing in line or trying to get goods from the black market, their "real" standard of living is just about the same!

Sachs is one of those whiz kids of American imperialism who concoct theories to justify starvation in the name of "freedom" for capitalist exploitation. Perhaps he was inspired by fellow Harvard prof Samuel Huntington, who called the mass bombing of Vietnamese villages part of a program for "accelerated urbanization" and "economic development."

Capitalist Hell for Bolivian Workers

Sachs' main worry is a rebellion by the Polish working class against the government's brutal austerity measures: "The great danger here now would be some sort of populist spiral—workers stampeded by inappropriate fears into desperate demands, a failure of nerve on wage restraint," he told the *New Yorker*. Almost immediately following the implementation of Sachs' program for capitalist restoration last year, 35,000 coal miners went on strike against government-imposed wage controls. In May, a strike by rail workers demanding higher wages tied up a third of the country.

In their joint paper on restoring a market economy in East Europe, Sachs and Lipton point to their experience in Latin America in advising that "only decisive actions" by the government "can keep these populist pressures in check." An example of what is meant by the euphemism "decisive actions" can be found in the measures taken by Sachs' Bolivian clients against desperate tin miners.

Protesting the mass elimination of their jobs, 7,000 miners and their families set out by foot in May 1986 in a march for "peace and life" to the capital. The Paz Estenssoro government proclaimed that these men, women and children were a "subversive threat" and declared a state of siege. Forty miles outside of La Paz, the marchers were surrounded by tanks and thousands of troops as air force jets streaked overhead. The leaders were arrested, and many of them were sent into exile in jungle prison camps along

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Platforma Spartakusowców

Newspaper of the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski

No. 1, October 1990

US $0.50

Order from/pay to:
Spartacist Publishing Co
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116

Out of the Frying Pan, Into the Fire

Soviet Jews in Israel— Pawns for a Zionist "Final Solution"

The Zionist rulers of Israel have for years been preparing for the forcible expulsion of the Palestinian people from the occupied West Bank. The preparations are now essentially complete. Under the impact of three years of Palestinian rebellion, Israeli Jewish public opinion has become ever more virulently racist, with half now openly favoring "transfer" (mass expulsion). Bush's invasion of the Persian Gulf has now provided a shooting war to serve as cover for the bloody population transfer. And the massive influx of Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union has given Israel a pretext to launch a new drive for *Lebensraum* against the Palestinian people.

This is the largest wave of immigration the state of Israel has experienced since shortly after its formation in 1948. By New Year's, 200,000 Soviet Jews had entered Israel, with the prospect of twice that number to come over the next 12 months. But while they line up outside the Israeli consulate in Moscow by the hundreds every day, when they get to Israel they find themselves without jobs and often without housing. Israeli society is strained to the breaking point to accommodate the immigrants, but the Zionist rulers welcome them as cannon fodder in their drive to "cleanse" the Occupied Territories of Arabs. The pogrom against the Palestinian people has already begun, with the assassination of two of Yasser Arafat's top aides in Tunis on January 14. Israel today stands poised to carry out its own "Final Solution."

The Palestinian people are facing a murderous onslaught. The working people and oppressed of the world must come to their defense. The Hebrew-speaking workers of Israel must not allow themselves to be accomplices to the genocidal plans of their capitalist oppressors. Defend the Palestinian people! Israel out of the Occupied Territories!

Gearing Up for Genocide

Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Shamir hypocritically assures Washington and Moscow that no new settlements are being built in the Occupied Territories to house the influx of Soviet Jews. But as always the Zionists have been "creating facts" on the ground, expanding existing settlements as well as the perimeter of Jerusalem into Arab-occupied land beyond the "Green Line" (the pre-1967 border).

The number of Jewish "settlers" in the occupied West Bank has just passed the 100,000 mark. They are not about to leave without a civil war, and the Zionist rulers certainly have no intention of evicting them. Shamir explicitly vows "to keep the land of Israel from the sea to the Jordan [River] for future generations and for the mass immigration." And while the Labor Party (a thoroughly capitalist Zionist party despite its name) now makes "dovish" noises about trading land for peace, it is the architect of the settlements program in the West Bank and of the mass expulsion of Arabs in the late 1940s.

The current Likud-led coalition government is universally acknowledged to be the most right-wing in the country's history—with former fascist Shamir's Likud arguably the most "moderate" of the five parties in the cabinet. The appointment of Ariel Sharon, the fascistic butcher of Sabra and Shatila, as Housing Minister (tantamount to a Third Reich "Minister for Resettlement") left no doubts about the government's intentions. Now it has announced a goal of settling 250,000 more Jews in the Occupied Territories over the next 20 years. The decision to exclude Palestinians in the Occupied Territories from the general distribution of gas masks in preparation for war with Iraq was a statement that they were officially deemed *Untermenschen* (subhumans).

AFP

Soviet Jews fleeing economic chaos and rising anti-Semitism arrive in Israel to face no jobs, no housing, and to be used in genocidal pogrom against Palestinians.

Last October's provocative massacre of Palestinians at Jerusalem's Al Aksa mosque, the worst such Zionist bloodbath ever in the "City of Peace," was a bloody signal of the Israeli rulers' intentions. Immediately in its wake, the government announced policies aimed at securing a Jewish majority in the Arab areas annexed to "Greater Jerusalem." Thousands of Soviet Jews are being funneled into these areas through the lure of available housing and low, government-subsidized mortgages.

The displacement of the Palestinians is enforced not only through semi-official terror by the fascistic "settler" groups, but through army snipers now ordered to shoot on sight *any* Palestinian with a rock in his hand or a mask over his face! Israeli military terror during the three years of *Intifada* has been especially aimed at decimating a generation of youth—some 160 Palestinian children under the age of 16 have been gunned down in cold blood, and over 50,000 more wounded. Meanwhile Arab communities in the West Bank are literally being starved of water, as the Israelis channel the waters of the Jordan River basin off to Jewish areas.

Last summer, Israel Shahak, the prominent Israeli anti-Zionist and survivor of Auschwitz, noted that "not only the great majority of the ruling right-wing coalition but also many important figures in the Labour party, are united in their desire that the state of Jordan, as presently constituted, should be destroyed by Israel" (*Middle East International*, 3 August 1990). Many of these "Jordan is Palestine" advocates, observed Shahak, intend to "use this opportunity to 'transfer' the Palestinians of the West Bank and Gaza Strip into it, while disguising such forced mass expulsions as 'repatriation' to the newly established 'Palestinian state'."

Recently a member of Shamir's cabinet declared that Jordan's "King Hussein has become an Iraqi satellite, and is posing a new security problem for Israel." And we all know how the Israelis deal with "security problems"!

While the heroic Palestinian *Intifada* has clearly challenged the Zionists' capacity to maintain stable military rule, it has simultaneously undercut the reliance of Israeli capitalists on Palestinian labor. As West Bank journalist Hanna Siniora put it, "The intifada has achieved a separation of our economies, to our detriment." The Israeli capitalists look to the Soviet immigrants, overwhelmingly highly educated, to do the "Arab work" which even the lower-caste and deeply impoverished Sephardic Jews refuse to do. A quarter of the 120,000 Palestinian laborers from the Occupied Territories who worked in Israel have already been displaced by Soviet Jews.

Simcha Dinitz, of the Jewish Agency which oversees the "in-gathering" (*aliya*), crows: "Any job Ahmed can do, Boris can do as well." The Histadrut, the corporatist trade-union federation of "Labor Zionism" erected on the sole principle of "Jewish labor only," is now demanding that all able-bodied unemployed under the age of 30 have their benefits cut off if they refuse to accept job retraining for the construction industry, which has heretofore been an almost exclusively Arab domain.

Whether "Boris," with his PhD and 10 or 20 years experience in a scientific laboratory, will want to take the dirtiest, lowest-paying jobs, which have previously been left to "Ahmed," is another question. Whatever illusions Soviet Jews might have had as they were boarding their El Al jetliner, they rapidly learn that they have not come to the land of milk and honey. The Israeli economy is a basket case, with unemployment running at 10 percent even before the flood of Soviet immigrants began escalating toward the end of the year.

Three out of four Soviet immigrants have not been able to find work, while hundreds of women have been forced to turn to prostitution. Of 3,000 scientists who have arrived in the past year, only 160 are now employed! One recent immigrant whose husband had been an electrical engineer in Kiev and was now working a $2.50-an-hour factory job (until he got fired for demanding a raise) complained: "We feel worthless, taken advantage of and miserable."

And unlike the earlier wave of Soviet immigration in the 1970s, these people are not born-again Orthodox Jews or Zionist fanatics but overwhelmingly secular and assimilated products of Soviet society, many of them intermarried. Now they have landed in a theocracy where the religious right increasingly rules the roost. Recent legislation would even

Defend the Palestinians!

AFP

Palestinian terrorized by Israeli policeman during Zionist massacre last fall at Al Aksa mosque in Jerusalem.

outlaw the production and sale of pork in Jewish areas.

Minister for "Absorption" Yitzhak Peretz, a member of the fundamentalist right, created a furor when he declared that many of the arriving immigrants are not "true" Jews and insisted on having their religious credentials scrutinized. The ultra-Orthodox Israeli Chief Rabbinate has now dispatched a rabbi to Moscow whose job is "to decide who is a Jew and who is not." Will prospective male immigrants have to strip down to show they are circumcised, as suspected Jews were forced to do by the Nazis? And how will the rabbis have women prove they are Jewish?

Russian Revolution Emancipated Jews

It is a horrible irony of history that the largest concentration of Jewish survivors of Hitler's "Final Solution" in Europe are to become the pawns for this Zionist "Final Solution." The Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 was a beacon of emancipation to the downtrodden Jews of East Europe. Russian Jews fought and distinguished themselves in the Civil War against the White counterrevolutionaries and went on to take leading roles in the Bolshevik government. In World War II, Jews played a valiant and disproportionately large role in the Red Army and particularly in Soviet and Soviet-allied partisan detachments, which succeeded in pinning down 10 percent of all Wehrmacht forces on the Russian Front and seriously disrupting German logistics and transport (see Reuben Ainsztein, *Jewish Resistance in Nazi-Occupied Eastern Europe*, 1974).

Writing about Red Army veteran Alexander Zamulson, who recently came to the U.S. for medical treatment, *Newsday* (7 January) claims "he is believed to be the Soviet Union's only decorated Jewish war hero." This is nonsense: 550,000 Jews served in the Red Army during World War II (excluding partisan units) —*including more than 200 Jewish generals!*—and they ranked fourth among all Soviet nationalities in the number of decorations won for heroism. Perhaps the reason *Newsday* could write such a monumentally ignorant statement is that many such Soviet Jewish Communists, such as General David Dragunsky, were for years barred under McCarthyite laws from entering the U.S.!

It is a singular crime of the Stalinist bureaucracy that a significant proportion of this valuable component of the Soviet Union's multinational society is now being driven to emigrate to the Zionist deathtrap. This will have a debilitating effect on the future of the Soviet economy; more than 53 percent of the emigrants are in academic professions, fully 13 out of 100 are either scientists or engineers.

While anti-Semitism has been rife in Stalinist Russia at least since the 1930s, it remained modulated and underground. But Gorbachev's market-oriented perestroika brought to the surface the most backward excrescences of the old tsarist days. And Gorbachev has encouraged the groundswell of anti-Semitism by inviting into his advisory council the notorious anti-Semite and counterrevolutionary Valentin Rasputin, who denounces the Jews in the same breath as "Christ-killers" and as leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution!

The pogromist Black Hundreds have come back under the name of Pamyat. One elderly Jew in Chernovtsy had his house broken into by a gang who burned his stomach with a hot iron. A family in Moscow had their apartment burned down, killing a 33-year-old woman, with a note left behind reading, "Let Jews die!" The Pamyat fascists are protected by and overlap with far wider layers of Great Russian chauvinists outside and within the ruling bureaucracy, including in the middle and upper echelons of the military. The editor of an officially sanctioned military journal recently interviewed in the *New York Times* proudly explained how he was planning to run an

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Israelis, primarily poor Sephardic Jews, made homeless by massive influx of Soviet immigrants.

excerpt from the *Protocols of the Elders of Zion*, that hoary anti-Semitic fabrication concocted by the tsarist secret police with the aim of instigating anti-Semitic pogroms to crush the 1905 Revolution.

On the other hand the level of hysteria and fear which is driving hundreds of thousands of Jews, who had until recently seen themselves as loyal and patriotic members of Soviet society, to leave their homeland appears to be at least in part manufactured. Early last year, there were widespread rumors throughout the Soviet Union that May 5 would be marked by massive pogroms. The threat of pogroms was a key impetus fueling the large-scale emigration, but in the upshot nothing transpired. A *New York Times* (3 March 1990) article datelined Odessa reported, "Some Jews even accuse other Jews of feeding the current pogrom rumors to justify the exodus." It would certainly not be out of character for the Zionists to fuel such rumors, and even engage in anti-Semitic provocations, with the aim of driving Jews to emigrate to Israel.

Israeli leftist Michel Warshawski, who recently completed a prison sentence for publishing pro-Palestinian literature, noted, "Israel's emissaries in the Soviet Union—as well as the Israeli propaganda media aimed at the Jews of the Soviet Union—are doing everything in their power to inflate the significance of the phenomenon of Soviet anti-Judaism and to create a mass psychosis among Soviet Jews" (*Against the Current*, July/August 1990). One need only recall that the Mossad was instrumental in fueling the last major *aliya* to Israel, by the Sephardic Jews of the Near East in the 1950s, by, among other crimes, bombing a synagogue in Baghdad filled with worshippers.

But, by and large, it is not anti-Semitism, not even the fear of pogroms, which is fueling the current mass departure of Soviet Jews. They are leaving, quite simply, because they *can* get out and have somewhere to go as life in the Soviet Union becomes ever more unbearable and the economy collapses. Overwhelmingly, they would far rather emigrate to the United States, as they were doing until Israel struck a deal with Washington and Moscow to channel the Soviet Jews to Tel Aviv.

As a result of this arrangement, not only are Soviet Jews forbidden to switch their destination from Israel to elsewhere in transit, but they *automatically* have Israeli citizenship imposed on them the moment they leave Soviet airspace. Once they land in Tel Aviv, they find out that they are truly "prisoners of Zion," indentured to remain in the Zionist state for five years unless they can pull together the cash (some $6,000 per head) to "pay back" the expenses of their trip and resettlement.

That most Jews leaving the Soviet Union would prefer to go virtually *anywhere* other than Israel is demonstrated by the large numbers pouring into Germany recently. "Israel is a militarized state," explained one, "We want to be in a peaceful country like Germany." This, too, is an illusion, but even the Fourth Reich looks good compared to "Greater Israel." The German government threatened to clamp down on the wave of refugees, restricting them to 1,000 a year, but the ensuing furor (keeping Jews out would not be good PR for the new "democratic" united fatherland) forced Bonn to back down.

As soon as this scandalous *Judenstopp* came to light, the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany organized a protest in Berlin on September 19 demanding, "Down with the Fourth Reich's ban on Jewish immigration!" Our comrades' unique internationalist protest against anti-Semitism in Germany was featured in a spread in *Israel Scene* (December

Lilach Kalev/Israel Scene

German Trotskyists protested in Berlin, 19 September 1990, demanding "Down with the Fourth Reich's Ban on Jewish Immigration." Photo of our comrades was featured in *Jerusalem Post*'s magazine.

1990), monthly magazine of the *Jerusalem Post*.

The Zionists, like the misnamed Anti-Defamation League in the U.S., seek to smear all opponents of their expansionist, racist project as anti-Semites. This favored Zionist hobbyhorse has been used particularly against the Spartacist League when the ADL has sought to *sabotage* united-front action initiated by the SL and the Partisan Defense Committee against the fascist Ku Klux Klan and Nazis.

In fact, it is Zionism which has worked hand in glove with nativist anti-Semitism, as Yitzhak Shamir well knows. While he was one of its central leaders, the fascistic terrorist Lehi (the "Stern Gang") sought to cut a deal with Hitler's "New Order" on the basis of agreement that the Jews had no place in Germany, pleading that: "A commonality of interests is possible between the aims of the New Order in Europe according to the German approach and the true national aspirations of the Jewish people."

Today the Zionists espouse a similar "commonality of interests" with the likes of Pamyat, as a United Jewish Appeal mailing last summer made clear: "Right now neo-fascist organizations like Pamyat are threatening to carry out pogroms unless the Jews get out of the Soviet Union. BUT EMIGRATION IS EXACTLY WHAT SOVIET JEWS WANT."

While defending the right of Soviet citizens to emigrate, we warn Soviet Jews that they are being set up to become shock troops for genocide against the Arabs. They will be spitting on the graves of their parents and grandparents who fought to defeat the Hitlerite menace. One Jerusalem woman of German-Jewish origin painfully recalled the German *Kristallnacht* pogrom of 1938 after witnessing Kahane's funeral demonstration, as crazed rioters screamed, "Death to Arabs!" and "Death to all leftist Arab-loving Jews!" A soldier whose company was ordered to break into Arab houses and beat and drag villagers out in the dead of night later said, "I swear, that night I saw the Nazis again."

It would be far better for Soviet Jews to remain in their homeland and be part of the struggle to regenerate the internationalist foundations of the October Revolution, linking up with the multinational Soviet proletariat in defense of the collectivized economy through political revolution. Soviet workers must sweep the Pamyat fascists off the streets in the course of combatting all the Great Russian and other nationalist excrescences!

For Workers Revolution to Sweep Away the Zionist Butchers!

The narrowly based Israeli economy is simply incapable of smoothly absorbing hundreds of thousands of new immigrants. The financial cost alone will come to tens of billions of dollars in the next few years. Already, the Israeli ruling class has imposed a simultaneous wage cut and tax hike on workers to help finance the *aliya*, leading to numerous strikes, including a two-week shutdown of the Absorption Ministry itself. In the past, the Zionist rulers have looked to their American cousins to bail them out. But while Texas oil millionaire Bush is quite willing to collaborate with Israel in keeping Soviet Jews out of the U.S., he is far from happy with his uppity Israeli *schnorrer* (beggar) clients.

Apparently, when American Zionist leaders asked Bush for even more than the $400 million in loan guarantees already granted to finance immigrant housing, "that request outraged Bush" (*Washington Report on Middle East Affairs*, January 1991). And Bush warned them, "If you keep opposing the deliveries of weaponry to Saudi Arabia, I am going public to explain to the American nation who is with us and who is against us." The Zionists may soon find that the right-wing American politicians they have cultivated are far from committed to a "Greater Israel." Moreover, they can easily appeal to popular anti-Semitism in pursuit of their own global interests.

The Palestinian Arab people, educated and cosmopolitan, scattered in their diaspora throughout the Near East as well as Europe and North America, are key to exploding the Zionist garrison state from within and breaking the nationalist stranglehold on the region. Under an internationalist leadership they

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Defend Iraq...

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infantry armed with rifles and mortars. Now they are going to attack an entrenched, battle-hardened army of a million men armed with modern weaponry. American combat deaths in this war could be as great or greater than in the entire eight years of the Vietnam War. The Pentagon has already shipped 45,000 body bags (now called "remains pouches") to the Persian Gulf. And a disproportionate number of those killed will be poor black and Hispanic youth who joined the military to escape the hellish conditions of America's inner-city ghettos and barrios.

Within Washington ruling circles, opponents of an immediate attack on Iraq are worried about the popular antiwar backlash once the body bags start coming home. But they are just as committed to U.S. imperialist dominance of the Near East as is Bush. The "dovish" Mitchell-Nunn resolution, which was narrowly voted down in the Senate, authorizes the "use of force" for the blockade and explicitly "does not rule out declaring war" on Iraq...a little bit later. Its chief sponsor, Democratic Senator Sam Nunn, declared: "If war occurs, the constitutional and policy debates will be suspended, and Congress will provide the American troops whatever they need to prevail."

"Give the economic sanctions more time to work," is the line of the imperialist doves. And whether they explicitly support sanctions or not, the competing popular-front "peace coalitions" are playing to the pro-"sanctions" Democrats. But the blockade is itself an *act of war*—the attempt to starve the Iraqi people into submission. If Saddam Hussein bows to the economic strangulation and threatened war, U.S. imperialism will have won a great, *costless* victory. The power-mad rulers of this country will be *emboldened* in reasserting their role as "cops of the world," launching new military adventures from Latin America to the Far East.

Even if the U.S. wins a big, bloody war and overthrows Saddam Hussein, this will not bring peace to the Near East. Washington will have to maintain a huge army of occupation, imposing a puppet regime on the Iraqi people through a reign of terror. Iraq is not Panama or Grenada, small powerless countries raped by U.S. imperialism. The Arab and Muslim masses of the Near East will certainly rise up against the American colonialist occupation in a prolonged war of national liberation.

The exploited toilers and oppressed peoples of the world have a life-and-death stake in *the defeat and humiliation* of American imperialism in the Persian Gulf. American working people must fight their *real* enemy: the capitalist rulers who exploit and oppress them at home and are now sending their sons and daughters to die for the profits of Big Oil and Wall Street. Defend Iraq! Break the blockade! U.S. out of the Near East!

For a Socialist Federation of the Near East

The declared aim of this war is to restore the sovereignty of the wealthy oil sheikdom of Kuwait. Why are America's rulers going to war to defend the Islamic feudalist regimes of the Arabian Peninsula, where women are enslaved to the veil and executed for adultery, chattel slavery is still practiced, labor organizers are thrown into scorpion pits, and even Christian religious services are outlawed?

Because the Saudi monarchy and lesser sheikdoms are the junior partners of the Anglo-American oil cartel. Their hundreds of billions in petrodollars from the extortionate pricing of oil—more than 20 times the cost of production in the Persian Gulf—are recycled back to Wall Street, the London and Frankfurt banks.

The former ruling emir al-Sabah of Kuwait has financial holdings in the West larger than the gross national product of Greece; the Saudi monarchy's investments in Western banks, corporations and governments are four times greater than the gross national product of South Africa! American youth are being sent to fight and die in the Persian Gulf to increase the flow of petrodollars to Wall Street.

Gamma

One million died in the eight-year-long war between Iran and Iraq. U.S. aided both sides to prolong the killing in this squalid border war. Now Bush and Congress plan to kill hundreds of thousands more to go after their erstwhile ally Saddam Hussein.

To whip up war hysteria, Bush and his propagandists are portraying Saddam Hussein as power-mad, "another Hitler" bent on dominating the Near East and blackmailing the Western world. Yet both the U.S. and its West European allies *supported and armed* Hussein's Iraq in its eight-year-long border war with Khomeini's Iran. Washington only turned against Hussein when, by taking over the Kuwaiti oil sheikdom, he claimed a bigger share of the world's petrodollars.

Saddam Hussein is a bloodthirsty tyrant who (with U.S. complicity) has executed thousands of leftists and worker militants, devastated entire Kurdish villages and sent a quarter million Iraqi youth to their death in the senseless border war with Iran. While resolutely defending their country against American imperialism, the toiling masses of Iraq must work for the overthrow of the bloody Ba'athist regime and its replacement by a workers and peasants government. For a socialist federation of the Near East through proletarian revolution against the feudalist sheiks, nationalist colonels and Zionist butchers!

Bankrupt U.S. Empire Goes for War

By invading and occupying the Persian Gulf oil fields, America's rulers are trying to reverse their economic decline through brute military force. The owners of the Fortune 500 corporations have run U.S. industry into the ground. Once-bustling Midwest factory towns have been turned into a rust belt. Washington's massive budget deficits and Wall Street's speculative orgy have been sustained by ever-greater foreign borrowing. In the mid-1980s the U.S. went from being the world's leading creditor nation to the world's biggest debtor.

U.S. imperialism has been fast losing ground to its more economically dynamic capitalist rivals. The German ruling class is forming a Fourth Reich by taking over East Germany and establishing its financial dominance in Europe, both East and West. Japan, Inc. is forming a new "co-prosperity sphere" in East Asia and has already become Wall Street and Washington's main creditor.

Over 70 years ago, during World War I, the Russian revolutionary V.I. Lenin declared that capitalism in the imperialist epoch inevitably produces wars over the division and redivision of world markets and spheres of exploitation. By seizing the Persian Gulf oil fields and occupying Iraq, the U.S. will be positioned to economically blackmail Europe and Japan. Washington is already demanding tens of billions from Frankfurt and Tokyo to finance its war mobilization.

This is being called the first post-Cold War war. In past decades fear of provoking a war with the Soviet Union restrained to some degree military adventurism by the American ruling class, especially in the Near East. But with the disintegration and capitulation of the Kremlin Stalinist bureaucracy, George Bush—echoing Adolf Hitler—proclaims himself master of a "new world order." Next on the hit list is Castro's Cuba.

In exchange for U.S. backing (and a few billion dollars and D-marks) the servile Gorbachev regime is now supporting Washington in a war against Moscow's former client state of Iraq. The American ruling class hopes that Gorbachev's perestroika will bring about capitalist restoration and the dismemberment of the Soviet Union. At the same time, Washington is exploiting the crisis of the Kremlin Stalinists to tighten its military encirclement of the USSR, from eastern Germany to the Persian Gulf. The Soviet working class must link the defense and regeneration of the collectivized economy, through the restoration of workers democracy in the USSR, to the struggle against imperialist militarism on a world scale.

For Working-Class Struggle Against Imperialist War!

Despite all the efforts by the American ruling class to whip up war hysteria, polls show that half the population opposes attacking Iraq at this time. "Why die for Big Oil?" is a sentiment commonly voiced in factories, offices, schools, coffee shops and bars, and also in the U.S. troop barracks in the Arabian desert. Even before the shooting has begun, morale is reportedly poor, with many soldiers wanting nothing more than to come home. "This is not our war," U.S. troops shouted to reporters as Bush was dining in the desert on Thanksgiving Day.

Fully one-third of the American troops in the Gulf are black and Hispanic, a proportion far greater than their share in the civilian population. For many ghetto youth, joining up is their only way to learn a job skill and get ahead in a racist society where there are far more black men in prison than in college. Now these young black and Latino men and women are to be used as cannon fodder to defend the profits of Exxon and Citibank.

The war against Iraq comes after a decade of war at home against the working people and poor. Workers have seen their strikes broken by scabherding cops, their pickets killed by scabs, their unions busted, their wages and benefits slashed. Young workers today, superexploited by two-tier wage systems, earn 25 percent less than their parents earned a generation ago. Millions have been thrown into the streets, forced to beg for food and sleep in public parks or homeless shelters. Blacks and Hispanics are targeted by rising Klan and skinhead terror and racist cop killings.

The real enemies of the American working people are in this country: the profit-gouging capitalists, the Wall Street swindlers and their bought-and-paid-for politicians in Washington—liberal Democrats and right-wing Republicans alike. The social power of the organized working class, allied to youth and oppressed minorities, must be mobilized to defend Iraq against American imperialist aggression.

la Repubblica

U.S. women soldiers in Persian Gulf: Black and Hispanic youth are being used as cannon fodder in war for Big Oil.

For labor political strikes against the war! While Teamster tops wave the flag, the heads of nine major unions declare, "we emphatically oppose the initiation of offensive military action...at this time" (their answer is "sanctions"). And the ILWU West Coast longshore union declared: "a US invasion of Iraq is unacceptable, indeed, unthinkable." This is empty talk, but it's a pale reflection of the discontent in the ranks. For action by longshoremen, Teamsters, shipyard workers and transport workers to stop shipping of munitions to the Persian Gulf!

The Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), calls for a new, class-struggle leadership of the workers movement, for a revolutionary workers party to link the factory to the ghetto and fight for the liberation of all the oppressed. Down with the capitalist system of exploitation, of poverty amid wealth, of racism and war! Imperialist war can be the mother of socialist revolution!

15 January 1991

la Repubblica

Commander in chief Bush looks forward to bloodbath in Gulf to restore U.S. imperialist power.

Alexander Cockburn Up the Persian Gulf

Pinko Journalist Turns Yellow

Columnist Alexander Cockburn has made his reputation as a radical gadfly, who would be called on by TV talk show hosts who wanted to spice up their repartee with a really "way out" opinion. But recently this wisecracking *enfant terrible* raised hackles among readers of his column in the *Nation* magazine and provoked a slew of letters to the editor for coming out for "United Nations" sanctions against Iraq last summer. Throughout the fall he was wagging his finger at leftists who called for "U.S. Out of the Persian Gulf." Instead, he insisted, "The call should now be for the conversion of the forces confronting Iraq in the region into a genuinely multilateral force—with diminished U.S. presence—under a genuine U.N. command" (*Nation*, 8 October 1990).

We already noted Cockburn's enlistment in the UN "Fig Leaf Brigade" last August when he endorsed the "entirely proper effort to establish U.N. sanctions against Saddam Hussein's grab of Kuwait." In our article "Desperately Seeking Imperialist Doves" (*WV* No. 510, 21 September 1990), we noted, "Cockburn and the CP want economic sanctions against Iraq, but nothing 'messy' like troops and warships. But to enforce sanctions, you need a blockade, and a blockade is an act of *war*.... Cockburn and the CP know full well that it was under the UN flag that Washington carried out its brutal war against the Korean people 40 years ago."

A host of letters objecting to Cockburn's wretched position poured into the *Nation*. He replied in a November 26 exchange that many thrashed him for "being naive about the U.N. One *Nation* editor plucked my arm and broke the news that the Security Council was inhabited by imperialist powers!" He magnanimously conceded that "the letter writers have a point undisputed by me when they say that at significant times the U.N. has been the cat's-paw of imperial knavery." Only "at significant times"? Not like *this* time when under the wand of George Bush it's somehow magically become *not* a cat's paw? Even the Old English Queen of Air and Darkness would have trouble with this feat.

"All the same," Cockburn goes on, "the U.N. Charter is a document of mostly laudable intent, and nations ought to adhere to it. I don't know of anything better on offer and many schemes a good deal worse." He even drags in UNESCO. Who but the most hardened, cynical beast among us could deny the UN cares about little children, like the ones it features on those tacky liberal Christmas cards? He agrees, "naturally," that the "legitimate national boundaries" such as those between the British-created oil emirate Kuwait and the British-created state of Iraq were "carved out by imperialist cartographers," but "at this point in the twentieth century I don't see much alternative."

WV Photo

San Francisco Examiner
31 August 1990

...waiting to be exploited by the Democrats. Bush's own standing in the polls had started to plunge.

The president soon bounded out ahead of the entirely proper effort to establish U.N. sanctions against Saddam Hussein's grab of Kuwait and hijacked the crisis.

Dick Che...

Radical gadfly Cockburn came out last August for Bush's "entirely proper" UN "sanctions," the prelude to Gulf war against Iraq.

But what passes for "collective security" and "international law" is the rule of the strongest imperial power. In fact, the UN Charter codified the post-World War II domination of the "big powers" led by the United States as it embarked on its short-lived "American century." For the past 15 years, the U.S. has been trying to recover imperialist hegemony after its humiliating defeat in the rice paddies of Vietnam. Today, as Washington poses as world policeman in the Persian Gulf, its purpose is to gain control of world oil supplies so that it can turn the spigot on or off against its economically more dynamic imperialist rivals, Germany and Japan.

As a rad-lib writing for a liberal audience, Cockburn regularly cited UN resolutions condemning contra terror in Nicaragua, Salvadoran death squads, etc. He was for UN "sanctions" against apartheid South Africa. Sure, as the number of Third World states increased during the 1960s and '70s, they passed a lot of resolutions in that impotent talk shop. Nothing is ever done about these pieces of paper: look at the calls for Israel to withdraw from the Occupied Territories, or the near-unanimous condemnation of the U.S. invasion of Panama last year. But when George Bush waves his magic wand a string of resolutions is passed and *enforced* by the U.S./NATO armada in the Gulf and the "multinational" expeditionary force in the Saudi desert, all under the blue flag of the UN.

Lenin rightly called the League of Nations, British imperialism's creature, a "den of thieves." It had its appeal for well-meaning liberals, as Alex's father, Claud Cockburn, wrote in *The Devil's Decade*: "'the League Idea' was among the most powerful of imponderable political forces in Britain during the thirties. It was as intangible, as pervasive, and as uplifting as laughing gas; except that it was not to be laughed at.... For huge numbers of people the League, too, had become an ally and instrument of Us against Them. Celebrants of the Silver Jubilee could feel that it was just the kind of good thing that George V and Queen Mary were surely in favour of."

During the '80s, Alexander Cockburn played the shockingly radical jester in the bourgeoisie's court of public opinion, one of those clever wisecracking types that Claud used to call "Smart-Alecs, the fly-boys of political punditry." Equally in vogue at the World Peace Council or among the glitterati at Elaine's, his particular role was to link the liberals with the radicals within the framework of the popular front. In George Bush's America, after eight years of Reaganism in which "liberal" became "the L-word," Cockburn has moved to the right along with the audience he plays to. As the bourgeoisie trumpets the "death of Communism" (in reality, the collapse of Stalinism), Cockburn sees no role at all for anything smacking of leftism. He dismisses anyone talking today of anti-imperialism or calling for defending Iraq as "rather sad, like an old lion being put through hoops in a circus."

In reply to his critics, Cockburn writes: "Absent the countervailing weight of the Soviet Union, mostly now in Bush and Baker's amen corner, the United States is indeed seemingly without challenge as 'the capitalist world's chief enforcer,' but it's not at all clear to me that this contour of the 'emerging world order' will be particularly durable." Leaving aside Cockburn's evident faith that the U.S. will simply agree to Germany and Japan joining the big boys with veto rights at the Security Council, what is this "new world order" that Bush envisions? The *Realpolitiker* in Washington evidently are looking back to the counterrevolutionary "Holy Alliance" formed under the aegis of Austrian foreign minister Metternich in 1815. Is Cockburn to be the "left-wing" scribe for the new Holy Alliance?

"Marxism-Leninism-Bonkerism"

Still and all, our parlour pink journalist doesn't want to be leading the charge of the heavy armored brigades into Kuwait the way Hearst's yellow journalism whipped up war fever to seize the spoils of the decaying Spanish empire. So after beating the drums for UN sanctions all fall, he is now for "peace" protests as Bush gears up for D-Day. But a reasonable, responsible peace crawl, if you please, the kind that will make Saddam Hussein the heavy while making namby-pamby criticisms of Bush. In his year-end *Nation* column, Cockburn denounces those who "espouse the cause of Iraq and eschew criticism of Saddam Hussein." This he identifies as "Marxism-Leninism-Bonkerism of a sort much savored by the Workers World Party, which seems to be the animating force behind the Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East, decorated by Ramsey Clark."

Really, Alex. We thought we were the real "Marxist-Leninist-Bonkerists" in your book. Why, it seems only yesterday when you first awarded the Spartacist League that title because of our commie contingent at a 1982 Washington demonstration on El Salvador: "The Spartacists are a flinty lot, with more than a whiff of Marxism-Leninism-Bonkerism, but their line on victory to the FDR/FMLN is unimpeachable. They should just learn to stop acting like assholes" (*Village Voice*, 6 April 1982). By which Cockburn meant that we should have acquiesced to the attempt by march organizers, particularly from Sam Marcy's Workers World Party, to kick us out of the staging area because our red flags and call for "military victory" for the "enemy" might scare off the liberals they wanted to entice.

But the reformists saw red at Cockburn's eccentric leftist praise of our "unimpeachable" line, so he had to do public penance, joining in the Big Lie campaign that we had engaged in "low-level violence" in a piece the next week titled "Assholes Revisited." Then a few years later Cockburn got burned again, fired from the *Voice* for offending a cabal of Zionists by accepting a grant from the Institute of Arab Studies to write a book on the Israeli invasion of Lebanon. Naturally, we defended him then. And now he's lined up with Israel and the U.S. behind the Arab reactionaries. Cockburn has stuck many a thorn in the Zionists' side—what's the matter, Alex, are they finally getting to you?

Back then Cockburn sided with Marcy's WWP in calling us "Bonkerists," today he applies this label to the Marcyites. Self-evidently, who is "bonkers"—i.e., crazy, beyond the pale—depends on your vantage point. And Cockburn's has demonstrably shifted. This is not just an individual quirk but reflects the response of a layer of disillusioned intellectuals to the "death of Communism" syndrome. It reminds us of the flight of the American fellow travelers, notably the *Partisan Review*

continued on page 10

UPI

Burnett/NY Times

UN "peace-keeping" troops in Lebanon policed Israeli border against Palestinian guerrillas (left). UN Security Council raises hands for U.S. war resolution (right).

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

A Big War for Big Oil

This silent sea of sand shifts over the Hejaz, dry abrasive waves whipped by desert sciroccos into shifting mountains.

The air is, by day, fiery; by night, frigid.

Hunkered under tents, dressed in brown camouflage, sit hundreds of thousands of American men and women, armed for war.

In the space of one generation, America is once again on the brink of war.

This time, with the willing submission of the Gorbachevian Empire, Communism is not the Enemy.

Indeed, contrary to reports, neither is Iraqi strongman, Saddam Hussein.

This is a war, not for ideology, nor for land.

The reason for war is simple—oil.

Standing, drilling, sitting in the desert are tens of thousands of African-Americans—Blacks, on the front lines of battle once more.

If war comes, and there is every reason to believe it imminent, there will be death, dislocated lives, and dismembered bodies among all combatants.

For what?

For once, the U.S. does not claim "democracy," for does it not now defend a royal theocracy?

Its claim to oppose "international aggression" is equally empty, for did it not sit back while South Africa for years pummelled Black African frontline states with air power?

The war preparations in Saudi Arabia are for one thing—oil.

So, thousands of African-Americans sit under a sapping broiling sun, to protect America's own Plutocracy—a government of the rich, by the rich, and for the rich. Like their fathers and mothers, who still awaken in shuddering cold sweats from the nightmare of Viet Nam, they are ready to embark on a deadly journey.

While political leaders cried crocodile tears over taxing America's millionaires, they rejected efforts to pass civil rights bills into law, designed to protect workers from job discrimination.

The message emerging from Washington is explicit—the job of government is to protect the rich, not the poor!

While politicos are solicitous of wealth, the poor, armed and trained to defend the wealthy, will return (if they live) to communities where joblessness, homelessness and hopelessness reign supreme; where those few who find jobs have no job protection; where the courts, home to wealthy appointees, act only in the interests of their class.

This is a war for U.S. and Western dominance for one of the planet's largest oil supplies.

Of what import if Saddam owned more access to Kuwaiti oil fields following his August invasion?

Would he drink it?

Or would he sell it, at a fair price? Isn't that the very essence of "free enterprise"?

As for the invasion itself, the invaders of Grenada, and Panama, have little room for criticism.

Indeed, is not Puerto Rico, a fruit of invasion—in fact, is not the United States itself?

29 October 1990

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Mumia faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Mumia, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, Drawer R, Huntingdon, PA 16652.

Cockburn...

(continued from page 9)

crowd, when liberals broke with Moscow over the Hitler-Stalin pact in 1939-40. In the heyday of the People's Front in Spain, "progressives" comfortably supported both Stalin and FDR. But when the Pop Front broke down and they had to choose between the two, they lined up with their own bourgeois masters.

As long as it was all the good guys against Reagan, Cockburn could comfortably appear on the gab shows while sporting some leftist threads (along with his Berber rug trousers). But when the liberals went for Bush's "UN sanctions" ploy, so did the erstwhile "rad-libs" around the *Nation*, Verso Press and the Berkeley-in-the-'60s crowd who now fax in from the Santa Cruz hills. Earth to Area Code 408: if you think about it for a minute, the idea that you could have a truly multinational, equitable new world order via the United Nations with "Poppy" Bush calling the shots is, in a word, "bonkers."

So today Saddam Hussein's seizure of "poor little Kuwait" has sent the Democrats scurrying into Bush's arms. And Cockburn excoriates the "savage and implacable tyranny" of the greedy Iraqi strongman while extolling the "dignity" of the Kuwaiti feudal autocrat. In response to us, he writes:

> "As far as the namby-pamby factor is concerned, the *Workers Vanguard* said airily in one recent issue that from the point of view of the working class it 'matters not one whit whether Kuwait...is controlled by Saddam Hussein or the filthy rich Kuwaiti merchants or Saudi monarchs.' Really?"

He goes on to say that the lives of Egyptian guest workers and others in the region have "been rendered horrible by Saddam's invasion." At that level, you could make a good case that the lives of Egyptian workers in Iraq or Palestinians in Kuwait have been rendered pretty miserable by Bush's sanctions.

Cockburn, meanwhile, writes of the Kuwaiti emir, "As such dynasties can go, the Sabah family has not been vile and is certainly more dignified than the Grimaldis." Frankly, we'd take the gambling, drinking, smoking and bikini-clad haven of Monaco over the feudal "dignity" of Kuwait where women go through life enveloped in black bags. Asked why he wasn't heading for the "battle line for freedom" in the Gulf, gonzo journalist Hunter S. Thompson said, "Cover a war in a place where you can't drink beer or talk to a woman? Hell, no!"

Depardon/Magnum

Bush demanded sanctions to defend "our way of life." Here's what Cockburn calls "dignified" lifestyle of Gulf oil sheiks: gun-toting guards for Rolls Royce with solid-gold grille.

But the real issue is not who's the worse dictator but what class forces are arrayed against each other. Cockburn says he's sick of people "writing to remind me that in the 1930s leftists of principle—Trotsky and Togliatti are two favorites cited by my correspondents—supported feudal Ethiopia against the invading Italians." So we know Alex knows it all, but for the benefit of other readers, we'll point out that you have in the Gulf a war between the most powerful imperialist power in the world and a relatively backward capitalist state. "Sanctions" are just the run-up to the shooting war. If the imperialist "coalition" wins, the result will not be democracy or defense of national sovereignty but mass murder, the obliteration of Iraq and the imposition of a satrap of Washington's choosing.

So back to "bonkers": in the current war of the "antiwar" demo dates, Cockburn favors January 26 ("a broad-based peace drive") as opposed to the "Bonkerists" who are having their D.C. do on January 19. In fact, both demos are would-be popular fronts. If Cockburn is actually opposed to war in the Gulf, then he ought to support a policy of genuine united-front actions where people may express their own political points of view on the war, as well as criticisms of other viewpoints. This was summed up by the Communist International in the phrases, "March separately, strike together" and "Freedom of criticism, unity in action." But the pop-fronters are opposed to this principled practice precisely because they want to censor "red" views, including *self-censoring* even their own reformist politics, in order to make their movement "safe" for the Democrats.

As for us, we say forthrightly that proletarian communists have a side in that war: "Defeat U.S. Imperialism—Defend Iraq!" And that doesn't mean softening one iota our revolutionary opposition to the despot Hussein, murderer of Kurds and communists (see "Iraqi Rulers' Bloody Reign: Saddam Hussein's War on Kurds, Leftists," *WV* No. 517, 4 January, and "Iraqi Rulers' Bloody Road to Power," *WV* No. 511, 5 October 1990). Rather than siding with Washington to support the feudal sheik against the bloody Ba'athist, we call for workers revolution throughout the Near East against the sheiks, colonels and Zionist butchers. And the Spartacist League fights to bring down "our" imperialist ruling class, the biggest butchers of all and the main enemy of mankind, through class struggle at home.

Well, there we go again, it's that old-time Marxism-Leninism. As Alex said of the glass house on the East River, we "don't know of anything better on offer and many schemes a good deal worse."■

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Gulf Protests...

(continued from page 16)

from the Vietnam War "antiwar movement" to Jesse Jackson's "Rainbow Coalition," are being the "best builders" of a new "popular front" centered on Ramsey Clark, the attorney general in Lyndon Johnson's war cabinet who once prosecuted anti-Vietnam War protesters, but today agrees with Bush's aims while disagreeing with his methods.

The Campaign (January 26), which is supported by the Communist Party, Socialist Workers Party, Socialist Action, International Socialist Organization and rad-lib writer Alexander Cockburn, as well as the virulently anti-communist liberals of SANE, also has its featured Democrats including Congressmen Major Owens and Charles Hayes and local pols like Harry Britt and Gus Newport. In contrast to the squabbling leftist brokers for class collaboration, the Spartacist League follows the line of Lenin, who fought against the empty "peace" slogans of the opportunists during the first imperialist world war, insisting that "a struggle for peace *without* a revolutionary struggle is a hollow and false phrase, and that a revolutionary struggle for socialism is the only way to put an end to the horror of war" ("The First Step," October 1915).

The Proletariat and the Iraqi Invasion

World War I was a war between two competing imperialist coalitions. The first step in fighting against the U.S.-instigated Armageddon in the Persian Gulf is to recognize that the world's workers must take a side in this war, with Iraq, in seeking the defeat of imperialism. Those would-be "progressives" who support "UN sanctions," in contrast, join Bush in condemning Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait. Thus Alex Cockburn takes the SL to task (see article, page 9) for stating that, from the proletarian standpoint, "it matters not one whit whether Kuwait—that oil well turned into a state by British colonialism—is controlled by Saddam Hussein or the filthy rich Kuwaiti or Saudi monarchs" ("The Left and the Persian Gulf: Desperately Seeking Imperialist Doves," *WV* No. 510, 21 September 1990).

The fact that Saddam Hussein is a butcher of his own people does not determine a working-class attitude toward a confrontation between Iraq and imperialism. No one seriously believes that CIA/contra chief Bush would bring democracy to Baghdad: just look at Panama, where the American invasion replaced one drug-money-laundering U.S. puppet (Noriega) with another (Endara). During the Italian invasion of the African kingdom of Ethiopia in the mid-1930s, some leftists took a neutral stance saying that both sides were reactionary despotisms. Trotsky replied, "They thus define the character of the war by the political *form* of the state...without taking into consideration the social foundations of both 'dictatorships'":

> "If Mussolini triumphs, it means the reinforcement of fascism, the strengthening of imperialism, and the discouragement of the colonial peoples in Africa and elsewhere. The victory of the Negus [Ethiopian ruler Haile Selassie], however, would mean a mighty blow not only at Italian imperialism but at imperialism as a whole, and would lend a powerful impulsion to the rebellious forces of the oppressed peoples. One must really be completely blind not to see this."
>
> —Leon Trotsky, "On Dictators and the Heights of Oslo" (April 1936)

Following the principles of Lenin and Trotsky, the Spartacist League stands on the ground of proletarian communism: we don't give a rat's ass whether Saddam Hussein or Emir al-Sabah lords it over Kuwait, but we resolutely defend Iraq against the U.S.-led imperialist war. In contrast, one ostensibly Trotskyist organization, the Fourth Internationalist Tendency (FIT) which was bureaucratically expelled by the SWP a few years ago, has an internal fight going over whether to tail the liberal bourgeoisie in condemning Hussein's takeover of Kuwait or to tail Arab nationalism and hail it as an anti-imperialist act!

Der Spiegel

Battle in Arabian desert against battle-hardened Iraqi army won't be easy walkover like U.S.' rape of tiny Grenada.

FITers Dave Riehle and Samuel Adams argue that "the overthrow of the pro-imperialist Kuwaiti monarchy is an extremely positive development. And Saddam Hussein's call for the Arab masses throughout the Middle East to rise up against their rulers—a call admittedly made to serve Hussein's own interests—is also nonetheless progressive." Steve Bloom and Tom Barrett counter that "we are for pan-Arab unity against imperialism, but Saddam Hussein is a fraud—as demonstrated by his eagerness to accept U.S. and other imperialist aid during the recent war against Iran" (*Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*, November 1990).

With their allegiance to Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" (USec), which has long upheld the myth of "the Arab Revolution," both sides in this dispute agree that there is a "progressive" Arab bourgeoisie. They just disagree whether the Iraqi strongman is it. But all the various sheiks, emirs, kings, colonels and nationalist "*rais*" (leaders), from Gamal Abdel Nasser to Saddam Hussein, are enemies of the working people and oppressed minorities. They have abandoned (and often themselves brutally repressed) the Palestinian people who suffer under the boot of the kill-crazy Zionist maniacs. And at one time or another they have all been on the imperialists' payroll.

The idea that a Nasser or a Hussein could lead a revolutionary struggle against imperialism, feudalism and Zionism flies in the face of Trotsky's program of permanent revolution. Trotsky held that in the imperialist epoch, even "democratic" revolutionary tasks in the colonial and semi-colonial countries, such as national independence and the elimination of feudal holdovers, cannot be achieved by the weak bourgeoisie but only through the proletariat, led by a Marxist party, taking power. And if workers rule is to survive, that must lead to undertaking socialist tasks. What's needed is to unite the toilers of the region in class struggle behind an internationalist, communist vanguard.

Faced with this division, the FIT maintained internal détente by endorsing *both* January demos. And last fall they argued that "antiwar" groups should "limit demands to 'U.S. Out Now!' and not take up the question of Iraq's invasion of Kuwait" (*Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*, October 1990). Rather than seeking Marxist clarity, they try to reconcile competing opportunist appetites.

The FIT yearns for the salad days of the SWP-led "antiwar" movement of the late 1960s and early '70s when they could cozy up to big-time Democratic Party politicians. Today Jack Barnes' SWP wants to be the U.S. cheerleaders for Fidel Castro. On paper it claims to "advocate a victory for Iraq over the blockading imperialist-organized armies" (*Militant*, 21 December 1990). Yet it is part of the (January 26) Campaign which supports the imperialist sanctions (except for food and medicine, thank you). And while the SWP is now distributing a pamphlet *U.S. Hands Off the Mideast! Cuba Speaks Out at the United Nations* (1990), supposedly as a model of anti-imperialism, this includes Cuba endorsing most of the sanctions and condemning Iraq's seizure of Kuwait!

Bulletin

Young Socialist

At 1971 antiwar conference, SWP goons assaulted members of PL and Spartacists for opposing presence of bourgeois politician—Democratic Senator Vance Hartke was keynote speaker. SWP antiwar honcho Fred Halstead with social-patriotic sign (right).

Cynics and Confusionists

Perhaps the most cynical of all organizations claiming to be socialist revolutionaries while adapting themselves to the popular-front demonstrations is the Chicago-based International Socialist Organization (ISO) which is angling to be the organizational movers and shakers of the antiwar popular front in the Midwest. In an article by John Molyneux entitled "Socialists and the Gulf War," the ISO says that "in the case of the blockade and in the event of actual war, we are on the side of Iraq." However, the article goes on to say that raising the slogan "Victory to Iraq" would be "a serious tactical error" that would "sow all sorts of confusion in our audience" which would not distinguish between political and military support. So to avoid "confusion" these charlatans bury any mention of military support!

More to the point, says the ISO, it would be "a sectarian error erecting a barrier between ourselves and many of those who are genuinely opposed to the war drive or are moving to a position of opposing it but have not yet thought matters through to the end." To put matters plainly, it might make them *unpopular*, horror of horrors, so the *ISO refuses to tell the truth to the masses*. In any serious class battle, the key question, as the coal miners' song puts it, is "which side are you on, boys, which side are you on?" So in the face of a monstrous impending war, these yellow "socialists" with the backbone of an amoeba can only muster up enough guts to whisper (stage left) that they are secretly "on the side of Iraq."

The class line is something the ISO and its mentors of Tony Cliff's British SWP have never understood. In 1950, the Cliffites broke from the Trotskyist movement by refusing to defend North Korea against the U.S., which then also fought under the UN flag. During the squalid, murderous Iran-Iraq war in the '80s, when there was never any side for the working class, the ISO abandoned its initial defeatist line to side with Khomeini's Iran! Where the Trotskyists see the Soviet Union as a bureaucratically degenerated workers state, the Cliffite "State Department socialists" refuse to defend it against imperialism (claiming the USSR is "state capitalist"). And in the bitter 1985 British coal miners strike, SWP supporters waltzed across miners' picket lines. No wonder such "scab socialists" can't take a forthright stand in defense of Iraq.

In contrast to the ISO cynics, the Marxist-Leninist Party (MLP), an odd Stalinist sect which hails Enver Hoxha (the departed Stalinist boss of Albania), openly polemicizes against defending Iraq while denouncing as reformist the two January demonstrations. The MLP sees no difference between military defense of Iraq and political support to Saddam Hussein, and therefore accuses sundry "Trotskyists" of perpetrating "a total fraud" (*Workers' Advocate*, 1 December 1990). "In the real world," they say, "you can't separate the military from the political." So to defend Nicaragua against Yankee imperialism you have to

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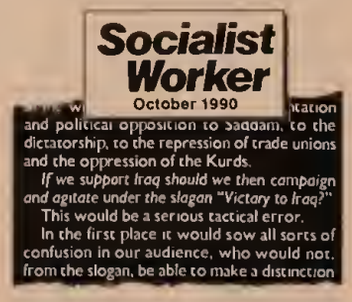

Socialist Worker
October 1990

...itation
and political opposition to Saddam, to the dictatorship, to the repression of trade unions and the oppression of the Kurds.

If we support Iraq should we then campaign and agitate under the slogan "Victory to Iraq?"

This would be a serious tactical error.

In the first place it would sow all sorts of confusion in our audience, who would not, from the slogan, be able to make a distinction

ISO cynically claims to stand on side of Iraq, but to say so out loud would be "tactical error" because it would be unpopular.

Gulf Protests...

(continued from page 11)

politically support the Sandinistas? To defend the Spanish Republic against Franco you have to politically support the popular front? To defend the Teamsters against government union-busters you have to politically support the corrupt sellout bureaucracy?

Taking out WWP and ISO for their undercover "support" for Iraq, while falsely accusing them of being Trotskyists, the MLP doesn't even mention the Spartacist League. They do, however, read *Workers Vanguard*, and felt compelled to polemicize against a quotation we used from Lenin and Zinoviev's 1915 pamphlet *Socialism and War*:

> "For example, if tomorrow, Morocco were to declare war on France, or India on Britain, or Persia or China on Russia, and so on, these would be 'just,' and 'defensive' wars, *irrespective* of who would be the first to attack; any socialist would wish the oppressed, dependent and unequal states victory over the oppressive, slave-holding and predatory 'Great' Powers."

Now that's clear enough, but these "Marxist-Leninists" can't see "any parallel" of Iraq vs. the U.S. today with "the hypothetical wars Lenin was discussing." Why not? Because India was a colony. So what about China? Well, Hussein is a reactionary who didn't want a confrontation with imperialism. But as we pointed out, "When Lenin wrote this, Morocco was ruled by the sultan Mulai Yusuf, Persia by the military dictator Ephraim Khan and China by the warlord Yuan Shih-kai—rulers just as bloody and reactionary as Iraq's Saddam Hussein."

American imperialism certainly qualifies hands down as a "predatory great power" which must be defeated. The MLP states, correctly, that "Saddam deserves to be overthrown but it's not up to Washington to deal with him—that's a task before the Iraqi and other oppressed peoples of that region." And a victorious defense of Iraq against the imperialist military juggernaut would enormously embolden the working masses in Iraq and throughout the Near East. For would-be communists not to see that is to be willfully blind.

Aside from its quirky theorizing, pushing further and further back the historical moment when the "communist movement" went wrong while still clinging to Stalinism, the MLP's contradiction lies in its desire to be the left wing of a "movement." Its criticism of "the movement" is that somehow the reformists are dupes of their liberal bloc partners! *Workers' Advocate* (1 January) declares "defy the liberals, don't split the movement!" Yet while it makes "left" criticisms, the MLP's own program remains very much in the popular-front framework. Take their front-page headline, "Take to the streets against Bush's war." This is an appeal for a pro-Democratic Party "peace" movement. The Spartacist League calls for labor political strikes against the bipartisan imperialist war! We say the workers in Iraq and the U.S. need a revolutionary, vanguard party to lead them and the oppressed masses in struggle for socialist revolution.

WV Photo

Antiwar protest in Washington, D.C., January 1973: Spartacists fought for revolutionary victory of Vietnamese workers and peasants.

Pop Front "Peace" Crawls

All of these various pseudo-socialists are trying to sell one or another version of an "antiwar" popular front whose "classless" slogans are intended to tie radical youth, oppressed minorities and militant workers to the class enemy. While the Communist Party and various liberals push "no war," about as empty a pious wish as one could imagine, Workers World says "stop Bush's war," appealing to the Democrats. Meanwhile, the SWP/SA/FIT/ISO/MLP are for "out now"...and join with the January 26 "Campaign" which calls for no such thing. Behind the maneuvering, they are one and all bidding for a political bloc with a *defeatist wing of the bourgeoisie*, the imperialist "doves."

Today's "war of the demo dates" pitting the "Coalition" against the "Campaign" mirrors the organizational maneuvering during the Vietnam War between the SWP's National Peace Action Coalition (NPAC) and the smaller CP-led People's Coalition for Peace and Justice (PCPJ). NPAC said "out now," PCPJ said "peace now," and later "sign the treaty." NPAC was "single-issue," PCPJ was "multi-issue." They all had their favorite bourgeois politicians on the stage to show respectability (NPAC had Indiana Senator Vance Hartke, PCPJ had NYC Congresswoman Bella Abzug). Secretly they had more "advanced" positions: if you carefully read the *Militant* you might possibly get an inkling that the SWP was for the NLF. But their "points of unity" and "policy of alliances" were *liberal politics*.

Internally, these various coalitions were characterized by the murkiest organizational machinations, often accompanied by dirty redbaiting, because the various "leftists" were intent on hiding their politics. But when there was a real radical impulse, they would show their true colors and act as *cops to defend the bourgeoisie*. Thus NPAC "marshals" chanted "peaceful, legal, peaceful, legal" and formed "daisy chains" of goons with linked arms to cordon off SDS groups marching with NLF flags. In those days *thousands* of New Left militants *hated* the reformist SWP for pacifying the "antiwar movement." And on the July 4th weekend of 1971, the SWP drew the line in blood by brutally beating up and throwing out leftists, including the Spartacist League, who protested against Hartke and UAW bureaucrat (and former CIA bagman) Victor Reuther at an NPAC meeting. Meanwhile, the CP and liberals of the PCPJ would disappear every other year to become open organizers for Democratic Party "peace candidates."

Now the reformists are trying to sell young antiwar activists a bill of goods, claiming that "peace" parades down Fifth Avenue stopped the Vietnam War. This bogus claim is supported also by the right-wingers, with their Hitlerite "stab in the back" myth that blames the humiliating defeat of U.S. imperialism on the "commie press" and "long-haired peaceniks." The rampant dissension on the "home front" did have an effect, in the first instance on the morale of U.S. troops who *wouldn't fight* (something the right-wingers don't want to face). But the basic fact is that the U.S. was beaten militarily on the battlefield by an armed people fighting for social revolution. And as soon as U.S. troops were pulled out in 1973, the "peace movement" simply vanished even though the war continued for two more years.

In peddling their rewrite of history, the various denizens of the reformist swamp recall the social-patriotism in which they wrapped their "peace" propaganda. "This interaction between millions of people at home and their loved ones in Vietnam ultimately proved to be irresistible," says *Socialist Action* (December 1990), another grouping of SWP expellees. "Bring our boys home," proclaimed the SWP. The Trotskyist Spartacist League, in contrast, proclaimed from the outset of the war "Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution!" Our "boys," we said, were the "Viet Cong." Our response to the U.S. bombing of Cambodia and the massacre at Kent State in 1970 was to raise the slogan, "All Indochina Must Go Communist!" When Kissinger negotiated the 1973 Paris accords, the SL declared "There Is No Peace: The Civil War Goes On."

In the early 1980s, "anti-intervention" activists in El Salvador protests raised the slogan "No more Vietnams." Interestingly, this motto was taken up by none other than Richard Nixon, as the title for a volume of his memoirs. This is because it expressed the political standpoint of the American bourgeoisie which moumed its defeat in the rice paddies of Indochina. The Spartacist League, however, declared: "Vietnam Was a Victory! Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism!" With Lenin and Trotsky, we saw and see imperialist war as the mother of socialist revolution. We look not to the liberal bourgeoisie but to the working people at home and abroad.

At a 1967 antiwar march the Spartacist League distributed a leaflet entitled "From Protest to Power" calling for "concretely building to a one-day general strike in factories, offices, ghetto neighborhoods and schools as the next national mobilization." And in a July 1971 supplement distributed at the NPAC meeting where the SWP sealed its popular front in blood, we called: "*For Labor Political Strikes Against the War!* No amount of student strikes and weekend peace crawls can force U.S. imperialism to end the Indochinese war. But a strike by U.S. workers in solidarity with the Indochinese working people could compel the capitalists to face an enemy even more potent than the Vietnamese Revolution—a powerful, organized and conscious working class in struggle for its own class interests in the very citadel of imperialism."

To those who want to fight imperialist war, we point to the only victorious "antiwar movement" in history, Lenin and Trotsky's 1917 Bolshevik Revolution which ended the slaughter of World War I for the Russian workers and peasants and opened up the perspective of achieving a world without war through socialist revolution. This is the perspective of the Spartacists today. ■

Zionist "Final Solution"...

(continued from page 7)

can play a vanguard role in uniting the Arab workers and peasants and national minorities in revolutionary class struggle and in appealing to the Hebrew workers to break from their crazed, expansionist rulers.

Unfortunately, in their desperation, the Palestinians are being driven to see in the despot Saddam Hussein a potential savior. Many, frustrated over the nationalist PLO's bankrupt appeals to the Western imperialists, are embracing the reactionary fundamentalism which has swept the Muslim masses of the Near East. And with Washington's invasion of the Persian Gulf, many Palestinian workers have been forced out of their strategic roles as workers in the oil fields.

Should the Zionist state succeed in a genocidal onslaught against the Palestinians of the Occupied Territories, with the necessarily horrific repercussions this will have on Arab citizens of Israel, it will have no less an impact on the political future of the Near East than the Hitlerite eradication of millions of Jews had on East Europe two generations earlier.

But if war with Iraq is the Israeli rulers' hoped-for vehicle for a "Final Solution," it may also trigger social upheavals throughout the Near East. And while the mass of the Israeli people are currently under the sway of racist reaction, Israel remains a class society and a far from stable one. The influx of Soviet immigrants has created further fissures in Israeli society, as the oppressed Sephardic Jews in particular find themselves displaced one notch lower on the social ladder.

The number of homeless has skyrocketed in the past year, with tent cities springing up all over the country. Sephardic youth scream "Russians go home" at the new immigrants, and in November a delegation of Oriental Jews even went to Moscow to call on the Soviet government to halt further immigration to Israel. But Sephardic Jews today provide fodder for the parties of the fascistic far right, seeing as their main enemies the Arabs who are even more oppressed than they are.

It is certainly in their class and social interests to ally with the Palestinian workers in struggle against the Israeli capitalist oppressors. And should a generalized conflagration in the Near East extend to Israeli soil, it may well shatter the seemingly monolithic Zionist consensus of this fragile garrison state, creating openings for joint class struggle.

What is needed is a Trotskyist party which can appeal to all workers and oppressed on the basis of their common internationalist interests, guaranteeing the national rights of both the Hebrew and Palestinian peoples within the framework of a socialist federation of the Near East. This is the only road to destroying the genocidal Zionist war machine. *Now more than ever—Defend the Palestinian people! Israel out of the Occupied Territories!* ■

Spartacist Forum

Defend Iraq! Defeat U.S. Imperialism!

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Saturday, February 2, 7:30 p.m.

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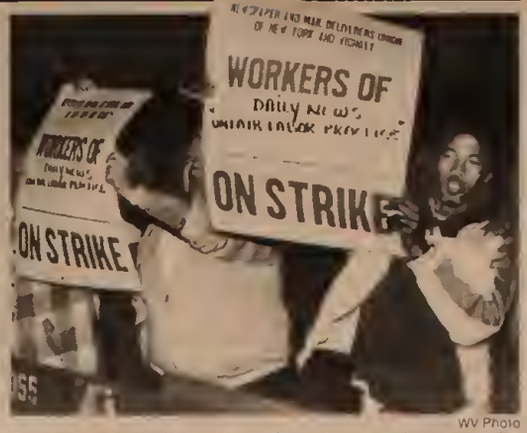
Daily News Strikers:

Shut Down the Presses, Stop the Newsprint!

"Corporate Campaign" Is a Loser's Game!



WV Photo

Pickets outside *Daily News* Brooklyn printing plant the night the strike began.

The *Daily News* strike is in grave danger. From the first day, the Tribune Co. owners have been able to run the presses at the *News* plants in Brooklyn, Garden City and Kearny, New Jersey. Yes, for 12 weeks the 2,200 striking *Daily News* workers have stood up to armed thugs and professional strikebreakers, taking almost 200 arrests. Striking drivers have kept the scabloid off the city's newsstands, and the strike has been hugely popular among workers and minorities throughout the city. But the union tops, with their impotent consumer boycott and 42nd Street rallies to blow off steam, have pissed away the strike. The convicted racists of *News* management have enlisted an army of 2,000, mostly black homeless, to hawk the scab paper. And now a crew of slick, "progressive" labor fakers are greasing the skids to send the strike into a long, losing tailspin.

At a conference of striking unions held at New York Technical College on January 8, the heads of the Allied Printing Trades Council unions launched a national "corporate campaign." This consists of dispersing strikers around the country to beg consumers to boycott the Tribune Co.'s far-flung operations, everything from the Chicago Cubs to the Joan Rivers Show. This is a *diversion* from the crucial battle to *shut down the scab paper*. This is a losers' game! If it is not reversed, it will spell defeat for this first critical class battle of the '90s.

Not once has the strike leadership appealed to the Teamsters, longshoremen and railroad workers for a *workers boycott* to choke off the deliveries of newsprint, ink and fuel to the presses. Newsprint from the Tribune-owned Quebec and Ontario Paper Company mills moves from Baie Comeau, Quebec into New York untouched. Union officials admit that boxcars of paper roll into the Harlem River rail yard in the Bronx and ships unload it at the Port Elizabeth, New Jersey docks.

Daily News strikers must set up picket lines calling on rail workers and longshoremen on both sides of the border to do their elementary duty and *refuse to handle that newsprint!* The Tribune bosses will howl and run to the nearest judge for an injunction, but no working-class victories were ever won by crawling before the bosses' courts. Throw their strikebreaking injunctions in the gutter together with their scab newspaper!

While the labor-traitors throw away the momentum of the *Daily News* strike, Democratic Party hatchet men Governor Cuomo and Mayor Dinkins have cracked the whip against city workers. In a move that the *New York Times* (8 January) gloated "virtually amounted to a reopening" of the teachers contract, the United Federation of Teachers bureaucrats have offered to "defer" pay in the face of Dinkins' threats to lay off over 4,000 teachers. Some bitter NYC workers are just now getting checks from the last time they "deferred" pay—in the 1975 "budget crisis"!

City workers in AFSCME District Council 37 and Teamsters Local 237 were just handed a contract that amounts to a *cut* in real wages, and loots money that is supposed to go to their pension fund. Even this was too rich for the labor-hating *Times*, who editorialized that Dinkins should "Go Back to the Table." They want to loot the pension funds to pay off the city budget deficit! DC 37 head Stanley Hill and Teamsters local president Barry Feinstein traded a wage freeze next year and thousands of layoffs for this garbage. Transit workers, already hit with big layoffs in track and structures divisions, are next on the hit list when their contract expires in April.

The budget cuts and layoffs literally mean murder. When the city closed engine companies in the fire department, overwhelmingly in poor and minority communities, it took less than three days for the first deaths to occur. Two brothers died in Queens because the local engine company had been closed, and the more distant pumpers didn't have the correct connections for the hydrants. City workers: vote this contract down and organize a strike alongside your brothers and sisters at the *News*! Smash the no-strike Taylor Law! NYC pays $2.1 billion yearly to the banks just in interest—Cancel the debt, screw Wall Street!

The "corporate campaign" game is being run by the "progressive" New York union bureaucrats like Dennis Rivera, president of hospital workers Local 1199, who runs the CLC "support" committee on the *News* strike. But "Saint Dennis," as some of the old line craft union tops are labeling him, is no savior for the *Daily News* strikers. His corporate boycott campaign is modeled after the one that sealed the defeat of the 1985-86 Hormel meatpackers strike. With the advice of their reformist misleaders, the strikers abandoned the roving pickets which had been their strength, and retreated into a "Cram Your Spam" boycott while scabs continued production. Just as in the Hormel strike, Rivera and crew are getting help from the fake-left as they bury the *News* strike with a consumer boycott.

Some reformists, like the supporters of the Socialist Workers Party and their badly misnamed *Militant*, are simply press agents for the union misleaders who are killing the strike. The SWP, which went all the way with the Machinists' union bureaucrats in *opposing* solidarity strike action with the Eastern Airlines strike, played a similar role in covering the betrayals of the Hormel strike leaders. Others, like the *Labor Militant* group, nod in the direction of mass picketing or plant occupations, before pushing the useless consumer boycott and supporting the current leadership of the strike.

A dubious outfit called the Workers League has been seen on the picket lines selling their paper, the *Bulletin*. (Pressmen will notice the *Bulletin* has no union bug—it isn't even printed by union labor.) The Workers League, like the Progressive Labor Party and others, issues paper calls for a "general strike." How is this to come about? The WL's answer is to lobby the certified sellouts in the Central Labor Council! Meanwhile, the Workers League is silent on the Tribune Co.'s attempt to pit the majority white unions against the black and Hispanic poor of New York. What else would one expect from the outfit that *supported* the 1971 strike of the racist NYC cop "union"?

The Spartacist League has called for NYC labor to call a citywide strike, joining together *News* strikers and municipal workers, and connected this to the urgent tasks of shutting down the presses and choking off the newsprint. We joined with militant transit workers in calling on the TWU to chase the hawkers of the scab *News* out of the subways. We have fought to mobilize labor in defense of the strike; in the first four days over 10,000 copies of a special *Workers Vanguard*

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Defend RCP Flag Fetishists!

CLEVELAND—For protesting U.S. imperialism's war moves in the Persian Gulf, Cheryl Lessin, a member of the Revolutionary Communist Party (RCP), was sentenced December 28 to one year in state prison. Police arrested Lessin for burning an American flag at a demonstration last August. When they found out that burning a flag isn't illegal, the cops then charged her with "aggravated disorderly conduct" and "inciting to violence." This outrageous attempt to censor political opponents of the U.S. Persian Gulf invasion must be stopped!

To push through this political witchhunt, the police painted 46-year-old Cheryl Lessin as a violent nut who was kicking and swinging at bystanders. But numerous defense witnesses, including a reporter from the *Plain Dealer*, refuted the cops' lies. From beginning to end the trial was a farce: Judge Patricia Cleary even claimed, in a letter to the Ohio Supreme Court, that RCPers were planning to throw a pie at her during the trial! Lessin's supporters were forced to undergo body searches before being allowed in the courtroom, while right-wing yahoos waving flags were not.

One of Lessin's lawyers was cited for contempt and threatened with jail for questioning potential jurors' views on communism and flag-burning. Twice the jury declared themselves deadlocked, but were eventually badgered by the judge into returning a guilty verdict. Judge Cleary even tried to jail Lessin for a month before her sentencing, at which she told her that she wasn't a candidate for probation since "you indicated no intention of obeying the rules."

The RCP's flag-burning antics are hardly a serious opposition to U.S. imperialism. They make a fetish out of burning American flags, as if trashing the symbol could incinerate U.S. imperialism. But in Bush's "New World Order," even isolated acts of resistance are to be met with the full force of the state's repressive apparatus. Assistant County Prosecutor Robert Coury declared: "if she wants to laugh at the system, which she did during the trial, at the pre-sentence report and now, let her laugh in Marysville [prison]."

Lessin's lawyers are appealing her conviction. We demand that Cheryl Lessin be immediately released. Donations to her defense can be made to the Cheryl Lessin Defense Committee, P.O. Box 06082, Cleveland, OH 44106.

Chicago Cops Attack Antiwar Protesters

CHICAGO—On the night of December 29, Chicago's notoriously brutal police seized on a small protest organized by the Revolutionary Communist Youth Brigade (RCYB—youth group of the RCP) outside a joint concert by Public Enemy and Sonic Youth as a pretext for a full-blown cop riot. About a dozen protesters against the U.S. war moves in the Persian Gulf were bullhorning and leafletting the young, mostly white crowd as they exited the Aragon Ballroom in Uptown Chicago.

The melee began when undercover cops in the crowd started a shouting match with a protester, then threw him to the ground and dragged him away. When bystanders objected, the cops waded into the crowd, throwing people to the pavement and beating them bloody. In all, 18 people were arrested, including two RCYBers, all charged with "mob action"; at least one has also been charged with assault.

Every time there's a large rap concert the Chicago cops turn the area around the performance into an armed camp and make a sport of harassing black youth who attend. This time they saw a triple opportunity, to terrorize antiwar protesters, as well as white kids who listen to black rappers, and to smear Public Enemy for "inciting violence."

The Spartacist League demands that all charges against the victims of this blatant cop provocation be dropped.

Jeffrey Sachs...

(continued from page 5)

with other labor and opposition leaders.

Today most of the tin mines in Bolivia have been closed down. The miners and their families have been reduced to begging or selling trinkets on the streets to survive. In a paper on Bolivia written in 1988, Sachs argues that to "preserve fiscal balance" the government "had to launch a brutal battle to reduce payrolls" in the mines. But it was not just a matter of "balancing the budget," it was a cold-blooded program designed to *eliminate the tin miners*, who were the most class-conscious and combative proletariat in all of Latin America.

In this paper, Sachs notes with admiration that "illegal narcotics traffickers have demonstrated enormous entrepreneurial skill in mobilizing resources into the sector, developing transportation and communications lines, etc." While the rest of the population starves, the drug barons have flourished in Bolivia, where cocaine is the biggest money-making export. This is the kind of raw exploitation, thievery and murder that is at the heart of the robber baron capitalism that Sachs expounds and Solidarność seeks to implement—survival of the fittest and devil take the hindmost.

The prescription of Walesa and his cohorts in Poland today is the "cultivation and promotion of small entrepreneurial activity, the creation of new elites from below." These are code words for a desperate struggle for the division of the spoils, in which black marketeers and other like-minded thieves come out on top.

AP

San Miguel/Buenos Aires

Sachs-style austerity requires "decisive actions" against the people. Above: Bolivian miners whose jobs were axed, surrounded and arrested in August 1986 hunger march. Sachs' starvation plans also provoked food riots in Argentina, put down by police and army (right).

Imposing the Bloody Dictatorship of Capital

In Poland, however, Sachs is confronted with a proletariat which despite its hatred of the former Stalinist regime is used to living in a society where, in however deformed a way, workers' interests were supposed to be paramount. Sachs carps that his plans to sell off the former state industries are complicated by workers who think "*they* own the firms." Or as an editor of one of Poland's new business magazines put it last year: "Our people hate Communism but when you start talking about privatization, many of them act like Communists."

As we wrote in our article "East Europe: Reaction and Resistance" (*WV* No. 505, 29 June 1990):

> "Capitalist restoration is a bloody business, and the shock troops of counter-revolution have begun openly mobilizing. Should the proletariat, misled and atomized by the Stalinists for decades, fail to assert its class power to oppose and defeat counterrevolution, the resulting governments will not be stable parliamentary democracies but fascist dictatorships forged through crushing the deformed workers states and the workers organizations."

The need for a "strong" government to discipline the Polish working class, modeled after the vicious right-wing regimes they have advised in Latin America, runs throughout Sachs' writings.

A decade ago Solidarność attempted to rally Polish workers behind its counter-revolutionary bid for power against the despised, bureaucratic Stalinist regime with the Cold War cry for "free elections." From behind Harvard's ivied walls, the Solidarność government's chief economic adviser warns against "voting based on proportional representation" in Eastern Europe, arguing that this "tends to produce weak multi-party coalition governments that have a particularly difficult time in reducing an inherited budget deficit."

Indeed, popular opposition to Sachs' immiserization program was a major factor leading to the fall of the Mazowiecki government in the recent elections. A big reason for the surprising success of the eccentric émigré businessman Tyminski in the first round of the elections is that he denounced the Mazowiecki regime for a "betrayal of the nation" for selling state-owned enterprise to foreign capitalists at dirt-cheap prices.

Veteran Trotskyist Ludwik Hass observed (see article, page 5) that this regime came to be identified with the old Stalinist apparatchiks (the *nomenklatura*), many of whom still staff the Polish state bureaucracy. Walesa exploited this popular sentiment, attacking Mazowiecki (whose government was openly capitalist restorationist) *from the right*. Aspiring to be a new Pilsudski, the fascistic dictator of interwar Poland, Walesa called for a wholesale anti-Communist witchhunt of anyone with a "history of perceived collaboration," and railed that "a gang of Jews has got hold of the trough and is bent on destroying us." Meanwhile the fascistic KPN of Leczek Moczulski daubs walls with slogans quoting Hitler that "The Jews are multiplying, and soap is lacking."

One prominent member of Walesa's Centrum wing of Solidarność says baldly: "Centrum doesn't intend to be a party for workers. The thing that has to be done is to emphasize development over stabilization, to clear a path for the winners and *to demobilize the losers*." The *New Yorker* journalist added sardonically, "the losers being all those industrial workers who would quickly be losing their jobs were the development process to accelerate."

Over the past year over one million Polish workers have lost their jobs. Sachs and his Solidarność clients are planning to drive more onto the streets in their push for privatization. Sachs is trying to sell the Polish proletariat off as a cheap labor pool: "With skilled workers in Eastern Europe now earning about $1 per hour, the region will provide an enormous opportunity as a production site for European, Japanese, and U.S. firms selling mainly in the West." The problem is that none of the imperialist backers of Solidarność want to put a dime into the sinkhole of the Polish economy.

For Revolutionary Unity of Russian, Polish and German Workers!

A decade ago, the Spartacist League was unique in recognizing Solidarność as the counterrevolutionary agency of the International Monetary Fund, the CIA and the Pope. The rest of the left echoed their own imperialist rulers in heralding Walesa & Co. as the champions of "freedom and democracy" in Poland. The corrupt Stalinists, who ruined the economy, mortgaged the country to the Western banks and conciliated the forces for counterrevolution, drove the overwhelming bulk of the Polish proletariat into the arms of Solidarność. But today, Polish workers have come to see the former leaders of this "union" not only as traitors but as their enemies.

More starkly and openly than in any other East European country, the drive toward capitalist restoration in Poland means the immiserization of the working people. The perspective of Trotskyists is to direct working-class resistance to Sachs' economic shock treatment into the formation of organs of *proletarian dual power* (such as strike committees, factory committees, workers militias), which can be the basis for overthrowing the Walesa regime of the International Monetary Fund bankers and establishing a government based on workers democracy.

The fight to resist the ravages of capitalist restoration urgently requires a communist leadership that can revive the proletarian internationalist traditions that once animated the Polish working class. As our comrades of the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski, now a sympathizing group of the International Communist League, wrote in the agreement for common work with the ICL (*Spartacist* No. 45-46, Winter 1990-91):

> "Polish communists must fight relentlessly against Pilsudskiite nationalism, which subjects the workers to the dictates of the IMF while spewing out anti-Russian and anti-German chauvinism. Only proletarian internationalism offers a way forward—For the revolutionary unity of Russian, Polish and German workers! For a socialist united states of Europe!"

When the working class triumphs over the imperialists, accounts will be settled with Sachs and the other "economic advisers" for bloody counterrevolution in Eastern Europe. ■

Ludwik Hass...

(continued from page 5)

the White *Kommuna*." To their minds, this slogan meant "Down with the Rule of the Layer of the Bureaucracy." For "*Kommuna*" means the bureaucracy to the common man, and "White *Kommuna*" is a bureaucracy that doesn't employ socialist phrases (that would be a "Red *Kommuna*") but rather invokes god, the fatherland, etc. And the people that thought this way voted for Tyminski. His voters are—this was shown by the initial election analyses—youth and workers. In the Katowice electoral district, one of the typical working-class districts, he even defeated Walesa with 31.1 percent to 31.0 percent. And these are not votes for capitalism. That [capitalism] is what *Walesa* praises, *he* is the one calling for speeding up recapitalization! Most of these are votes of potential supporters of a candidate of a revolutionary workers party, which we still have to create.

Walesa was supported by only four out of every ten voters, i.e., one-quarter of those eligible to vote. And this was the case even when this petty bourgeoisie which dreams of rapidly transforming itself into a bourgeoisie went all out in supporting him, when the former landowners and factory owners publicly call for assisting him. When one part of the nationalist leaders stands on his side and he himself didn't even come out with "*völkisch*" remarks (in the sense of the German interwar period [i.e., right-wing populist]) in the course of the campaign.

In the atmosphere of an anti-leftist witchhunt, the 1.5 million votes for Cimoszewicz, who posed as a representative of "leftist forces," are not without significance. And it was not the bureaucrats who voted for him, as part of the press interpreted it. They were with Mazowiecki, who was and remains one of them. Cimoszewicz's public are supporters of one or another kind of socialism. Part of them must be won by us.

In the 40 percent who abstained from voting at least 10 percent are people who didn't participate in these elections because they felt none of the candidates were theirs. If one takes this group into consideration, then the supporters of the two Solidarność candidates comprise 49.5 percent of all those who are politically active (or rather, politically not passive).

Thus the Solidarność movement no longer enjoys the support of a decisive majority of the populace. And this movement's influence has already peaked, now it is diminishing. The number of those adhering to the leftist forces is not too small. But they have to come forth with a clear program and carry out systematic organizing work. Class divisions and class struggle have not ceased. And this is the most important lesson of the election campaign. ■

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Bensonhurst Killers Get Off Light

Racist Stabs Al Sharpton

The worst possible scenario for New York City's already racially polarized tinderbox was nearly played out Saturday, January 12 when a white racist in Bensonhurst stabbed black demagogue Al Sharpton in the chest with a five-inch knife. The attack occurred as Sharpton and some 200 supporters were about to march through the white, mostly Italian neighborhood to protest the outrageously light sentences given to members of the racist mob which murdered black teenager Yusuf Hawkins in August 1989. The would-be killer waited for Sharpton in the very same schoolyard where the lynch mob gathered the night of Yusuf's murder.

Fortunately, Sharpton was not seriously injured, and the attacker was wrestled to the ground by one of Yusuf Hawkins' brothers. The hundreds of police present arrested the attacker, who is being held without bail on charges of attempted murder. Black mayor David Dinkins and his police commissioner, Lee Brown, frequent targets of Sharpton, both rushed to his hospital bedside, terrified of a potential explosion sparked by the attack, which Dinkins lamely labeled "an isolated incident."

The outcome of the numerous Bensonhurst trials convinced most New York City blacks of what they already knew—there is no justice in the racist U.S. courts. Of the 30 or more in the racist mob which murdered Yusuf Hawkins, only eight were ever arrested, and only dimwitted Joseph Fama was convicted of murder. Keith Mondello, the mob's acknowledged ringleader, was convicted only of "riot," "discrimination" and other minor charges. John Vento, who reneged on a deal with the prosecutor to turn state's evidence, received only two to eight years for "unlawful imprisonment" and "menacing," and James Patino was acquitted of all charges.

The Saturday protest march was in response to last week's retrial of Vento on riot charges, which resulted in no new prison time. Joseph Serrano, who handed Fama the gun, got only 300 hours of "community service." This week three others will stand trial, but in this system of racist injustice they too will predictably get off light.

With New York on the edge, and angry blacks looking for leadership, the dubious Rev. Sharpton, cynical "black capitalism" hustler and self-admitted FBI informant who wore a wire and spied on black officials, led protest marches through Bensonhurst in which small numbers of blacks, "protected" by hundreds of New York cops, were confronted by screaming hordes of white racists waving baseball bats and watermelons. After nearly 30 such marches, Dinkins last June brokered an agreement between Sharpton and "community leaders" in which blacks were supposedly to stop marching through Bensonhurst. Last Saturday's march was the first since then.

Obscenely, Bensonhurst "community leaders" are now blaming Sharpton for getting stabbed, claiming he "violated" the "pact." In response, over 500 marched through the neighborhood the next day, chanting "Murderers!" and "Racist-hurst!" The racists who uphold the "decency" of Bensonhurst are just the respectable face of the thugs who killed a young black man because they thought he was going to a white girl's birthday party. This is not apartheid and black people don't need a pass to walk, march and live wherever they please! If anyone has a problem with that, the considerable muscle of the integrated labor movement of New York should be mobilized to teach the racists about democratic rights.

Baltics...

(continued from page 1)

In itself the secession of the small Baltic republic would not seriously diminish Soviet military and economic power. But Lithuania has become a testing ground for the breakup of the Soviet Union amid murderous nationalism and intercommunalist pogroms of all kinds. As Leninists and internationalists, we stand for the democratic reorganization of the Soviet Union and for the right of any nationality with a leadership that *opposes* counterrevolution to withdraw to any extent it sees fit. But in Lithuania and the other Baltic republics the fig leaf of "national independence" is being used as a cover for capitalist restoration. And this must be fought.

Landsbergis & Co. have made no secret of their desire to make "independent" Lithuania an appendage of NATO and the Common Market. They have repeatedly called on the Western powers to engage in economic and political blackmail against the Soviet government. The Sajudis nationalists waved the flag of the fascistic Lithuanian bourgeois state of the interwar years while destroying monuments commemorating the Red Army's driving out the Nazi German forces. The Baltic states have large populations that the nationalists sneeringly refer to as "Soviet peoples" (Russians, Poles, Ukrainians, etc.)—almost half in Latvia, 40 percent in Estonia, 20 percent in Lithuania. If the pro-capitalist secessionists succeed, these entire populations will be gone in one generation. No wonder Moscow has support, even enthusiastic support, against the virulently anti-democratic and racist Baltic nationalists.

On the eve of the crackdown, the new Sajudis prime minister, Albertas Simenas, declared his intent to impose an economic "shock treatment" modeled on Solidarność-ruled Poland. The Vilnius nationalist regime's attempts to install a "free market" economy had already undermined its base of support. A week ago, there were large demonstrations of ethnic Lithuanians, Russians and Poles against sharp consumer price increases, which were then immediately rescinded. The heavily working-class Russian and Polish minorities were mobilized effectively against the anti-Soviet nationalist regime. The crackdown took place as factories, railroads and the Vilnius airport were shut down by striking workers demanding direct presidential rule from Moscow.

Gorbachev has accused Landsbergis & Co. of seeking to set up a "bourgeois regime" under the cover of democratic slogans. This is unquestionably true. But who is Gorbachev to denounce anyone for trying to return to capitalism! The Soviet president's declared intent is to transform the Soviet Union into a market, i.e., capitalist, economy, although not as rapidly as Yeltsin and Wall Street would like. A recent presidential decree grants foreign investors the right to own 100 percent of Soviet enterprises and to repatriate their profits in hard currency. Thousands of square miles of agricultural land are to be leased to private farmers. Prices of consumer goods are scheduled to be increased this coming year by 50 to 70 percent. And Gorbachev has adopted Yeltsin's proposal to drop "Socialist" from the USSR and rename it the Union of Sovereign Soviet Republics. If Gorbachev has his way, in three or four years Lithuania would be part of a federated *capitalist* country.

Vyatkin/Novosti

Soviet paratroopers in Lithuania last April.

Many of the hardliners in the military pushing for a crackdown on the Baltic and other secessionist forces are no more committed to preserving collectivized property than is Gorbachev. Their appeals to "Soviet patriotism" are often simply a cover for Great Russian chauvinism, which can easily become a vehicle for counterrevolution. A leader of the conservative Stalinist Soyuz (Union) faction in the Congress of People's Deputies, Col. Vladimir Petrushenko, talks about "our plans for the future of a great Russia," echoing the language of the tsarist minister Stolypin.

For some time, Western bourgeois forces have looked to Boris Yeltsin as a possibly preferable alternative to Gorbachev. The Lithuania crisis reveals Yeltsin as an outright traitor to the Soviet Union. He is now calling upon Russian soldiers to disobey the Soviet military command and is demanding UN action to prevent Soviet military operations in the Baltic republics. What does he want—an economic blockade of the USSR or the carpetbombing of Moscow and Leningrad by the U.S. air force?

At best the crackdown against Lithuanian secessionists will buy some time for the multinational Soviet working class, through building a genuine communist leadership, to oust the Gorbachevs and Yeltsins (both end-products of the degenerate Stalinist bureaucracy) and to purge from the land of the October Revolution all reactionary nationalist forces, including those Great Russian chauvinists who now masquerade as Soviet patriots. The protests against the price increases in Lithuania point to the real possibility of unifying the multinational Soviet proletariat against the forces of bloody capitalist counterrevolution. To prevent the disintegration of the USSR amid fratricidal nationalism, it is necessary to recapture the *proletarian internationalism* which animated the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky. ■

Daily News...

(continued from page 13)

strike supplement, "Press Unions, City Labor, Minorities, All Out to Defend *Daily News* Workers!" went out across the city.

For Class-Struggle Leadership

If the beg-on-your-knees policy of the pro-capitalist labor traitors is followed, the *Daily News* strike will be added to the long list of labor defeats over the past decade: PATCO air controllers, Morenci, Arizona copper miners, Hormel meatpackers, Eastern Airlines workers and Greyhound drivers (twice!). An authoritative, militant strike leadership is needed, with a citywide elected strike committee representing all the unions, to turn the strike around:

• For labor solidarity in *action*: Send out flying squads of pickets now to the Newark docks and the Harlem River rail yard in the Bronx to demand ILA longshoremen and the railroad unions "hot cargo" the newsprint for the scab *News*!

• If Boss Hoge can't print his scab rag, then he can't sell it. Occupy the printing plants, backed up by mass pickets of city workers, hospital workers and transit workers. No *New York Post*-style givebacks! If the *News* threatens to close and abandon New York, the strikers will be on the inside, holding their presses and real estate hostage!

• Smash the injunctions and no-strike laws! The *Daily News*' union-busting RICO suits against the drivers union can be turned into scraps of paper by a solid union victory. For workers defense guards to sweep the *News*' thugs off the streets!

• Turn the *Real News* into a daily strike paper for the workers of New York. Instead of a flyer pushing the bureaucrats' boycott, the unions need a mass paper that will be a strike organizer.

• The striking unions must champion the rights of the black and Hispanic unemployed by demanding union-run recruitment and training programs, at the *News*' expense, to bring minorities into the ranks of the newspaper craft unions. For a shorter workweek at no loss in pay—fight for jobs for all!

• The labor fakers invite their Democratic pals in City Hall and Albany to strike rallies, even as Governor Cuomo attacks the state unions and Dinkins helps the *News* recruit hawkers in the shelters and the NYPD guards the Brooklyn plant. Enough! We need a workers party that will fight for workers and all the oppressed, from class battles on the picket lines to the struggle for a workers government that will get rid of capitalist exploitation and imperialist war once and for all. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Break with the Imperialist "Doves"! For Labor Strikes Against the War!

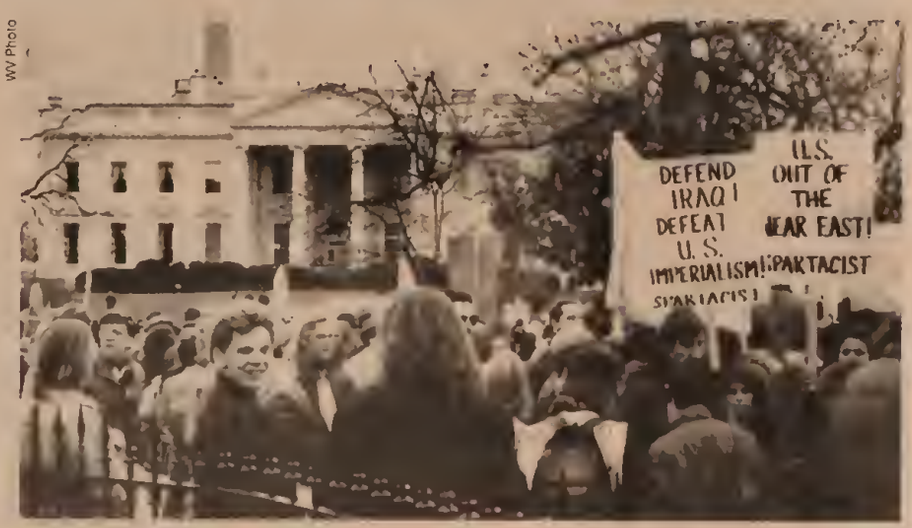
Down With the Two War Parties!

On January 12, hundreds of thousands demonstrated across Europe in London (100,000), Berlin (80,000), Hamburg (50,000), Paris (100,000), Rome (100,000) and elsewhere in a coordinated international day of action against the looming war in the Persian Gulf.

In the U.S. as well, as Washington has built up a colossal arsenal of megadeath and poured hundreds of thousands of troops into the Saudi desert since last August, a new "antiwar movement" has formed comprising a political spectrum ranging from church groups to avowed socialists. The *New York Times* (11 January) finally noticed that "before a shot has been fired between allied forces and Iraq, an antiwar movement has been building quietly in the United States since late October, drawing on the legacy of Vietnam War peace activists."

On October 20, tens of thousands protested in cities around the U.S. against a Persian Gulf war. Since then, teach-ins, rallies and demonstrations have popped up all over the country. With George Bush out to bomb Baghdad and murder thousands of Iraqi civilians, public opinion polls and man-in-the-street interviews show enormous opposition to a U.S.-launched attack with the prospect of tens of thousands of war casualties within the first few days. A decade of Reagan and Bush in the White House has not erased the "Vietnam syndrome."

But the crucial question is how to fight against the desperate attempt by the bankrupt U.S. empire to grab the huge Gulf oil reserves. Two competing national demonstrations have been called, one for January 19 by the "Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East," and another on January 26 by the "National Campaign for Peace in the Middle East." With similar names and slogans, the murky war of organizational shenanigans and "unity"-mongering between the Coalition and the Campaign has left many confused.



Spartacists at antiwar protest outside White House, January 12, call for defense of Iraq against imperialist attack.

January 19 demonstration flyers say "Stop Bush's War Now!", "Fight Racism and Poverty at Home!", "Bring the U.S. Troops Home!" and "Money for Jobs, Healthcare, Housing, Education and AIDS." The January 26 demo slogans are: "No War in the Middle East," "Bring the Troops Home Now" and "Money for Human Needs, Not War." The rad-lib *Guardian* (9 January), which has been running ads for both demos, writes of the "storm of charges and countercharges, with the coalition insisting that the proximity of Martin Luther King Day and the preponderance of people of color on its planning committee weigh in favor of Jan. 19," while the Campaign claims it will be easier to mobilize students on the 26th.

Those arguments are merely for public consumption, however. The Campaign says the big difference is that "we condemn the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, while the Coalition has not taken a position on this" (*Guardian*, 19 December 1990). This might seem to be a real issue, and when you look at the respective demands with a magnifying glass you can see that the Campaign's "no war" demand carefully doesn't put the onus on the U.S. But in reality, *both* are seeking to entice liberal Democrats. With their mushy demands, the ostensible leftists organizing the two demos tailor their line to collaborate with the imperialist "doves."

Thus despite all their "anti-racist" phony baloney, the fact is that while Washington prepares to murder hundreds of thousands of Arabs, neither the Coalition nor the Campaign dares to stand with the Iraqi people against the imperialist attack. While these reformists in liberals' clothing sidled up to the pro-"sanctions" Democrats, the Spartacist League forthrightly declared "Break the Blockade of Iraq!" While others trim their line to the taste of Arab nationalists or imperialist liberals, the SL has been unique in putting forward a consistent, proletarian internationalist program. We say loud and clear: *Defeat U.S. Imperialism! Defend Iraq! Break with the Warmongering Democratic "Doves"—For Labor Political Strikes Against the War!*

And because we Trotskyists tell the truth about the fundamental issues at stake, we can also tell you what's going on in the opportunists' confusing shell game. For one thing, since they're capitulating to bourgeois politics, as they get down and dirty these pseudo-socialists redbait each other. As one observer put it, "the cry of 'redbaiting' every time someone dares to mention that Workers World plays a central role in the coalition only serves to keep the rank and file of the movement in the dark about a major player in the movement. It is particularly absurd when directed at the campaign, which is crawling with almost as many 'reds' as the coalition" (*Guardian*, 26 December 1990).

But, then, for Sam Marcy's Stalinoid Workers World Party (WWP), which engages in sycophantic adulation of Korean Stalinist nepotistic megalomaniac Kim Il Sung, and offers parliamentary advice to the Russian nationalist "Soyuz" faction in the Soviet Union on how to stage a show trial of foreign minister Shevardnadze, to put itself in the leadership of a liberal "peace" movement it's not surprising they try to hide their politics so as not to ruffle the feathers of the imperialist doves.

Coalition (January 19) linchpin Workers World claims that "as the Jan. 15 war deadline approaches, the objective need for unity is greatest." By this they mean unity with a section of the Democratic Party on the basis that military intervention in the Gulf is a losing proposition from the standpoint of U.S. imperialism. The Marcyites, experienced operators

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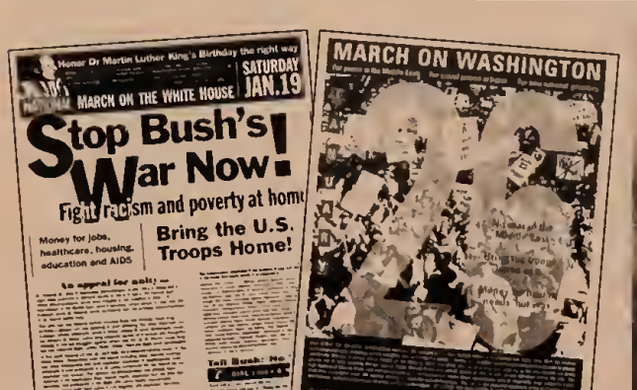
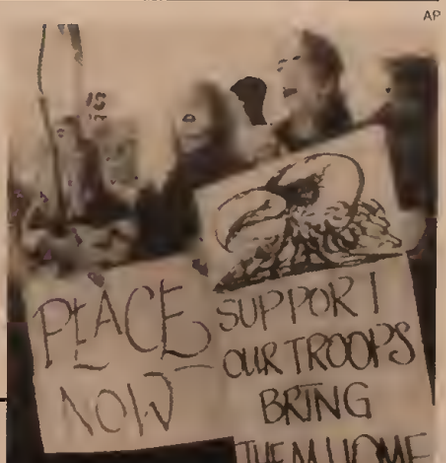
Persian Gulf Protests: Behind the Demo Dates Squabble



Competing coalitions' leaflets for January 19 and January 26 demos both appeal to Democrats, capitalist party of war and racism, with social-patriotic slogans.

AP



WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 519 | 1 February 1991

War Criminal Bush Bombs Baghdad—Defend Iraq!

Sink U.S. War in the Persian Gulf!

Bush's "New World Order" Means Imperialist Slaughter

Less than 16 hours after the deadline ran out for George Bush's ultimatum, squadrons of U.S. jets and bombers screamed off runways in Saudi Arabia and aircraft carriers in the Persian Gulf and Red Sea to drop their payloads of death upon the people of Baghdad. Across the U.S. and Europe, outraged demonstrators poured into the streets by the thousands. While the media presented gushing accounts of a high-tech video war game and romantic sunset shots of U.S. fighter planes, millions in Baghdad and other Iraqi cities were experiencing the all-too-real stench of death on the streets and the screech of terror from the skies.

The White House proclaimed: "The liberation of Kuwait has begun." The Spartacist League said: "The mass murder of the Iraqi people had begun."

To believe the first hours of TV coverage, the high-tech U.S. war machine was sweeping the field in a seemingly bloodless war that would be all but over by breakfast. Bush cheered that his dogs of war were "right on schedule." Before midnight the first "instant poll" results were in: 86 percent say "yes" to war. Evangelist preacher Billy Graham was called to the White House to stay in the guest bedroom and conduct a prayer breakfast the next morning.

Wall Street, too, thanked god for being on "our side": "After a moment of silent prayer for the troops in the Persian Gulf and a short clang of the opening bell...trading got off to a flying start," the *New York Times* (18 January) wrote.

continued on page 7

AP

The Revelation of "High Tech." Battleship *Wisconsin* launches Tomahawk cruise missile. U.S. rains death on Iraq with thousands of "smart" weapons.

Spartacist League

"We're Fighting to Sweep Away Imperialism"

WV Photo

Spartacist League banner at January 26 San Francisco demonstration against Persian Gulf War.

On the night that American planes began bombing Baghdad, there were immediate spontaneous angry protests in cities from New York to San Francisco. At these and subsequent demonstrations, speakers from the Spartacist League read the following statement.

As we demonstrate here, the United States government is raining death down on Baghdad. The mass murder of the Iraqi people has begun.

George Bush has been planning this holocaust against the Arab peoples of the Near East for months. The war criminals in the White House and the Pentagon are aided and abetted by the Democrats in Congress, both those who voted for this dirty war and those who have done nothing to stop it.

There must be a cry of outrage and action by the American working people to stop this mass murder. Forget about writing your Congressman to pressure this White House of war. What we need is not just demonstrations on the streets, but *power*.

It is the sons and daughters of black, Hispanic and working people who will die in the desert along with hundreds of thousands of Iraqis. The working people make this country run. We have the power to bring it to a grinding halt. Use that power *now*!

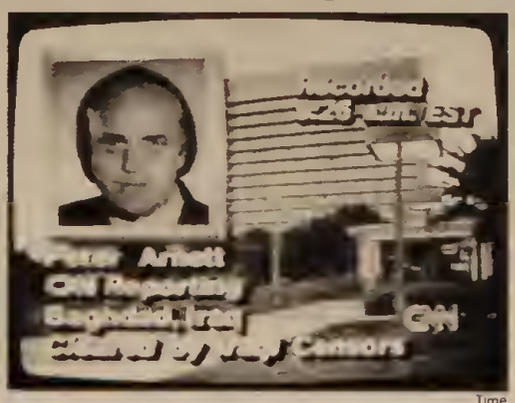
continued on page 7

U.S. Bombs Baby Formula Factory

White House Targets Peter Arnett

On January 20, American bombs destroyed an infant formula and powdered milk plant on the outskirts of Baghdad. Two days later CNN's Peter Arnett, the only U.S. media correspondent in Baghdad, personally toured the factory and reported this atrocity.

Arnett's January 23 broadcast report immediately touched off a firestorm of official cover-up lies. This was no baby food factory, they declared, it was a "biological weapons plant"! And to make sure everyone toed the line, no less than the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, General Colin Powell, and the White House denounced the Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist as Saddam's dupe! Caving in before this anathema, CNN headquarters in Atlanta began browbeating Arnett on the air. And in a blatant case of censorship, Arnett's reply to the Pentagon slanders was blanked out *on the American side.*



Time

CNN/AP

Iraq's only infant formula factory (right), before U.S. obliterated it claiming it was "biological warfare" plant.

But the information broadcast about the plant utterly demolishes the Pentagon's claim. As Arnett was saying that the plant produced 20 tons of powdered milk a day and was "the only source of infant formula food for children one year and younger in Iraq," the screen showed shots of a milk bottling line and cans of baby food *filmed by the news network just a few months ago!* Arnett reported: "CNN had visited this plant last August for a story on how Iraq was trying to beat the international economic embargo by producing more essential foods at home to make up for the loss."

Immediately, the "spin controllers" at the U.S. military command in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia, rushed in. In the middle of a news briefing Lt. Col. Mike Gallagher was handed a piece of paper from which he read that "this facility has military guards around it, barbed wire fence, it has a military garrison outside" and it was "associated with biological warfare production." His proof? "Numerous sources" say so.

CNN quickly got back to Arnett at the Al Rashid hotel in Baghdad. Arnett began: "There was one guard at the gate. As we arrived, they were bringing out a cart full of powdered milk from Britain that they used to..." At this point communication was cut for a full minute. When he came back on, Arnett stated that the break in transmission "was nothing to do with this end," whereupon Atlanta anchorman Bob Cain *cut off Arnett's effort to continue his account.*

That afternoon the White House let loose with what the *New York Times* (24 January) called a "highly unusual personal attack on an individual journalist." Bush mouthpiece Marlin Fitzwater declared Arnett was being "used" by the Iraqis. And then General Powell ended up his Pentagon briefing stating, "It is not an infant formula factory no more than the Rabta chemical plant in Libya made aspirin. It was a biological weapons facility, of that we are sure, and we have taken it out."

CNN got in trouble with the feds when it broadcast the government's illegal tapes of General Noriega talking with his lawyer. The former Panamanian leader was seized by the U.S. in the bloody invasion a year ago. The network has had millions of intent viewers around the globe during the Gulf War, but like the rest of the media it is ultimately the handmaiden of U.S. policy. So the next day, the CNN anchor badgered Arnett with "questions" about whether he is being "misled," whether he was "free," was his information "reliable," was he "being told what to say" and "instructed to report the Iraqi line." The veteran war correspondent replied that "I learned in Vietnam to believe only what my eyes had seen."

Now every report from Arnett is accompanied by a disclaimer saying his reports are "based on statements by Iraqi government officials" and his "limited personal observations." The caption at the top of the screen reads "Cleared by Iraqi Censors." It should say "And by the Censors at CNN and the Pentagon." So much for CNN CEO Ted Turner and his fiancée, the former "Hanoi Jane" Fonda, standing by their man in Baghdad. ■

TROTSKY

To Young Fighters Against Imperialist War

LENIN

As American bombs devastate Iraq, mass protests in the United States have brought out a new layer of young people appalled by the horrors of imperialist war. Many younger demonstrators are moved by pacifist sentiments, while liberal and fake-socialist protest organizers seek to channel outrage into support for Democratic Party "doves." In the mid-1930s, as Mussolini's Italy prepared to invade Ethiopia, the Russian internationalist revolutionary Leon Trotsky addressed a message to socialist youth warning against a "popular front" for peace that would tie working people to the imperialist parties of war.

The youth are at present deeply preoccupied with the question of the war danger. And rightly so. Their heads are at stake first....

For Marxists the struggle against war coincides with the struggle against imperialism. The means for this struggle is not "general disarmament" but the arming of the proletariat for the revolutionary overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of a workers' state. Our slogan is not the League of Nations, but the Soviet United States of Europe and of the entire world!

Today we see in France how the reformists and the so-called "Communists" (in reality only Stalinists) have allied themselves with the Radicals, ostensibly for the purpose of struggling against war and fascism. Who are the Radicals? A thoroughly imperialist party which stands for the Versailles treaty and for the French colonial empire. How can one lead a struggle against the imperialists' war together with an imperialist party?

Naturally, the Radicals readily speak for peace. Hitler also works in the sweat of his brow for peace. They are all for peace: priests, bankers, generals. But what does the pacifism of the bourgeois governments and parties mean? Vile hypocrisy. Every robber prefers, if possible, to take away his victim's purse "peacefully" without taking his life. Mussolini would naturally prefer to pocket Ethiopia "peacefully," that is, without the expenses and sacrifices of war. England and France would like to enjoy their plunder "in peace." But woe to whoever hinders them! That is the meaning of capitalist love for peace.

Petty-bourgeois pacifism is in general sincere, but so much the more blind and helpless, since in essence it is but the belief of peasants and petty merchants that it is possible to make the ruling classes *better*, to *disarm* the great capitalist robbers and induce them to live *peacefully* side by side. But with all its good intentions petty-bourgeois pacifism becomes a drug with the help of which the imperialists overcome the masses at the proper moment and make cannon fodder out of them. We accuse the leaders of the Second and Third Internationals of helping capitalism to prepare a new world slaughter through their nonsensical twaddle. In a new war the reformists and the Stalinists will in the majority of cases stand on the side of their governments, especially in France, Belgium, and Czechoslovakia. Whoever really wants to fight against war must speak to the people clearly, must gather the fighters under one revolutionary banner, under the banner of the Fourth International.

—Leon Trotsky, "To Young Communists and Socialists Who Wish to Think"
(July 1935)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial) (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions $7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 519 **1 February 1991**

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The Press and the Pentagon

War, Lies and Videotape

The war began promptly at 7 p.m. EST, right on target for the nightly news (like Reagan's bombing of Tripoli, which started at 7:06 p.m.). The first days of the Talk Show War were designed to knock out the American audience by saturation jawboning, as platoons of retired generals, think tankers and war criminals like Henry Kissinger hit the media beachheads. These were the warm-up acts for the Pentagon's laser-magic shows, the daily 3:30 p.m. briefings which are the new version of its Vietnam-era "Five O'Clock Follies."

"If Vietnam brought war into the drawing rooms of the world, the Gulf conflict—to date at least—seems only to have moved it to the video arcade," noted a British journalist of the first week. For all the anchor-generals playing with their own high-tech toys, the million-dollar networks of flybys, satellite dishes, transponders and on-the-spot instant images, rather than CNN we're watching "PNN—Pentagon Network News," as a Pacifica radio commentator put it. One Columbia University antiwar protester carried a sign reading, "I want to kill my TV."

By the end of Week One it seemed the American population was already suffering war fatigue. As Scuds flew through the air, presidential spokesman Marlin Fitzwater launched salvos at the press, complaining of "the way the media is covering this thing." Actually, the media has done more or less exactly what the Pentagon and White House had told them to. Ole Fizzwater's problem is that after insisting this would be a short war, official spokesmen are now having to pronounce the "M-word" (months).

The point of the massive U.S. censorship, of course, is not to keep information from Iraq, but from the American population. And the Pentagon has been getting away with it for some time now. The U.S. war machine tested its censorship apparatus in the Grenada and Panama invasions, with great success. The media still has a clamp on publishing how many casualties there were in the mass bombing in Panama.

On the day the bombing of Baghdad began, a Pentagon spokesman vowed that this would not be another "living room war," with the American public shocked by TV images of U.S. soldiers torching Vietnamese villages and body bags being shipped home. This time they want to rigidly control the flow of news, and the media moguls have patriotically gone along. The *New York Times* (9 January) complained about Pentagon press restrictions, but added: "the media have little or no choice except to go along grudgingly—and hope the military will enforce its rules with understanding."

McCarthy/NY Times

Gamma-Liaison

In war, the first casualty is truth. Imperialist media whips up war hysteria and fear, while marching in lockstep with rigid government censorship.

If the military hates the press, as one Pentagon "news" briefer frankly said, it's not because "the media lost the Vietnam War." The fact is, the U.S. lost on the battlefield, and the military is still seeking a scapegoat. The media were perfectly happy to go along with the Kennedy and Johnson administrations on Vietnam —until the U.S. forces started getting so obviously creamed militarily by the North Vietnamese forces on the ground that a significant section of the bourgeoisie decided to pull out.

As Phillip Knightley documented in his book *The First Casualty* (1975), it wasn't until after the 1968 Tet Offensive that a lot of the dirt began coming out in the press, and even then the big stories weren't usually on-the-spot reports. The My Lai massacre wasn't uncovered until over a year after it happened, by freelancer Seymour Hersh. And the military managed to keep its massive bombing of Cambodia in 1969-70 secret for over a year, despite hundreds of correspondents in the field.

For months now the Pentagon has been successfully running the media around the Persian Gulf. Any vestigial news-gathering instincts among press corps veterans were crippled early on by the technique of severe alcohol deprivation. They put the traveling caravan of reporters through dozens of pushups, in order to qualify for the highly restricted "pools" that are the only access allowed by the military, which escorts reporters everywhere and then censors their reports.

There have been a few exceptions to the initial gung ho media enthusiasm. Veteran CBS anchor Walter Cronkite cautioned a wild-eyed Dan Rather not to believe everything he heard the first night. Later Vietnam-era veteran reporter Bob Simon, visibly trembling with fury in Saudi Arabia, burst out on the air:

> "Information so far has been minimal. This does not come as a surprise. In fact we are a little bit pleasantly surprised that our satellite transmissions were not cut off.... The only report we've had of anything that has gone wrong has been not from official channels but from our one CBS newsman who is not operating within the Pentagon pool framework."

As we go to press, the latest word on Simon was that he and a crew, seeking some real information, had mysteriously disappeared into the desert—one can only hope they reach safety behind Iraqi lines.

And of course there has been CNN's Peter Arnett in Baghdad. The tough New Zealander won a Pulitzer Prize for his Vietnam reporting (which included staying behind after the Americans evacuated Saigon). His under-the-bombs reports from Baghdad have helped the Cable News Network to achieve air superiority (and profitability). But he is now under fire from the White House and Pentagon for reporting and filming how U.S. bombs are hitting civilian targets. And UPI's Helen Thomas continues to be a thorn in the side of the president, as she pointedly asked Bush why the U.S. was so upset about Iraq counterattacking with its Scud missiles.

These exceptions only prove the rule that in war the first casualty is truth. The press skedaddled out of Baghdad when the U.S. State Department called up a few days before the war and told them to get out. The *Los Angeles Times* (19 January) reported: "a key factor in their decision was an unofficial warning to American networks in Baghdad, purportedly from Administration sources in Washington, that a U.S. attack was about to take place on the Al Rashid Hotel, where all but a few of the journalists were staying...several of the reporters who left said they now suspect that the U.S. warning also was a subtle, but effective, propaganda device by the U.S.-led forces to end all reporting of the war from the Iraqi side."

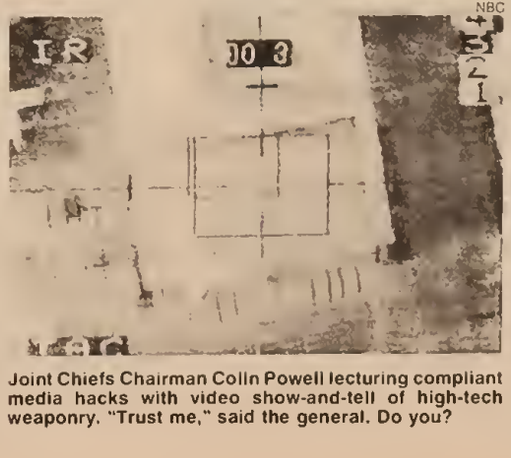
The press like to portray themselves as a "Fourth Estate," some kind of independent force seeking truth and objectivity. This is the message of David Halberstam's *The Best and the Brightest* on the Vietnam War or Woodward and Bernstein's *All the President's Men* on Watergate. But those exposés were published only because a section of the bourgeoisie became convinced that Vietnam was folly and Nixon was so mired in muck that he had to go. Today the press is shown in its true light, as the world's second oldest profession (spies), eagerly engaging in the activity of the oldest one as the whores of war for the Pentagon.

During World War II, one American censor wrote: "Newspapers...and broadcasting stations must be as actively behind the war effort as merchants or manufacturers." And as a World War II correspondent reviewed the press' performance 30 years later:

> "It's humiliating to look back at what we wrote during the war. It was crap... We were a propaganda arm of our governments. At the start the censors enforced that, but by the end we were our own censors. We were cheerleaders, I suppose there wasn't an alternative at the time. It was total war. But, for God's sake, let's not glorify our role. It wasn't good journalism. It wasn't journalism at all."
>
> —Phillip Knightley,
> *The First Casualty*

The big papers and TV stations are big capitalist enterprises, and fundamentally loyal to their class. It is to those who stand for the interests of the world working class that you will have to look for the truth about this bloody imperialist slaughter. ■

Reuters



NBC

Joint Chiefs Chairman Colin Powell lecturing compliant media hacks with video show-and-tell of high-tech weaponry. "Trust me," said the general. Do you?

Hundreds of Thousands Protest U.S. War

Coast to Coast

On the eve of the U.S. war against Iraq, Bush's popularity was at an all-time low, his war resolution barely squeaked through the Senate and large demonstrations against "Operation Desert Shield" had already taken place in many cities. But on January 16, when the "Shield" turned to "Storm" and the bombs began to fall on Baghdad, the marching orders came down. Bourgeois "public opinion" swung sharply overnight. The next morning's *New York Times* warned it was time for this "divided country" to pull together. The message was relentlessly hammered home in the media, as Americans were bombarded with "rally 'round the flag" rhetoric from all sides. Anti-Bush "doves" in Congress suddenly metamorphosed into pro-war hawks. The polls showed four out of five approving the war, and Bush's ratings topped FDR's the week after Pearl Harbor.

Yet the nation is far from marching in lockstep: the flag-waving patriotism that turned the Super Bowl into a Nuremberg rally will dissipate as soon as the corpses start coming home. Moreover, this orchestrated war fever has been met, from the very first minutes, by an outpouring of hundreds of thousands of protesters in the largest antiwar demonstrations since the Vietnam War. In fact, the Vietnam protests did not swell until it became clear that the U.S. might actually lose the war. This time around the protests began before the shooting started, and by now have become daily events throughout the country. On January 19 there were some 35,000 in Washington, D.C. and double that on the 26th; in San Francisco there were 70,000-plus on both weekends, and thousands more in Los Angeles, Boston and numerous other cities.

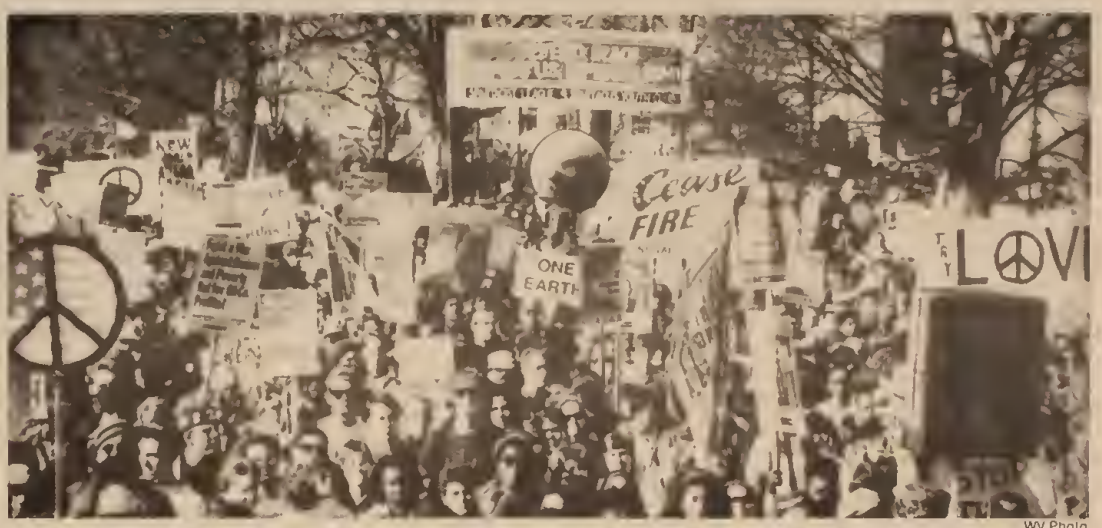
Across the country, the Spartacist League mobilized with banners and signs, selling our press, leafletting and soapboxing with our call for revolutionary opposition to this heinous war.

The first hours of the war were marked by furious protracted demonstrations on both coasts. In San Francisco, thousands broke through police barricades, sacked military recruiting offices, and ran a flaming American flag up the Federal Building flagpole. Some 20,000 marched through the Castro and the Mission District. Next day civil disobedience groups blockaded the Federal Building—forcing it to close for most of the day—and later the Pacific Stock Exchange. Three days in a row, demonstrators closed down the Bay Bridge. In New York City, thousands converged on Times Square.

There were antiwar protests on college campuses across the country, but not just there. In New England, the *Boston Globe* (20 January) reported: "Throughout the region last week there were hundreds of processions, vigils, rallies, walkouts, teach-ins and other demonstrations as New Englanders opposed to the war in the Persian Gulf expressed their fears and convictions." The article reported protests in Northampton, Hyannis, Orange, Greenfield, and Springfield, Massachusetts; Concord, Hanover, Durham, Dover, Portsmouth, Tilton, and Plymouth, New Hampshire; Montpelier, Norwich, Burlington, and Brattleboro, Vermont; Norwalk and West Hartford, Connecticut; South Olwick and Bangor, Maine.

Elsewhere in the country demonstrations against the war were held in such bastions of the military-industrial complex as St. Louis (McDonnell Douglas and General Dynamics), Seattle (Boeing) and Rochester (Kodak); in small towns like Fayetteville, Arkansas or St. Cloud, Minnesota; in state capitals like Des Moines, Iowa, where protesters disrupted the governor's "state of the state" address. Martin Luther King memorial celebrations in Atlanta became antiwar protests, while Catholic parishes and Protestant congregations held candlelight vigils. For the most part this wave of rejection has been blacked out by TV and press, which gave "equal time" to every group of a dozen right-wing nuts screaming "nuke Iraq."

Opposition to the war remains very broad, with even the Roman Catholic auxiliary bishop of Detroit calling for soldiers to desert in protest against a war that the Bishops Conference officially declared does not fit the criteria for a "just war." Many came to demonstrations with creative homemade signs such as, "What If Kuwait's Main Export Were Broccoli?" and a drawing of the Capitol with the slogan, "Best Little Whorehouse of Texaco." On January 22, ACT-UP activists in New York invaded Dan Rather's CBS Evening News chanting "Fight AIDS, Not Arabs!" Our favorite: a group of women in the Bay Area with signs reading: "George Bush, Read My Labia, U.S. Out of Saudi Arabia!"



WV Photo

Washington, D.C. January 19 protest drew opponents of Persian Gulf War including pacifists and pro-sanctions flag wavers. Spartacist League's call to defend Iraq against U.S. attack attracted much interest as up-front communist opposition to imperialist war.

But the flag-waving media barrage has affected the antiwar protests. Buying the lie, popularized in "Rambo" movies, that '60s antiwar activists "spit on" returning soldiers, today signs and banners at demonstrations across the country proclaim "Peace Is Patriotic" and "Support Our Troops—Bring Them Home." And the liberal and pseudo-socialist demo organizers imposed on the "peace" crawls a program of supporting the "moderate" war party of American capitalism.

The demonstrations on January 19th and 26th bore a marked similarity, both calling for "Bring the Troops Home Now!" and trying to pressure the Democrats into opposing a war which they overwhelmingly support. January 19 was organized by the "Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East," dominated by the eclectic Stalinoid reformists of the Workers World Party, and tended to attract a more leftist and pacifist crowd, while January 26 was run by the liberal-led "National Campaign for Peace in the Middle East," which supported the imperialist "UN sanctions" which are no less an act of war.

Consequently, the character of the latter demonstration was markedly more patriotic, with no leftist speakers and more American flags than a VFW parade. With demonstrators and some motley crews of right-wingers both sporting American flags and "Support Our Soldiers" signs, at times it was hard to tell the pro-war people from the antis, unless you could read the fine print on their T-shirts (right-wingers' shirts said "Free Kuwait"). The *New York Times* noted approvingly of the 26th: "yesterday's antiwar demonstrators in Washington mostly shunned crude slogans like 'No blood for oil!' Most of them would

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As the feds whipped up their "terrorism" scare, they naturally targeted NYC for a "fear city" blitz. The CBS News program 60 Minutes *(20 January) included a segment interviewing Vince Cannistraro, described as "former CIA Head of Counter-terrorism." Cannistraro was standing in Grand Central Station, which he described as "the kind of place that the Abu Nidal organization might go after," since 180,000 people pass through it every rush hour. New Yorkers howled in derision: why would any terrorist bother to blow up the subway and rail system, the MTA is quite accomplished at this itself. Capturing the popular response, satirist Marty Goldensohn wrote a column (*Newsday*, 22 January), excerpted below:*

Reprinted from *Newsday*

About Terrorism In the Apple, Who'd Notice?

By Marty Goldensohn

Humiliation. This is why I think Saddam Hussein shouldn't try any terrorism in New York. It will embarrass him. New York is too big to notice anything smaller than a hydrogen homb. We've seen everything else already. As George Burns once said, "Death. It's been done."

Let's suppose for a minute that Iraqi commandos attacked the phone company to disrupt communications. Big deal. Happens all the time. Happened this month, in fact, to AT&T. Some poor slob in a Newark manhole did hy mistake what Abu Nidal has probably been plotting since August....

Speaking of halted in its tracks, forget about torching the subways, Saddam. That's been done, too. Last month. Two passengers dead, 148 injured....

How about blowing up our bridges? Make my day. They're collapsing anyway. Three hundred and eighty-five structural defects on the Manhattan, Williamsburg and Queensboro alone, says the Department of Transportation. If they fall down, we New Yorkers will have to pay to rebuild them. But if *you* knock them down, it'll be a lot easier to get the feds to pick up the tab. War damage. We'll get the sympathy vote in Congress.

Random violence? No way, Saddy. We invented it. Face it every day. New Yorkers who are afraid of drive-by murderers and dart men move to Wyoming. And those who can't afford to go aren't about to be intimidated by a few extra commandos on the block.

And if New Yorkers are willing to kill and die for leather jackets and drugs, we're certainly willing to take a few hits for a war even if we're ambivalent about it. We know those Kuwaiti rulers are no great sheiks, but compared to the causes for which we usually die, it would be martyrdom.

How about decimating apartment buildings? Old hat, Sad. Con Ed did it more than a year ago. A busted water main blew ashestos all over Gramercy Park. A crater 10 feet across, five feet deep, killed three. Better than a Scud!

Protesters on the Brooklyn Bridge

First Casualties in the "War at Home"

Some of the first domestic casualties of the imperialist onslaught against Iraq were a group of antiwar demonstrators who took to the Brooklyn Bridge the night the bombs began falling on Baghdad. On the freezing cold evening of January 16 thousands of demonstrators gathered in Times Square upon hearing the news that the American war machine had launched its Persian Gulf attack.

Protesters rallied and marched from Times Square to the United Nations, where Columbia University students arrived after a campus rally. Then back to Times Square and south again to lower Manhattan. When the demonstrators decided to take the Brooklyn Bridge, cars stopped and some honked horns in solidarity. But one car, driven by Thomas Wade, didn't stop. Shortly after 2 a.m. on Thursday morning, Wade plowed into the crowd of more than 200, seriously injuring seven people. One woman, Christa Roberts, fell off the bridge to the ground 70 feet below. Several of the victims are still hospitalized.

One demonstrator told *WV* that they were inspired by the news of antiwar protesters taking the Bay Bridge from San Francisco to Oakland. The demonstrators on the bridge were a diverse group, racially integrated and including younger and older political activists, college students and homeless people. All night long the demonstrators had been shadowed (and harassed) by New York City police. But after the car driven by an apparently drunk Wade, who has been subsequently charged with felonies of "reckless endangerment" and "vehicular assault," slammed into the crowd at about 50 mph, the cops *delayed medical attention for the victims and clubbed those still standing.*

As Christa Roberts scrambled to get out of the way of the speeding car she fell between a gap in the main roadway and an access ramp, crashing to the ground below. She was hospitalized in critical condition at St. Vincent's Hospital, where at press time she is still in the intensive care unit with a fractured pelvis. A doctor who treated several of the victims reported there were lots of broken limbs and compound fractures and at least one of the victims suffered from breathing complications. Some of the protesters lack insurance to pay for their medical treatment.

Alexander Yarde, one of the demonstrators and an eyewitness, told *WV* how he heard the driver Wade "revving up" and seemingly aiming his car at demonstrators. "I yelled and jumped out of the way. I heard the first two people get hit. When I turned around I saw people getting lifted into the air and people were scrambling. He kept going into the main part of the crowd, then I heard a series of thump, thump, thump—people getting hit." Another eyewitness, 19-year-old Malachi Dean, a member of the "Stop U.S. War Machine Action Network," said, "It looked like puppets being tossed 10 to 15 feet into the air."

When Yarde, who works for CISPES, saw the bodies sprawled on the ground, he tried to get swift medical attention for them. "I ran down the exit to get police, because I knew the police were there. They were totally unresponsive. I told them that we needed paramedics. One policeman in his car rolled up his window." Demonstrator Jay Everett told *WV*, "When we went to leave to obey their [police] orders to head down the off-ramp, all of a sudden about eight of them attacked from behind with nightsticks." Other demonstrators and eyewitnesses have also reported that the cops returned in force and started swinging their clubs at the remaining demonstrators.

The serious injuries and vicious police treatment of antiwar protesters the night war broke out has been virtually disappeared in the mainstream media. *Newsday* wrote one story that read like it came off the police blotter. Like news in the Persian Gulf, the official "pool coverage" has not deemed this atrocity newsworthy.

Brian Palmer/Impact Visuals

Antiwar protesters rush to aid of victim struck by speeding car on Brooklyn Bridge, January 17.

WBAI Pacifica radio reported extensively on the case, and the *Village Voice* ran a story. Still the cover-up goes on.

Khursh Mian went with five others to the NYPD's Fifth Precinct to give statements. He and the other witnesses were forced to freeze outside the precinct house for four hours and were allowed in only one at a time (to guard against "terrorists"!) to give statements. A detective told Yarde, "normal people don't get up on a bridge." Mian gave police the names and phone numbers of *over two dozen eyewitnesses*, yet four days later the assistant district attorney assigned to the case had never seen or heard of this list!

Christa Roberts is lucky to be alive today, as are several of the other demonstrators. Imperialist war abroad produces casualties at home, like the four college students at Kent State and the lesser known black protesters at Jackson State in Mississippi who were killed protesting the Vietnam War. The cops who clubbed protesters on the Brooklyn Bridge are the same NYPD which goes after *Daily News* strikers while "protecting" scabs and herding them through the picket lines, the same racist police who shot black grandmother Eleanor Bumpurs in her Bronx apartment several years ago and then gunned down Mrs. Mary Mitchell in her own home just a few months ago.

The protesters who were struck by the speeding car and beaten by the cops were expressing their outrage over the criminal mass murder the U.S. was unleashing over Baghdad as they were marching on the bridge. Dema Mantooth, one of the victims of the car assault, explained, "If we slowed down traffic, if we stopped the city, we'd make people care...about the unnecessary loss of innocent lives" (*Village Voice*, 29 January). What is necessary is to forge this just outrage into a revolutionary fight to get rid of the system that rains death on Iraqis, uses cops as scabherders and carries out "evictions by murder" on black people at home. ■

WV Photo

NYPD slams demonstrators at UN before march downtown to the Brooklyn Bridge.

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agree with Vice President Quayle about the need to support America's troops in the gulf."

For Labor Strikes Against the War!

One notable fact has been the presence of contingents of unionists at the demonstrations, and thousands of workers have individually come out to oppose the war. During the long war buildup, the polls repeatedly showed a strong degree of working-class opposition. Reading a *New York Times*/CBS poll, one commentator said, "Quite simply, it's a class thing." The *San Francisco Examiner* (25 January) noted that the "anti-war stance of a significant segment of organized labor stands in vivid contrast to labor's position at the outset of the Vietnam war—and in fact until about 1971, two years before U.S. troops departed."

The Washington demonstrations included union groups from the Post Office Mail Handlers, Laborers, ACTWU, striking Greyhound drivers and *Daily News* strikers now in the fourth month of their strike, hospital workers Local 1199, UAW District 65 and the Hotel and Restaurant Employees. In California, 1,500 unionists marched including ILWU longshoremen, AFT teachers, CWA phone workers, hotel and restaurant workers, school bus drivers, electricians and public employees. The January 26 Bay Area demo was endorsed by the labor councils of San Francisco/Santa Clara, San Benito, Alameda and San Mateo counties.

Yet the Cold Warriors of the AFL-CIO International remain foursquare behind the bipartisan imperialist murder. Lane Kirkland pronounced that in Saudi Arabia, "the sons and daughters of working Americans once again are on the firing line in the defense of vital interest of the free world"! The wing of labor officialdom which graces the platforms of the popular-front "antiwar" coalitions simply reflects the politics of the Kennedy liberal wing of the Democratic Party. In this case that spells support for "sanctions" against Iraq. At the January 26 Bay Area rally, where Labor Council head Walter Johnson, ILWU president Jimmy Herman and the public employees local president spoke, their slogan was: "Labor Says: Support Our Troops—Bring Them Home Now."

These unions could deal a crippling blow to the war—longshoremen, Teamsters, communications workers have more power than a thousand "peace" crawls. But these labor misleaders came out only to *save* imperialism from

continued on page 7

Spartacist *Black History Month Forum*

Blacks in the Jim Crow Military from the Civil War to the Persian Gulf

Speaker: Paul Collins, Spartacist League Central Committee

Friday, February 8, 7:30 p.m.

NEW YORK CITY

Room 304 Barnard Hall
Barnard College
For more information (212) 267-1025

"Terrorism" Scare Targets Arab Americans

As Bush's bombers rain death and devastation upon Iraq, the U.S. government has whipped up a hysterical "anti-terrorist" campaign at home. For weeks the FBI has been singling out for interrogation hundreds of Arab immigrants and citizens of Arab descent. This ominous campaign aims to smear Arab Americans as potential "terrorists"—people without democratic rights and subject to unrestrained attacks.

The Gulf War has indeed provoked terrorism in the U.S.—against Arab Americans. In the space of one week, Detroit police reported four firebomb attacks against people of Middle Eastern descent (*Detroit News*, 21 January). An Iraqi store owner on the Northeast Side narrowly escaped being murdered when two men in army fatigues fired guns at him shouting, "You're dead, Arab!" And in the rural town of Blissfield, Michigan a Dairy Queen owned by a Palestinian American was burned down as "punishment" for his opposition to the Near East war.

Arson, beatings, death threats and discrimination have targeted Arab Americans around the country. In Florida a 15-year-old was arrested when he reportedly exploded a pipe bomb in front of the house of a family he believed to be from Iraq (they were from India). And in a token of pervasive repression to come, Pan Am just announced that holders of Iraqi passports are barred from all flights. Since passports aren't needed on domestic flights, in practice airline security personnel comb airports scrutinizing and harassing anyone who "looks like" an Arab.

Meanwhile, official attacks have been stepped up as the FBI announced a campaign to deport Iraqi citizens residing in the U.S. as their visas expire. In Europe, Germany, France and Britain have been expelling Iraqis for weeks. This is especially pernicious since among the deportees are many opponents of Saddam's regime who face repression in Iraq because of their political views. One group of 30 Iraqi students in Britain were declared "prisoners of war" and locked up.

Where the campaign of government repression is headed is shown by the example of Detroit, which has the largest concentration of Arab Americans (a quarter million) in North America. On January 19, Mayor Coleman Young declared a state of emergency and *called on the Michigan governor to send in the National Guard!* Young feigned concern for Arab residents, while railing against "potential terrorist activity" supposedly aimed at the bridge and tunnel connecting Detroit with Windsor, Canada.

The National Guard's role hasn't changed one whit since it was sent into the Detroit ghetto in 1967 to shoot down blacks. Once mobilized to combat the spectre of "terrorism," the Guard would be used to bust strikes, break up anti-racist protests and clamp down on a population growing restive over the slaughter in the Arabian desert where fully one-third of the U.S. ground troops are black or Hispanic.

Many in Detroit's Arab population are Yemenis who were recruited during the 1970s to work in the Motor City's auto plants (now almost all closed). There is also a large, predominantly middle-class Chaldean Christian community. Even those in the suburbs are now caught in the cross hairs of the government's "anti-terrorism" scare and subjected to the disgusting anti-Arab chauvinism which comes not just from racist yahoos, like the Chrysler foreman and his son who beat Chinese American Vincent Chin to death while screaming about Japanese auto imports, but also from the likes of liberal black Democrat Young.

The purpose of the government's "security" blitz is not to stave off "terrorism" but to regiment the population for war. For this purpose they go to absurd lengths, with everything from New York City police seminars on supposed dangers to Wall Street CEOs to the massive security mobilization for the Super Bowl—dubbed by some journalists the "Big Brother Bowl." In San Francisco police arrested an Iraqi man on a bomb possession charge for what was later described as a partially disassembled "vibrating massage pillow"!

There is a very real threat of the U.S. government launching a massive roundup of Arab Americans. During World War II more than 100,000 Japanese Americans were imprisoned in notorious "internment" camps. The concentration camps are there, and plans for new dragnets are ready to be implemented (see "Fight the Anti-Arab Witchhunt!" *WV* No. 518, 18 January). We call again on the labor movement and defenders of democratic rights to smash the racist "terrorism" witchhunt.

In Baghdad Under the Bombs

We print below excerpts from an interview conducted on January 27 in Berlin by our comrades of Spartakist, *the newspaper of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany, with Sa'id Dudin, the editor for Germany of the Palestinian news agency WAFA. Dudin had just returned from a visit to Baghdad, where he was during the first nights and days of the American bombardment.*

Reuters

Day One of U.S. onslaught against Iraq. Ministry of Defense building in Baghdad burning from U.S. bombing raid.

Spartakist: You know that the news about the war in Iraq is "sanitized," particularly in the United States. It's sort of a video-game report, everything is surgical strikes, there are no civilian casualties in this war, etc. So it is urgent to counter these lies, and I wonder if you could speak a little about your own experience, what you saw yourself in Iraq.

Dudin: One can say precisely the opposite of what is generally claimed here in the media. The losses among the Iraqi military are minimal, absolutely minimal compared with the devastating losses among the civilian population. On the first day, as the attacks began, the Americans went so far as to claim that they had taken out the entire Iraqi air defense system, and Fitzwater even advised Saddam Hussein to capitulate. I am no military expert, but anyone who saw the intensity of the Iraqi antiaircraft defense, night after night, knows that it has remained unbroken. Only on the fifth day did the Americans admit their failure to neutralize the Iraqi antiaircraft defenses. But they had already committed mass murder against the Iraqi people.

The American military explained the failure of their attacks on military targets in Baghdad with references to bad weather there. To me that was such a primitive joke, and it reminded me of the view of the Nazi generals, that the cause of their defeat in the Second World War lay in the fact that there was too much snow on the ground between Berlin and Moscow. But the more obvious this lie became, the more obvious it was that they were trying to force Iraq to its knees by mass murder, the more varied were the explanations of the media.

As far as the population in Baghdad itself is concerned, I went to one place which was destroyed. There were children of roughly the same age lying there, I would judge between nine and eleven years old. And they were apparently having a painting lesson. The paint in their coloring books wasn't even dry. And they lay there dead, all of them. I was told there were 23 children, I only saw seven myself. When I arrived in the outlying areas, the victims had already been partially evacuated. There was an older lady, maybe 70 years old, dead.

What happened was this: after they determined that they hadn't taken out the military defense, the pilots began bombing from such a height that they simply couldn't hit their targets and only hit the civilian population. They even brought the pilots to the scene of their acts, but the racists naturally believe that the Iraqis are just making propaganda, for example with the baby food factory, right? So a journalist sifts through the pieces of cardboard at this factory, acts like a criminal investigator, even though it's obvious to any idiot that it's a baby food factory.

Naturally, the Americans attacked prestige targets. They said, we have destroyed the defense ministry. I went to the defense ministry, to a demolished building. An old man, perhaps between 50 and 55 years old, lay there dead. One of his relatives was overcome with sorrow and wept, saying, why have they destroyed this building? After all, it was evacuated on August 3 last year. There was just this watchman there, it wasn't any defense ministry. But they reported that the defense ministry had been destroyed.

The number of victims is rising from one minute to the next, the number from the civilian population. The Iraqi army is located in defense lines against which attacks can't do much. That is the reason why the Americans haven't begun their ground offensive, because they know that the losses among the Iraqi military are small. A city, Al Dour, about 280 kilometers north of Baghdad, it's proven that there was no base there, no military factory, nothing at all. That city was leveled, it was bombed, hundreds of victims among the civilian population. What I want to say is that this war is being waged first of all against the Iraqi civilian population. But they won't break the morale of the Iraqi population through terror attacks. And it can already be determined that mass murder of the Iraqi people is being carried out.

Spartakist: Are there other things that you have personally seen, not only the war itself, but also the blockade, which was part of the war?

Dudin: What most deeply impressed me was the attitude of normal people. On the way back to the hotel, about 6 or 6:30 in the morning, I met people, more and more people. We had dozens of interviews, with women, girls, men, youths. We said, you know a war has begun here. They said, but we're going to work. Bush wants our economy to collapse. And really, they took it for granted, it just radiated from them.

We went into tea shops where the people sat around unbelievably relaxed and smoked their water pipes, and talked, of course, about what's to be done now. And this tranquility of the people, this confidence. So they said: they're coming back. We fought with the English in the First World War against Germany and Turkey for our independence, and the response was that England and France ripped apart our country. The multinationals, wherever they found an oil well, found themselves a sheik and set up an emirate.

Spartakist: We call for the defeat of the U.S. and NATO imperialists, and defend Iraq. There is the demand for a Near East peace conference, where the imperialists will sit down after having oppressed people for years, divided them, committed mass murder. What do you think of that?

Dudin: I'm absolutely against the *Anschluss* [annexation] of the Near East under Article 23 of the Basic Law [the German constitution, under which East Germany was swallowed up by the West]. Europeans make the mistake of underestimating the intelligence of other peoples. Let's go back to the Gulf War. This marvelous mixture of boundless ignorance and master-race mentality that you saw at Fitzwater's press conference eight hours after the attack began. He stands there, tries to laugh—his laughter seemed plastic—and says, well, the job is done, now Iraq must capitulate, and he is flattered by his court scribes. That was a historic moment for him, and it's crazy the amount of ignorance these people show. They sell their ignorance as the ultimate in wisdom. ■

Sink U.S. War...

(continued from page 1)

Le Monde of Paris headlined its market reports, "Wall Street: America Is Back" and "Tokyo: Banzai!" More than 70 years ago, revolutionary leader Rosa Luxemburg summed up the relationship between capitalism and war: "Profits rising, proletarians falling."

In Riyadh, an American general declared this was "a technology war" as he played a video of "my counterpart's headquarters in Baghdad" being zapped by a "smart bomb." But as the first Iraqi Scuds landed on Tel Aviv hours later, the "techno-euphoria" started evaporating. Daily Pentagon briefings replaced the magician's smoke and mirrors with meaningless charts and figures. Even the most insipid questions from the house-trained Pentagon press corps were batted as feeding info to "the enemy."

Had the U.S achieved "air superiority"? Why, JCS chief General Colin Powell blathered on, he'd written the textbook defining air superiority, and whatever it is, the U.S. has it. Were there figures to back up U.S. damage claims? "Trust me," he responded. Are American planes carpethombing Iraq and Kuwait? "I don't know what the definition of carpet bombing is," replied the theater commander, General "Stormin' Norman" Schwarzkopf.

Washington is lying through its teeth because what they intend to do is truly horrendous. The hallmark of this war, writes R.W. Apple in the *New York Times* (17 January), will be "overwhelming force, relentlessly applied." What that will mean, increasingly, is relentless terror against the Iraqi population and overwhelming civilian casualties. "This is not a war," an Egyptian fleeing Baghdad after the first few days of bombing said bitterly, "This is the annihilation of a Muslim people."

The American-led imperialist "allies" are terror-bombing the cities and towns of Iraq. And they are out to assassinate Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein: in Bush's "State of the Union" war rally in Congress, he pointedly repeated several times that Hussein was "*dead* wrong." Soon the gory, bone-crunching ground war will begin and the rivers of Mesopotamia will run red with blood. Amid all the talk of Saddam Hussein using chemical warfare, the U.S. is already shelling Iraqi positions with white phosphorus. And the U.S.' Persian Gulf armada has thousands of nuclear warheads.

We of the Spartacist League and International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) have warned from the outset that this rapacious ruling class which presumes to be cops of the world was preparing to plunge the world's working people into a bloody holocaust. And now they've started. If imperialist carnage is not to be the continuing fate of humanity until this system of war and destruction finally incinerates all of civilization in a nuclear fireball, it must be swept away through proletarian revolution.

A stinging defeat for U.S. imperialism in its onslaught against the Iraqi people can spark revolutionary struggle throughout the Near East. We call on the working people of the U.S. and the other imperialist countries to mobilize their social power in *class struggle* against the exploiters and oppressors at home.

Democrats Rally 'Round the War

For months the capitalist media and Congressional Democrats regurgitated Bush's transparently lying "peace" ploys. "A resolute Bush maneuvered U.S. to the edge of war," headlined the *Philadelphia Inquirer* (16 January), claiming: "No one foresaw that in August." But a former Reagan aide says of Bush: "It's clear now that he took steps from the very start to make war inevitable." Historian James MacGregor Burns added: "Congress had the power and the time to oppose him. It didn't."

It was clear all along that Bush was moving toward war. While pleading to "give sanctions a chance," the bourgeois "opposition" marched in lockstep behind the White House. Capitol Hill cheered when Bush deployed 200,000 troops to "defend Saudi Arabia" in August. The

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U.S. Protests...

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another costly defeat like Vietnam. These "antiwar" labor lakers seek to derail working-class struggle against the war, just as they have hurried a decade of strikes—from PATCO to Hormel to Greyhound and Eastern—through reliance on Democratic Party politicians. In contrast, the Spartacist League fights for *labor strikes against the war*, to choke off the munitions and matériel that fuel the U.S. war machine.

Bush Lies, Black People Die—Down with the Racist Imperialist War!

Black Americans especially don't want this war. The NYC black newspapers, the *Amsterdam News*, *City Sun* and *New American*, all ran antiwar front pages, in stark contrast to the chauvinist hype of the mainstream media. As in the Vietnam War, blacks are disproportionately represented in the army, with almost *one-quarter* of all black families having a member in the Gulf, as opposed to only seven percent of white families. As poverty and joblessness ravaged the ghettos during the Reagan years, a de facto "poverty draft" occurred. With over one-quarter of black men either in prison or on parole, the lure of college aid or the (largely illusory) opportunity to gain job skills enticed many black and Hispanic youths into the army and reserves. Now they find themselves sitting ducks in the desert, expected to sacrifice their lives for the privilege of restoring the venal Kuwaiti monarchy.

As many as 80 percent of the estimated 3,000 soldiers who have filed for "conscientious objector" status are black. One of them, E. A. Stanley, recently wrote, "As an officer in the Army Reserves, I often wonder why this country always fights for the rich man's causes while the poor man's causes are often ignored right here in the U.S." (*Scoop USA*, 21 December 1990). Another, U.S. Navy fireman Donald Alexander, held a press conference at the National Press Club, stating, "I cannot fight in a war to uphold chattel slavery.... Fighting in this war in the Persian Gulf would be for me equivalent to fighting for General Lee against Abraham Lincoln."

WV Photos

As the bombs began falling: protests in Chicago (left) and NYC (above), January 17.

A *Washington Post* poll revealed that 60 percent of black D.C. residents disapprove of the war. Blacks know that their war is at home, fighting for employment, decent housing, education, health care and simple equality. "Black Veterans for Social Justice," a New York group which has participated in antiwar protests, issued a statement declaring, "The irony of the President's war frenzy is in the history of this country's treatment of those who have answered the call to arms. We were sprayed with Agent Orange in Vietnam. Among the homeless population, we veterans number 40 percent nationally. We are 20 percent of the prison population. And we are one of the highest groups of unemployed persons in this country" (*New American*, 17 January).

A number of blacks and Hispanics have participated in the demonstrations across the country, compelling black elected officials to oppose the war. In the House of Representatives, the vote for the war was 396-6 (five from the Black Congressional Caucus, and Vermont "socialist" Bernie Sanders). Jesse Jackson, after initially supporting the invasion, has been backpedaling since the bombing began, and showed up to speak in the Washington demonstrations, typically couching his opposition in guns-versus-butter terms. What motivates these politicians is not opposition to U.S. imperialism, but fear that blacks and other minorities will rebel against the twin parties of capitalism to which these misleaders have tied them for decades.

For a Revolutionary Party!

In contrast to the sea of liberal imperialist "doves" and red-white-and-blue "socialists" preaching "patriotic" opposition to the war, the revolutionary politics of the Spartacist League and Spartacus Youth Clubs stood out like a bright red beacon. Our banner reading "Defend Iraq! Defeat U.S. Imperialism!" got everybody's attention. Although they couldn't seem to get the various leftists' slogans right, even the more obtuse bourgeois media recognized the SL/SYC as vintage communism: the *San Francisco Examiner* wrote, "The Spartacist League urged us to go back to the teachings of Trotsky and Lenin." The *Washington Post* reported that protesters in the capital "range from sweet little seventh-graders on officially sanctioned field trips to big city office workers on lunch break to revolutionary Spartacists...." The *Village Voice* saw Sparts everywhere.

Over 10,000 copies of *Workers Vanguard* and other Spartacist publications were sold at antiwar protests around the country over the past two weeks. Our pamphlet "Black Soldiers in the Jim Crow Military" (in the *Black History and the Class Struggle* series) attracted special attention. The bombs dropped on Baghdad can explode the Reagan/Bush reign which glories in the ostentatious display of greed and privilege while sticking it to the working class and minorities. In the coming months we look to win those who recognize that *our enemy is at home*, and that a defeat for U.S. imperialism is a victory for the oppressed of the world.

What sets the Trotskyist SL apart from the American social-patriotic left is our forthright opposition to our "own" imperialism. Not endless peace crawls to pressure the ruling class, but revolutionary struggle to overthrow the racist capitalist system. Not writing letters to Congress, but organizing labor strikes against the war, to unleash the power of the integrated working class in defense of our class brothers and sisters being bombed in Iraq. To defeat the U.S. ruling class, the most vicious and deadly force on earth, we need a revolutionary party which is not afraid to swim against the stream. Take a side—Join us! ■

Spartacist Statement...

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We need labor strikes against this criminal war. We call on longshoremen to stop handling all munitions shipments and war matériel. Is this pie in the sky? No! French dock workers refused to ship war matériel. Striking Turkish coal miners are demanding down with the war, down with the warmongering government.

What this war is about is the American Empire wants to be cops of the world. Remember Reagan's rape of tiny black Grenada! Remember the thousands murdered in Panama only a year ago! Remember the two million murdered in Vietnam by Washington. But the Vietnamese people prevailed and made a revolution. Some people say, "No More Vietnams." That is what Richard Nixon says. We say: Vietnam was a victory!

American imperialism is the enemy of mankind. It must be defeated, through class struggle. And it's our job to do it, all of us. We are millions around the world who hate this racist, bloodthirsty government. The enemy is capitalism. That's what produces millions of homeless. The technology exists to feed everyone on this planet, but instead this system produces mass starvation and war after war after war.

American imperialism must be defeated in its bloody grab for oil and world domination. It is our duty to stand with the Iraqi people in defending themselves against the American warmongers. We stand with the Palestinian people, who face genocide at the hands of the racist, Zionist butchers who rule Israel.

The working people of the Near East, the Kurds and other minorities, must rise up to bring down all the sheiks, all the despots, including Saddam Hussein, but not just the despots who are on the outs with Washington today. And we're fighting here, in the belly of the beast, for workers revolution to sweep away the biggest despots of all.

16 January 1991

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

War in Babylon

A shimmering reggae backbeat springs into hypnotic repetitive consciousness, underscoring the reedy tenor of Rastafarian singer, Max Romeo, as he launches into a catchy chorus;

"War inna Babylon! War inna Babylon!"

Over a decade has passed since I've heard the song, an arcane allusion to a mystic, coming Armageddon.

But the Jamaican vision does not dominate my mind today. Several hours ago, the startling news swept the world that the United States struck the first martial blow against the Middle East country of Iraq, by a night strike on Baghdad.

U.S. jets rained death upon the desert capital, the nation that is the modern day descendant of a once-proud empire—Babylon.

It can be said now, with the ring of truth, there is truly War in Babylon.

The U.S. Empire, "New Babylon," has unleashed the dogs of war to insure dominion over the Arabian oil fields, and, by extension, its New World Order, an "order" that appears, at first glance, much like the same old "order" of colonial, white, capitalist hegemony.

But, at bottom, this "New Order" offers none of the contrasts of the old, none of the balances of superpower, none of the past concerns of "sphere of influence": for the counter-balance, the opposing superpower, is all but lost in a growing maelstrom of internal chaos.

Indeed, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has come dangerously close to becoming neither a "union," nor even nominally "socialist"—*perestroika* (restructuring) with a vengeance!

It is said that "power abhors a vacuum," and in the empty hole left by USSR retrenchment, the U.S. has moved decisively to fill the gap.

No matter what the outcome of the Mid East War, forces of the U.S. Empire will occupy Arab lands for decades to come, modern reflections of Roman legions, mercenaries bought to protect the rich/super-rich ruling families of the region from swelling Arab rage and burgeoning humiliation, as New Order Imperialists, Americans, take the place of the old, the British.

WV Photo

A banner in Washington, January 19.

And the bulk of troops sent to the Arabian Desert to defend the regions' ruling elites are themselves members of the working class, or, all too often, the non-working class—people who joined, not to fight, but for jobs and benefits! To what shall the Western warriors return after the flames of war have ebbed, and the region has been declared "safe" for U.S. corporate interests?

When American oil companies cackle in acquisitive, avaricious glee at unhampered supply, and new age Arab pashas re-establish their lifestyles of decadent opulence, those who faced and fought the fires of a man-made firestorm will, if they survive, return to human hells in the concrete jungles of North America.

For defending their country's elite they will inherit a lifetime of empty tomorrows in inner city slums, not unlike those of the denizens of Sabra & Shatila, urban villages isolated in deserts of despair.

Once again African-Americans will have fought, and shed precious blood for another class, another cause, and remain unfree, embittered and oppressed—unable to fight for ourselves.

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Mumia faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Mumia, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, Drawer R, Huntingdon, PA 16652.

Sink U.S. War...

(continued from page 7)

Democrats kept mum over the Gulf during the election campaign and then feigned surprise when, two days later, Bush ordered another 200,000 troops in.

After months of empty chatter by liberals and reformists alike about enforcing the War Powers Act, when Bush put it to the Democratic-controlled Congress, they went for war. And as soon as the warplanes started bombing Iraq, what pusillanimous opposition existed collapsed entirely, as all but a handful rallied 'round flag and *Führer*. Erstwhile "antiwar" Democratic Senator Boren of Oklahoma proclaimed: "Now that the war has begun...Congress must be prepared to vote to provide our troops anything they need to prevail."

The Democrats did nothing to block Bush for the simple reason that for years these partner parties of American imperialism have both had a *war policy*. The U.S. war on Iraq is not about "Iraqi aggression" against the oil emirate of Kuwait, and certainly has nothing to do with freedom or democracy. This much is obvious to all. Many also recognize that the oil companies will rake in superprofits as a result, but it is more than that. Ever since the 1973 "oil shock," all wings of the U.S. bourgeoisie have agreed that "the oil is ours" and the Persian Gulf must be an American lake.

In January 1980, shortly after the Soviet Union intervened in Afghanistan, Democratic president Jimmy Carter proclaimed the "Carter Doctrine": "Any attempt by any outside [!] force to gain control of the Persian Gulf will be regarded as an assault on the vital interests of the United States of America and such an assault will be repelled by any means necessary, including military force." Presidential Directive No. 51 later that year specified that this included the use of tactical nuclear weapons.

"New World Order" with Feet of Clay

American capitalism is in deep trouble: industrial regions turned into a vast "rust belt" years ago, a recession under way, per capita foreign debt the highest of any country in the world, with U.S. finance virtually in hock to Tokyo. No longer undisputed master of the capitalist world, with Germany and Japan surging forward as economically more dynamic powers, the U.S. is seeking to regain its position of unchallenged imperialist hegemony by throwing around its military weight.

Echoing Hitler's talk of a "New Order," Bush is out to create a "New World Order" of U.S. imperialist domination. In his triumphalist "State of the Union" speech, Bush called on "every American to prepare for the next American century"! The last "American century," U.S. imperialist hegemony following World War II, was buried in the rice paddies of Vietnam. And the attempt to restore it could lead to World War III. In the mid-1930s, as the last imperialist world conflagration loomed, Leon Trotsky wrote:

> "U.S. capitalism is up against the same problems that pushed Germany in 1914 on the path of war. The world is divided? It must be redivided. For Germany it was a question of 'organizing Europe.' The United States must 'organize' the world. History is bringing humanity face to face with the volcanic eruption of American imperialism."
>
> —"War and the Fourth International" (June 1934)

While the Germans have turned Europe into a D-mark zone and the Japanese have re-established with the powerful yen the "Greater East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere" they lost in World War II, there is one thing which America's imperialist rivals don't have—a massive, technologically sophisticated military arsenal. The U.S. ruling class intends to "correct the imbalance" in the world capitalist market by seizing control over the world's oil supplies and blackmailing its imperialist competitors into submission.

And now the U.S. has the chutzpah to demand that Japan and Germany pay for the oil grab which is aimed against them. Japan has agreed to cough up an additional $9 billion, but the Germans have been less forthcoming. (Kohl needs gobs of Deutschmarks right now to pay for the takeover of East Germany and Bonn's East European and Soviet deals.) Yet the estimated cost of a war lasting several months—some $80 billion—is no more than the payouts this year alone for the *trillion-dollar* S&L scam.

Sygma

Center for Defense Information has estimated that U.S. invasion of Iraq could produce over 300,000 casualties, including tens of thousands killed. Above: eight-year-long Iran-Iraq War produced one million dead. Washington aided both sides in this bloody slaughter.

At bottom, it is not a question of Bush's ego or war-mania in the White House, no more than the assassination of an archduke was the cause of World War I, or a Japanese "sneak attack" on Pearl Harbor brought the U.S. into World War II. This is the way imperialism works: in the final analysis, deep-going economic contradictions can only be resolved by force of arms. And until the system of competing capitalist nation-states is swept away through workers revolution, war will continue to be the fate of humanity.

The Spartacist League warned from the outset: "Having lost its economic predominance, Washington is now trying to reassert its role as imperialist global policeman through brute military force" (*WV* No. 509, 7 September 1990). While liberals cheered the United Nations "sanctions" and various fake-socialists tried to duck the issue, we said straight out that the embargo itself was an act of war against Iraq and declared: "Break the Blockade of Iraq!"

Washington wants to paint its grubby oil grab in the Near East as a replay of World War II, which was popularly perceived to be a war against Nazism. And the capitalist press goes along, referring to the U.S.-led "Allies" vs. the "Saddam Hussein (read, Hitler) forces." They want to wipe out the memory of the humiliating U.S. defeat in Indochina. But the Pentagon's ban on TV cameras at Dover Air Force Base, where American war dead in the Gulf will be returning stateside, will do little to black out the image of body bags "coming home" from the minds of bereaved parents and sweethearts and children.

The U.S. certainly has the military firepower to "prevail" in the end over small, semicolonial Iraq. But at what cost? As Prussian military strategist Karl von Clausewitz observed in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars, war is "a test of

moral and physical forces." Neither the American population at large nor the troops in the Gulf see any stake in this war. As President Bush was celebrating Thanksgiving in the Saudi desert, U.S. soldiers yelled out to reporters, "This is not our war!" The Iraqis, on the other hand, even those who have no love for the despot Saddam Hussein, have no doubts that they are defending their country against an imperialist invader who is raining destruction down on their heads.

Middle East Powder Keg

As the Americans should have learned from Vietnam, and even strategic bombing surveys during World War II showed, bombing population centers neither wins a war nor does it break the will of the people. On the contrary, as Patrick Cockburn observed in the London *Independent* (22 January): "there is little question that the bombing and missile attacks of the past five days have politicised the Iraqi population in a way that five months of propaganda from their own government failed to do. By Saturday, there was a sense of anger and determination completely lacking on 15 January."

It may be an exaggeration to say at this point, as Jordanian political scientist Kamel Abu Jaber does, that "Saddam has already won the political war." But in a war in which political factors are rapidly surpassing military-technical considerations in importance, Iraq is certainly well ahead of the imperialists. Throughout the Near East and North Africa, as well as South Asia, there has been an explosion of popular support for Iraq since the bombing began, including among Muslim fundamentalist forces historically indebted to the Saudi theocracy. A UPI dispatch reports the following typical sentiment in Cairo bars and coffeehouses:

> "America was screwed in Vietnam. America was screwed in Korea as well. Why then could not America be screwed in the gulf? The Arabs are not inferior to the Vietnamese or the Koreans."

The Iraqi Scud missile attacks on Israel turned Saddam Hussein into the most popular Arab leader at least since Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser—and simultaneously shattered the myth of invulnerability which is one of the ideological pillars of the Zionist garrison state. Tel Aviv residents have been clogging the highways out of the city to fill up hotels in Jerusalem left vacant by the halt in tourist traffic, only to be denounced as "deserters" by the mayor of Tel Aviv. Meanwhile, the *Jerusalem Post* international edition (26 January) reports that dozens of Israeli Arab families have opened up their homes to Jews from areas hit by missiles.

Arabs are particularly infuriated by the outrage expressed by Western capitals and the press over the Scud attacks—which have produced minimal casualties—even as *thousands* of bombs rain down on Baghdad and Basra daily. One Palestinian exclaimed after the first Scuds fell on Tel Aviv: "Two missile attacks on Israel that do not kill anybody, and the whole world cries and moans." In the three years of the *Intifada* well over 700 Palestinians, many of them young children, have been gunned down by Israeli troops. Since the Gulf War began, the entire Palestinian population in the occupied West Bank has been under house arrest, under pain of being shot on sight if they leave their homes. One 24-year-old woman who appeared on her balcony in the West Bank town of Nablus was shot dead as she was breast-feeding her baby.

The White House has been disingenuously claiming that Israel is not part of the anti-Iraq "coalition." But fearful that an Israeli retaliatory attack on Iraq would cause problems for its bought-and-paid-for Arab "allies," Washington rushed Patriot missile launchers and U.S. crews to Israel. For the moment the Israelis have refrained from retaliating, anticipating a whopping $13 billion in additional aid from Washington as payoff. But the Israeli rulers *will* strike at Iraq, and health minister Ehud Olmert vowed that Iraq will suffer "painful scars that would stay with them for a long time" (*New York Times*, 24 January).

What sort of "painful scars" are the Zionist madmen planning? As Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu courageously revealed to the world, the Zionist state has more than 200 nuclear warheads. Israel's rulers have already vowed to take out the Jordanian air force should it attempt to prevent Israeli jets from flying over Jordanian airspace in order to attack Iraq. They are intent on driving the Palestinians out of the West Bank and into Jordan. The international workers movement must raise an outcry to demand: Defend the Palestinians! Israel out of the Occupied Territories!

As one of the oldest crossroads of civilization in the world, the Near East has always been a mosaic of numerous conflicting nationalities and ethnic and religious groupings attempting to carve out living space at each other's expense. Under the domination of imperialism and the imposition of artificial borders, capitalist rule in the Near East has taken a particularly bloody and horrendous form. Israeli Jews murder Palestinian Arabs, Egyptian Muslims suppress Copts, Sunnis feud with Shi'ites and Maronite Christians in Lebanon, Alawites dominate everyone else in Syria, and everybody goes after the Kurds.

The only way out of the national and sectarian fratricide which has wracked the region—short of mutual annihilation—lies through the revolutionary destruction of capitalism and the creation of a socialist federation of the Near East. And particularly from among the numerous oppressed minorities can come steeled internationalist cadres of Bolshevik parties capable of leading the workers to power. In Iraq, it was precisely the Kurdish minority, as well as Christians and Jews, who made up the bulk of the Communist Party which was decimated by Saddam Hussein's bloody repression (using hit lists supplied by the CIA).

A defeat for U.S. imperialism will embolden the working people in the Near East to deal with their own despots and butchers, including in Iraq. Leaving Baghdad after a week of the U.S. bombardment, *Financial Times* correspondent Lamis Andoni observed (25 January): "People in Iraq want freedom, but for the moment the battle is a matter of life and death. After the battle they will want more."

Reforge the Fourth International!

The American empire has embarked on a major war with its population divided and its economy bankrupt. The U.S. ruling class and its NATO allies are far from unanimous in supporting Bush's single-minded focus on the Persian Gulf, and if things bog down there the imperialist war front could crack. Many Democrats agree with European politicians who want to step up pressure on the Soviet Union as Gorbachev flails about trying to hold back seeessionist forces in the Baltics. Columnist Anthony Lewis gripes that Bush is too "obsessed" by the Gulf War to "be forcefully protesting the repression in Lithuania and Latvia" (*New York Times*, 28 January).

The stage for the Persian Gulf War was set by the collapse of Stalinist rule in East Europe and the escalating crisis in the Soviet Union. No longer is the United States, the leading imperialist power, restrained by fear of what the response would be from Moscow. Rather than ushering in an era of international harmony, complete with the mythical "peace dividend" ballyhooed by liberals and social democrats who talked of "shifting priorities" from military to social expenditures, instead George Bush's "New World Order" is one in which the U.S. arrogates to itself the role of world policeman to impose its imperial interests.

The death agony of Stalinism has had another effect as well: the disarray among the "socialist" and "communist" leftists in the West, who are prostrate in the face of this bloody imperialist assault. Communism is supposed to be dead, and according to State Department "theoreticians" maybe history too, but that doesn't square very well with what's going on in the Persian Gulf. With the onset of the "first post-Cold War war," there has been a wave of antiwar unrest encompassing sections of the working class from the very moment the shooting began and even before. This opens up tremendous possibilities for building an authentic communist vanguard.

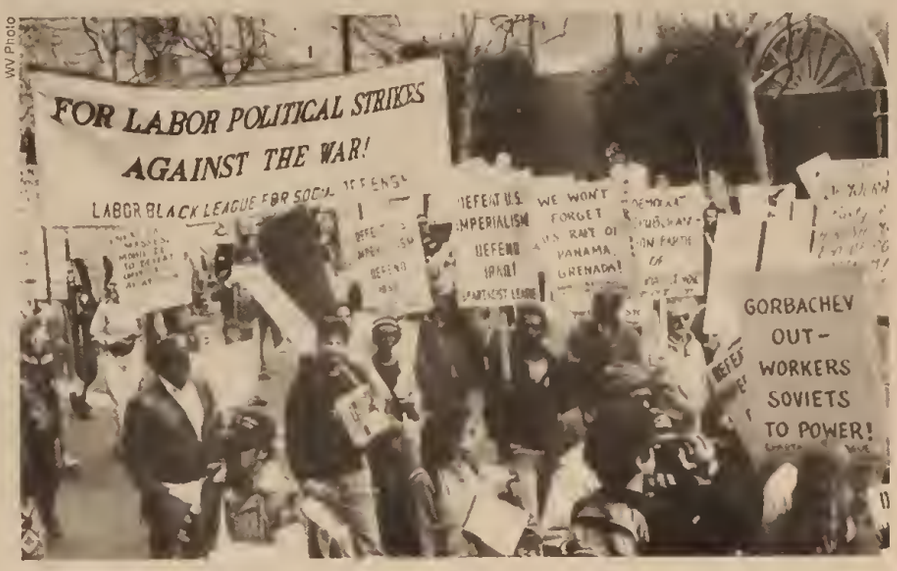
At the outset of World War I, as well, there was a widespread sense that socialism had failed. The vote of the German Social Democracy on 4 August 1914 for war credits to the Kaiser's government registered the collapse of the Second International, as most of its national components became rabid "social-patriotic" flag-wavers for the war aims of their "own" bourgeoisies, and much of the "left" social democracy was paralyzed by "social-pacifist" politics. The resolutions of the Second International for internationalist socialist action against war were revealed as so much worthless paper.

Among socialist opponents of the war, the left wing led by the Russian Bolsheviks called for a very different policy. Instead of appealing to the imperialists to make a robbers' peace, Lenin called on the workers to "turn the imperialist war into a civil war," to bring down the warring governments by socialist revolution. And so they did, in the Bolshevik October Revolution of 1917. Key to the Bolshevik victory was their determined struggle to forge a new, genuinely revolutionary International. After Stalin's betrayal of the principles and program of the Communist International, the Bolshevik struggle was continued by Trotsky's fight for the Fourth International.

Today, America's rulers have gone all out to whip up a war fever, marshaling all the forces of Madison Avenue in the service of the Pentagon. This was epitomized by George Bush's message during half time of the Super Bowl football game, as 75,000 spectators held up cards forming a giant American flag. But this mood is transitory at best. In his "War and the Fourth International," Trotsky wrote:

> "For a revolutionary party, the *moment of declaration of war* is especially critical. The bourgeois and social-patriotic press in an alliance with the radio and movies will pour out upon the toiling masses torrents of chauvinistic poison....
>
> "Even if at the beginning of a new war the true revolutionists should again find themselves in a small minority, we cannot doubt for a single moment that this time the shift of the masses to the road of revolution will occur much faster, more decisively and relentlessly than during the first imperialist war. A new wave of insurrections can and must become victorious in the whole capitalist world
>
> "It is indisputable at any rate that in our epoch only that organization that bases itself on international principles and enters into the ranks of the world party of the proletariat can root itself in the national soil. *The struggle against war means now the struggle for the Fourth International!*"

Today in countries around the world, the sections of the International Communist League fight to defeat the imperialist onslaught against the Iraqi people. *For labor strikes against the war! Defeat U.S. imperialism! Defend Iraq!* ■



San Francisco, January 26—Spartacist League and Labor Black League fight to mobilize workers power against imperialist war.

Maguire/Philadelphia Inquirer

U.S. imperialist rulers want to be cops of the world.

North Africa Seething Over Attack on Iraq

Almost two weeks of bombing of Baghdad and Basra hy the imperialist war machine has sparked an outpouring of solidarity with Iraq among the Arab populations of North Africa and Egypt. The unrest provoked by the war threatens to blow apart the U.S.-led coalition against Iraq and could ultimately hring down the brittle pro-iinperialist regimes of North Africa.

The widespread protests involve highly disparate forces. Pro-Iraq demonstrations, many of them led by Islamic fundamentalists, have swept Algeria and Tunisia. Doctors and nurses in Tunisia have offered their services in support of Iraq and have begun collecting blood. And in Morocco labor federations have called a general strike in solidarity with Iraq.

Across North Africa volunteers are enlisting to go fight on the side of Iraq. In Tunisia 3,000 have already signed up, according to the UGTT trade-union federation (*Le Monde*, 25 January). In Algeria several hundred youth presented themselves at the Iraqi embassy after the first day of bombing to volunteer for combat.

The *New York Times* (24 January) headlined that "In Egypt, Public Sentiment Is Shifting in Baghdad's Favor." The significance of this fact is not lost on the imperialists. With over 40,000 Egyptian troops under U.S. command in the Gulf, the Cairo regime is a key imperialist "asset" in the assault on Iraq. At the same time, the numerous Egyptian working class can be an important force for socialist revolution in the Near East.

Two days later the *Times* (26 January) noted that "Pro-Iraq Sentiment Is Increasing in North Africa" as well: "A major reason most Tunisians, Algerians and Moroccans back Mr. Hussein is they see him as their brother in fighting against the rich. The masses of people have few kind words for Kuwait and were not sad that Iraq gobbled it up."

The impact of the imperialist war on Iraq is reverberating through the region, sparking mass unrest that with Trotskyist leadership could point to workers revolution. A North African comrade in Paris compiled the following report:

Egypt

In a communiqué published on January 23, the Muslim Brotherhood demanded the withdrawal of Egyptian forces from the Gulf, while the main opposition party, the (Arab nationalist) Progressive Unionist Rally (PPU), published a call on January 21 in which it merely called on the Egyptian forces to respect the objective which they had set for themselves, namely defending Saudi Arabia against all foreign aggression. Several professional associations (associations of doctors, nurses, engineers, etc.) and dozens of intellectuals have condemned the U.S.-Western aggression and expressed their support to the Iraqi people.

The Tunisian newspaper *As Sabbah* (24 January) reports that, according to the Egyptian newspaper *Al Ahali* (organ of the PPU), "thousands of Egyptians are volunteering for the Iraqi army." It adds that "many Egyptians have refused to leave Iraq and have insisted on staying." The Egyptian information agency reports that the Ministry of National Education has decided to extend school and university vacations until February 2, presumably out of fear of student demonstrations for Iraq.

Der Spiegel

Bush's war unleashes protest across North Africa. Above, Islamic fundamentalist demonstration in Algiers.

Morocco

With the launching of the Gulf War, "Our Friend the King" (title of a recent biography of King Hassan II by Gilles Perrault) threatened that if matters seemed to be getting out of hand he would declare a state of siege. He retreated afterwards, granting legal organizations the right to demonstrate on condition that each organization demonstrate in a different city from the others.

According to a 25 January dispatch from France-Infos, the three Moroccan trade-union federations (UMT, CDT, UGTM) have called a general strike for January 28 in solidarity with the Iraqi people.

The CDT and UGTM submitted a request for an authorization to demonstrate in 13 cities to support the Iraqi people. Furthermore, they called for a blood collection drive for Iraq. The strike is to coincide with the call of the opposition parties for a day of fasting in all North African countries on January 28. They also called for the withdrawal of all Arab and Islamic troops in order to avoid spilling Arab and Islamic blood.

The editorial in *Al Bayane* (organ of the PPS, the Moroccan Stalinists) of 24 January is headlined "To Save the Peace." The PPS has a classical pacifist line. Thus, it supports the demand of the North African governments for a special session of the UN Security Council to re-establish peace in the Near East.

Under the headline "National Consensus to Condemn the Imperialist Attack and an Immediate End to the Aggression Against Iraq," *Al Bayane* reports that "the opposition [Stalinists, social democrats and nationalists of the Istiqlal] demands the withdrawal of Moroccan troops (1,500 men) stationed in Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, to permit the Moroccan people to express its fervent pan-Arab sentiments, to mobilize the Moroccan people to support and stand with the Iraqi people...and to express its joy at the victories of the Iraqi army on the field."

The youth of the various opposition parties called for a demonstration on Saturday, January 26 in the capital of Rabat under the slogan, "Demand a Halt to the Gulf War, For a Peaceful Solution in the Region."

At the same time sentences are continuing to be handed down as a result of the riots which took place following the general strike of last December 14. That strike against the government's austerity policy and for an increase in the minimum wage touched off a spontaneous explosion by the plebeian poor in which banks, luxury hotels, jewelers and fashionable boutiques were attacked. Scores were killed and over 200 remain in jail.

On January 23, the appeals court of Fès handed down sentences ranging up to ten years in prison in the trial of 37 people, among them 26 students. In Meknès ten others received up to five years in prison.

Tunisia

Demonstrations were held throughout Tunisia in support of Iraq. Tens of thousands chant "Mitterrand, assassin!" and "Saddam, we will sacrifice ourselves for you!" The position of the government points toward an initiative to cease hostilities and resolve the conflict through negotiations. As for the formerly pro-Saudi fundamentalists, they for the first time broke their silence by demonstrating in support of Iraq.

Obviously, the government, the ruling party (the Constitutional Democratic Rally [RCD]), the opposition parties and the UGTT trade-union federation are taking the easy road of collecting blood for the Iraqis. The Tunisian newspaper *Al Sabah* reports on a demonstration, in the city of Kaf, of 50 children between the ages of three and five shouting pro-Iraqi and pro-Saddam Hussein slogans.

According to *Le Monde*, the RCD "has been able to channel the popular movements in favor of Iraq which have unfurled across the country without incident." The speech of Prime Minister Ahmed Karoui on January 23 sharply denounced the destruction of Iraq's capabilities by the forces of the imperialist coalition, without naming any of them. He proclaimed Tunisian solidarity with the Iraqi people as well as with the Kuwaiti people, without ever mentioning Saddam Hussein.

Algeria

Algeria has seen the largest and most massive demonstrations, organized separately by the secular parties and by the Islamic fundamentalists of the FIS. Following Friday prayers on January 18, "More than 100,000 Algerian demonstrators cheer the fiery fundamentalist preacher, Ali Ben Hadj, as he parades, dressed in army fatigues, on a jeep through Algiers," reports the *Financial Times* (23 January). Women carry signs proclaiming, "We will sacrifice our souls and blood for Islam."

No longer singing the praises of Saudi Arabia, the FIS appears entirely devoted to Saddam Hussein and doesn't miss an opportunity to insult, at each demonstration, the Saudi monarch. The FIS has called on Algerians to volunteer for military action in Iraq, and demanded of the authorities that they open training camps. The response of the ruling FLN was not long in coming. According to *Le Monde*, at a January 22 press conference, a government spokesman spoke sarcastically of those who want Algeria to send military reinforcements to Iraq while it "has not even been capable of transporting to Iraq a shipload of wheat." He was referring to the "peace ship" sent by Algerian women's organizations which was stopped by the U.S. Navy in the Gulf.

As for President Benjedid Chadli, in a speech on January 23 he accused the fundamentalists of trying to "outbid" others with "demagogy." Benjedid avoided bringing up Algeria's official position of condemning the annexation of Kuwait by Iraq. He called on the population to solidarize with the state and not to wash their dirty linen in public. At the same time, in the event that the Algerians got out of hand, the government just bought from Mercedes-Benz anti-riot vehicles and equipment.

* * *

Today, Arab nationalists and Islamic fundamentalists are in the forefront of protests against the U.S.-led attack on Iraq. Should they come to power, such forces will inevitably turn on the masses in order to consolidate a new capitalist regime, as occurred in Khomeini's Iran. But should the war drag on, the potential for serious anti-imperialist struggles in the region will grow enormously, and with it the possibilities for intervention by proletarian-internationalist forces.

The former subjects of French colonialism also form a human bridge to the imperialist *métropole*, where North African workers are in key industrial locations. Moroccan workers have represented a large segment of coal miners in northern France and took the lead in auto workers strikes of the early 1980s. Today, second-generation immigrant North African youth (*beurs*) have played a leading role in the student struggles which have swept France, while confronting racist cop terror in the ghettos.

From one end of the Mediterranean to the other, the key is to forge a Trotskyist vanguard. ■

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Weak Link in Imperialist War Coalition

Workers' Struggles Rock Turkey

American F-15 fighter-bombers taking off with their payloads of death daily shake the ground around Turkey's İncirlik air base. But what is rocking this front line NATO state even more is an upsurge of working-class struggle and antiwar protest. On January 3, two million workers walked out in a one-day general strike which shut down all major cities. The next day, striking miners and their supporters began a march on the capital of Ankara from the Black Sea town of Zonguldak.

The current strike wave, which rapidly spread from the Zonguldak mines to private-sector metal workers and the textile and paper industries, is the most widespread since before the 1980 military coup. The London *Independent* (7 January) noted: "What is especially worrying for the government is the way labour protests are becoming mixed with anti-war sentiment." The explosion of popularly supported class struggle against the repressive Turgut Özal regime threatens to pierce Washington's fragile war "coalition" against Iraq and trigger a wave of social struggles throughout the region.

Milliyet

Turkish miners' march on Ankara was met by water cannon and bulldozers.

Özal's decision to turn the country into a staging area for Washington's war on neighboring Iraq is universally unpopular, even within the top echelons of the military. Last month the head of the army resigned in opposition to the government's war policy. A recent poll shows that *nine out of ten* people oppose Turkish involvement in the war. On the eve of the U.S. bombing of Baghdad, the liberal Social Democratic Populist Party (SHP) pulled 20,000 people to a "No to War" rally in Istanbul. Transport workers in Istanbul staged a hunger strike to protest the war and support the miners.

Bombs have ripped through the headquarters of Özal's Motherland Party in Ankara and the U.S. Logistics Organization Group complex in Maslak. The guerrillaist Dev Sol took responsibility, saying this was "a warning to the annexationist policies of American imperialism in the Middle East and their collaborators." While cops round up people even for putting up antiwar posters, student protesters have met police onslaughts with sticks and stones. On January 25, Turkey was swept by antiwar protests which burned American and Israeli flags. In Tatvan, where demonstrators chanted "Down with Özal" and "Freedom for Kurdistan," one protester was shot dead by the police; many more were injured and well over a hundred arrested.

Reuters

Women at forefront of Zonguldak strikers' march on capital carry portrait of Kemal Atatürk, founder of Turkish republic.

"The Workers Will March, Çankaya Will Shake!"

Ten years of murderous repression and savage austerity under the pro-NATO bonapartist dictatorship has brought Turkey to the boiling point. The spearhead of the current upsurge of labor and antiwar protests is the militant two-month-old strike by Zonguldak coal miners demanding a 450 percent wage increase to make up for the ravages of a 70 percent inflation rate (see "Heroic Coal Miners Strike Shakes Turkey," *WV* No. 517, 4 January). Inspired by the heroic miners, large sections of the Turkish and Kurdish working class responded to the January 3 general strike call by the Türk-İş trade-union confederation. University students boycotted classes in solidarity and in many large towns shopkeepers shut down as well.

But the cringing union leadership called on workers to stay home and not show their power on the streets. Defying the Turk-İş tops, the Zonguldak miners launched their dramatic march on the capital and the presidential residence at Çankaya. When the government prevented buses rented by the union from entering Zonguldak, the miners shouted: "We can walk not 300 kilometers but even 500 kilometers. Nobody can stop us on our path" (*Hürriyet*, 6 January). With women in the forefront, 60,000 miners and their families set off. The town reverberated with chants of "The workers will march, Çankaya will shake!"

Workers from other areas who had been kept out of Zonguldak by the cops waited in nearby villages for the miners to pass. The march soon swelled to over 100,000—a column stretching eight kilometers down the road. When the workers passed a prison, they were applauded by prisoners chanting, "For general amnesty! Empty the dungeons!" Encountering a police barricade several miles out of Zonguldak, the marchers refused to turn back, until finally the barricades were removed. "No to war," they chanted, "Let there be no wars, let no human being die!" (*Günaydin*, 6 January).

While the Türk-İş leadership opposed the "Miners Convoy," many unions sent solidarity delegations. Even Islamic groups and parliamentarians from the liberal SHP turned up to express support. The opposition parties are fearful that government intransigence could provoke an even wider upsurge. Quoting the SHP leader, one newspaper ran the headline, "Government Is Facing a Civil War." The government surrounded Ankara with police roadblocks; Çankaya started to look like it was under siege. Newspaper photo captions reported: "Huge demonstration in Zonguldak...tense waiting in Ankara" and "Workers on the road, state security on its feet."

On January 6, police confronted the marchers with water cannon and bulldozers. More than 200 miners were hauled off by the cops. Two days later, as the confrontation between the militant marchers and the state continued to intensify, Miners Union (Genel Maden-İş) leader Şemsi Denizer acquiesced to Turk-İş pressure and "suspended" the march. Miners' wives wept openly as the marchers were corralled onto buses to take them back to Zonguldak. Fearful of upsetting the anti-Özal bourgeois opposition, Denizer is now ordering the powerful miners to sit on their hands until "the end of this war" (*Hürriyet*, 26 January).

Bring Down Özal with Workers Revolution!

Defending workers' rights in the face of the Özal government's pro-imperialist war mobilization requires a sharp break with the popular-frontist politics which have plagued the Turkish left and unions. Those fake-leftists who label the reactionary Özal regime as "fascist" do so in order to hold the door open to a bloc with the bourgeois "democratic"—or even Islamic fundamentalist—opposition. And from the SHP's Erdal İnönü to veteran rightist warhorse Suleyman Demirel, the capitalist politicians are eagerly offering their services to head off the burgeoning workers' upsurge.

In calling off the miners' march, Denizer announced: "Our workers made their voice heard in the world. You have been registered in history." But the miners have not fought so valiantly only to make their "voice heard" for the purpose of maintaining the rule of their class enemies under a more "democratic" guise. At the head of their march, the miners carried a portrait of Kemal Atatürk, the bourgeois-nationalist modernizer who founded the Turkish republic. Yet 70 years later, Turkey is under the military thumb of the U.S., economically beholden to German imperialism and suffocating in religious obscurantism, while the Turkish ruling class savagely denies over ten million Kurds of eastern Anatolia their national rights.

Turkey provides a stark example for the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution: only through the proletariat —led by an authentically Bolshevik party—taking power at the head of all the oppressed can the democratic and national tasks facing this backward country be accomplished. Yet from the United Communist Party (a fusion of the former TKP and Workers Party) and Socialist Party to various "Marxist-Leninist" nationalist guerrillaist groups, the large Turkish left is dominated by the Stalinist program of the "popular front" with one or another sector of the bourgeoisie.

The Özal regime dreams of occupying the oil-rich areas of Mosul and Kirkuk in northern Iraq. This would pit Turkey not only against Iraq but against Syria and Iran as well. The Iranian foreign minister warned that "a possible attack by Turkey on Iraq will mean war with Iran." As part of the preparations for war, brutal terror in Turkish Kurdistan has dramatically increased in the last few months. The *Voice of Kurdistan* (January 1991) reports:

> "Since July the Turkish army in Kurdistan has been in continuous operation ...whole villages are being depopulated and razed to the ground.... Entire groups

continued on page 15

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Christopher Morris

DeJong/AP

Bogged down in the Persian Gulf: U.S. air war can't win the war, so Pentagon will unleash bloody slaughter on the ground, using soldiers as cannon fodder.

Next: Ground War Bloodbath

Pentagon Boasts Over High-Tech Air War

The Pentagon-sanitized media is feeding America images of a bloodless high-tech war in which Iraq is supposedly being "taken out" at the push of a button. Videos from attacking U.S. planes, displayed at press briefings by strutting Air Force brass, show laser-guided bombs homing in with pinpoint precision on supposed weapons storage warehouses, air base runways and a high-rise tower in Baghdad. The viewing audience at home could groove on the first TV war in (almost) real time. A Tom Clancy techno-thriller on your screen: you too can be Top Gun!

- **Tomahawk cruise missiles:** some 200 were launched in the first two days alone from Navy ships in the Gulf to wipe out Iraqi "command and control" centers, antiaircraft defenses and other fixed targets. At a cool $1.3 million a pop, the Tomahawk finds its preselected long-distance target by following a terrain map stored in its computer.
- **F-117A:** the top secret "stealth" fighter also reportedly played a key role in the initial attack, sneaking past Iraqi radar to drop laser-guided munitions.
- **Patriot anti-missile missiles:** the media proclaimed this the first "hero" of the Gulf War, shooting down Iraqi "Scud" missiles at $700,000 per shot, and pushing up the stock price of its manufacturer, Raytheon.

In short, the vaunted "state-of-the-art leading edge" of the Reagan-Bush three-trillion-dollar arsenal designed and built in the '80s to obliterate the Soviet Union was thrown at the Third World country of Iraq. But the technocratic triumphalism which pumped up Washington in the first days of the war is just a cover for old-fashioned mass murder.

Democratic Senator Sam Nunn, chairman of the Armed Services Committee and now a backer of Bush's war, announced that "this is a new era of warfare." Reporters were impressed by the Pentagon's meaningless statistics about their bombing runs being "80 percent effective." Nobody asked what "effective" meant, until Scud missiles started raining down on Tel Aviv. To be sure, some of the video footage showed impressive technology which does work under certain circumstances, namely that there are no high-tech countermeasures taken by the "enemy." But some returning pilots reported Iraqi antiaircraft fire became more intense as the week wore on.

General Colin Powell, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, was forced to confess that "it is taking more of an effort on our part to go after those Scuds than we had anticipated." But so far to no avail. Evidently there's more to war than pushing a few buttons, as Washington is now rediscovering to its horror. Lieutenant General Thomas Kelly, director of operations for the Joint Chiefs, disparaged the Scud threat early on, claiming the Iraqis had only about 50 launchers and suggesting that a large portion had been "neutralized." But over the next days, every time a Scud came down on Israel and Saudi Arabia, the Pentagon's "estimates" of the size of the Iraqi rocket arsenal went up.

The initially "decimated" Republican Guard turned out to be hardly touched; the Iraqi Air Force, which in initial briefings was declared wiped out, then 50 percent destroyed, turned out to be hardly dented (45 planes "killed" out of 700-plus). It was all eerily reminiscent of Vietnam, where cocky Air Force boasts of targets destroyed were quickly deflated when subsequent photos showed the strangely "resourceful" enemy had not given up but instead had, for instance, built a makeshift replacement bridge. The arrogant imperialists never credit the enemy with brains, let alone determination.

It seems the U.S. was expecting Saddam Hussein to send out his forces to challenge the strongest element of the American war machine, its high-tech air power, and get blown away in the process since Iraq can't match it. Iraq may have a one-time-use air force, but clearly Hussein is not so stupid as to throw it away without purpose. It's become obvious that Hussein has done the only sane thing a commander could do in his situation: hunker down and wait for the opportunity to hit the enemy at his weak points, namely on the ground. And in the meantime he can fire off Scuds, forcing the U.S. to devote a lot of its sorties to tracking down launchers (and to use up its limited supply of Patriot missiles).

Revisiting Vietnam

"When you go to war, you're going to war all the way," is the summary "lesson" of Vietnam as stated by General Norman Schwarzkopf (London *Guardian*, 7 January), a veteran of that war and now commander of U.S. forces in the Gulf. And so the Pentagon brass have vowed that this time around there would be no "gradualism."

The U.S. and its allies' warplanes have launched some 2,000 sorties a day against Iraq, double the rate of the heaviest nighttime 1,000-bomber raids on Germany in late 1944. The first day's attacks alone dropped an astounding *18,000 tons* of bombs (London *Independent*, 19 January). This is far more than the 13,000 tons dropped during the entire eleven-day "Linebacker II" B-52 bombing of Hanoi-Haiphong in December 1972 which marked the peak of bombing in that war. Needless to say, bombing on such a scale cannot possibly be "surgical."

Ironically, instead of learning anything from Vietnam the U.S. imperialists have magnified their own blind faith in technology as a substitute for an army with the will to fight, a blindness which was their downfall. One is reminded of Defense Secretary Robert McNamara and his Pentagon "whiz kids" confidently predicting they could crush the Vietnamese with fancy gizmos (such as electronic sensors along the Ho Chi Minh trail). The B-52 carpetbombing didn't destroy Vietnam's will to resist or its military capacity to fight, and the current attempts to obliterate the Iraqis' elite Republican Guard from the air will also come to naught.

The fat-headed military would like to think that now they have a completely "free hand," but since war is, as Clausewitz noted, the continuation of politics by other means, there are real restrictions on their options. If the U.S. had unlimited time, for instance, perhaps they could "prevail" over Iraq solely by air bombardment, since Baghdad has no sources of resupply. But the fragile "coalition" cobbled together by Bush and Baker threatens to unravel each day this war drags on, particularly as Israel is drawn in and as the Muslim holy month of Ramadan draws closer.

The approach of hot desert weather in a few months adds to the time pressure. If it took, say, several months and thousands of American lives to beat Hussein, such a "victory" would be a political defeat for Bush. So there is a time limit on the air campaign, after which Bush will have to try to end the war quickly by sending in the ground forces. Already the White House has activated the "euphoria patrol" to prepare Americans for a "long" war lasting "months," culminating in a "bloody land campaign" (*Philadelphia Inquirer*, 24 January).

It's the ground war the Pentagon dreads because that plays to Iraq's strength: a well-armored and battle-hardened army dug in in Kuwait. "It's

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Imperial War Museum

World War I: Battle of the Somme, July 1916. British commanders tried to smash German lines with massive artillery bombardment before assault. But Germans were dug in 30 feet deep. Result: 60,000 British casualties, 20,000 dead in one hour.

Toronto Protesters Say: Defend the Palestinians!

TORONTO—As soon as news broke of the U.S. attack on Iraq, antiwar protests have swept across Canada. Late on the evening of January 16, over 1,000 demonstrators gathered at the U.S. consulate in Toronto. The CBC national news reported that the Trotskyists were calling to "Defend Iraq Against U.S. Attack!" The second half of the Trotskyist League banner read, "Defeat U.S./Canadian Imperialism!" The Canadian junior partners of U.S. imperialism have supported the war to the hilt, sending troops, ships and CF-18 fighters to the Gulf.

In a demonstration the following day, 3,000 antiwar protesters met at the U.S. consulate and marched on Conservative Party headquarters. Demo organizers tried to drown out our comrades' "Defend Iraq" chants, but demonstrators snapped up hundreds of copies of *Spartacist Canada* and *Workers Vanguard*. Linda Torney, president of the Metro Toronto Labour Council, called on workers to mobilize in the streets against this "war to defend capitalist interests." But last month the Labour Council, after a sharp debate, moved to *support* the UN sanctions which are the cover for the invasion. After Torney's speech, TL supporters chanted for "labor strikes against the war," which was widely picked up.

The protests grew on January 19, when 5,000 marched again in Toronto. Among the protesters were many Palestinian, Iraqi and other Arab militants with flags and placards denouncing the imperialist war and Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. While demo organizers tried to restrict chants to "Troops out" and "No blood for oil," a contingent from the Trotskyist League joined with Arab militants and others to demand "U.S./Canada, Hands off Iraq!"

As marchers rallied at the U.S. consulate, TL spokesmen addressed a section of the march numbering 1,000 with speeches calling for defense of Iraq and defeat of imperialism. Yossi Schwartz, who left the Canadian CP last fall for the TL, emphasized the need to defend the Palestinian people against the Zionist terrorists, and the crowd took up the chant, "Israel out of the Occupied Territories—Defend the Palestinians!" A Mohawk woman took the bullhorn to speak about the Canadian state's armed assault on Native Indian people last summer.

Rallies continued across Canada on January 26, with protests from Montreal to Edmonton and Vancouver. In Montreal, in the biggest rally so far, 15,000 chanted "*Pas de guerre pour le fédéral*" (No war for the federal government). Many union banners and placards were present. In Edmonton, when New Democratic Party speaker Svend Robinson made a pitch for sanctions, the Trotskyist League comrades chanted, "Pro-sanctions is pro-war—Break with the pro-imperialist NDP." On the coast, there was a family reunion of social democrats in Vancouver, as the reformist left hid themselves in an orgy of pleas to "get Canada back to the peacekeeper role"—like when Canadian troops helped slaughter three million in Korea!

From "support our troops" to "let sanctions do the job," the social democrats of the NDP and the labor bureaucracy stand ready to throttle working-class opposition to this war. In contrast, the Trotskyist League fights to mobilize labor's power in strike action, for the working class to do its duty to aid in the *defeat* of North American imperialism. At the January 19 Toronto rally, the closing Trotskyist League speaker linked the capitalists' war at home against Native Indians, workers, immigrants and all oppressed to their bloody war abroad against the Iraqi people. ■

Toronto, January 17—Trotskyist League marches outside U.S. consulate for defense of Iraq and defeat of U.S./Canadian imperialism.

Europe...

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the Gulf," but also (vainly) chanted "*Spartaco* out of the march." They showed that the kind of strike that they support is one where the reformists seek to impose on the working class the social-pacifist chains that would bind them to their "own" bourgeoisie.

Despite the trade-union bureaucracy's sabotage, small sectors of militant workers continue to fight for strikes against the war. Numerous factory councils, like Ansaldo of Milano, have made clear that they will continue to pressure the union tops to call for a general strike. But the latter have sworn their fealty to Italian capitalism, and the real line of the Communist Party (soon to be "Democratic Party of the Left"), although it formally came out against the war, is to "give sanctions a chance." As PCI leader Occhetto said in parliament, to "reinforce the embargo and the international isolation of Iraq" (*L'Unità*, 17 January).

The Catholic church has played a leading role in opposition to the war and has been pushing a position ("war is an adventure with no return," as the Pope said) which has been embraced by the PCI in its bid to give concrete expression to a popular-frontist social-chauvinist resolution to the Gulf War.

PSI (Socialist) leader Craxi has gone to great lengths insisting on the necessity of the attack. The Italian bourgeoisie would have preferred a "short war," limiting wider commitments. Italy's intervention is limited, in line not only with the desires of U.S. imperialism but also with the limited aims of the Italian bourgeoisie.

Confindustria (the industrialists' association) came out clearly for the intervention and went after the PCI over its call for the troops out. However, the pro-war coalition is extremely fragile and under much pressure. The Milano city council last night tried to pass a motion of support to the government on the Gulf. To everyone's surprise, the motion was voted down and the Socialists are particularly sore about this.

France: Marchers Defy Demo Ban, Chant "Mitterrand Assassin!"

PARIS, January 28—This is a very unpopular war, at least it was before it started. Hundreds of thousands of people marched in nearly all major cities on January 12. In factories around the country, working-class opposition to the war is apparent. Also on the 12th, rail workers in Chambéry, where mass pickets stopped the "bullet trains" during the '86 transport strike, stopped an American arms transport bound for the Gulf from Germany via Italy. On the 13th, the national CGT confederation circulated an order to all union locals to organize 15-minute strikes to "win the peace."

Attempting to line up the workers behind "His Majesty" Mitterrand's flurry of last-minute diplomatic activity (i.e., to get Saddam to capitulate), the CGT called for this strike time to be used to send "peace dove" postcards to the president and to sign petitions begging deputies to vote against the war on January 17. In the end a handful of PS (Socialist) deputies voted with the Communist Party (PCF), the fascists and de Gaulle's son and grandson against French participation in the war. They were censured but not expelled, for even Mitterrand's war minister Chevènement is under fire for his lukewarm attitude toward the war.

When the bombing started, tens of thousands took to the streets Thursday and Friday nights, defying a government ban on demonstrations. In the face of a massive cop presence, machine guns at the ready, chants included "Mitterrand Assassin" and "CRS [riot police] to Kuwait." The leadership was the "Appeal of the 75" marching behind a banner saying, "No to War," which on Friday became "Stop the War." The PCF, LCR (supporters of Ernest Mandel's "United Secretariat of the Fourth International"), SOS-Racisme and Greens are prominent, as well as many *beurs* (second-generation immigrants from North Africa).

The LCR whimpered, "Mitterrand, you didn't get elected to make war." In fact, the "Socialist" president was elected, with the "critical" support of the pseudo-Trotskyist LCR, on a program of unambiguous backing for NATO. On the left, only our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France can say that they *never* called to vote for Algerian war criminal Mitterrand or his popular front!

On the 12th, contingents of passing Palestinians cheered as they passed the LTF's banner calling for defense of Iraq and defeat of imperialism, prominently placed on an elevated sidewalk two meters above the march. They punctuated the air with the *Intifada*'s V-for-victory sign and snapped up copies of *Le Bolchévik*. In Rouen, 30 people marched behind the LTF's banner, including CGT members and high school students.

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International Communist League
(Fourth Internationalist)

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Europe...

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North African workers and youth in France were initially dazed with anguish, as the bombing raids relentlessly rained down destruction on the Arab population in Baghdad, and the imperialist propaganda machine spewed out the lie that Saddam had been KOed without resistance. The next day they breathed a sigh of relief when the Iraqi Scuds exploded the premature triumphalism of the racist imperialists.

The working-class population of North African origin has been targeted as a potential "fifth column" in the government's "anti-terrorist" campaign: post office workers are requisitioned into security crews to make rounds and check the wastebaskets for bombs. TV shots show the Champs-Elysées at night looking like a glittery ghost town. The press played up a run on gun shops in the south, making it seem like the entire population was arming for imminent pogroms.

The *beur* youth, for the most part French citizens, have come to identify with the Palestinian *Intifada* and now Iraq, as their future looks increasingly hopeless here. "Radio Beur" in Paris is receiving more than 1,500 phone calls an hour against the war. The bombing of Israel sharpened the polarization in this country, especially on the campuses. Four Zionist leaders of SOS-Racisme immediately resigned from that organization when it participated in the antiwar demo Friday night.

It is a truly unholy alliance that leads the peace movement—the Communist Party/CGT and the virulently Russia-hating social democrats of Pierre Lambert's pseudo-Trotskyist PCI. Denis Langlois, the PCI-influenced head of the "Appeal of the 75," calls for a general strike against the war, while looking to the CIA-aided FO and Mitterrand-supporting CFDT labor federations to implement it. Now an assembly of the "Appeal" is scheduled to debate what position to take on Iraq: an LCR spokesman is quoted as saying, "If we discuss that, the movement will split" (*Libération*, 28 January).

Squabbles in the "peace movement" reflect dissension in the French bourgeoisie, graphically shown in the zigzag policies of its governmental executive arm. For "negotiations" before the shooting started, Mitterrand now wants to show his military mettle, by turning over command of the French forces to the Americans. (So much for France's vaunted "operational autonomy" in NATO!)

Rainer Steussloff

Berlin protesters say, "No Blood For Oil—Soldiers, Desert!"

But these disagreements are simply over how best to defend the Near Eastern and North African interests of this second-rate imperialist power, whose principal exports are cognac and Exocets. The PCF leadership's "antiwar" line waving the French Tricolor is chauvinist poison, which plays into the hands of Le Pen's fascists.

Now Mitterrand's police have banned three pro-Iraq Arab-language newspapers, on the grounds that in the present context they could "provoke disturbances of public order." And they are threatening to prosecute Gilles Perrault, the author of *The Red Orchestra* and a prominent opponent of French colonialism's dirty war in Algeria, for his call on French soldiers to desert over the Gulf War.

The Algerian War brought France to the brink of a civil war, and mobilizations for solidarity with the Vietnamese Revolution were what sparked the movement that led to the barricades and the prerevolutionary general strike of 1968. Where the PCI marches today with signs saying, "No to War" and "No More Vietnams," the Ligue Trotskyste says war is the mother of revolution and proclaims: "Vietnam Was a Victory!"

Germany: Bourgeoisie Looks East to Baltics, Not South to Gulf

BERLIN, January 28—The biggest demonstrations in Europe against the Near East war have been in Germany: over 200,000 in Bonn yesterday, 150,000 in Berlin and tens of thousands more in Hamburg and elsewhere. This is no accident, for the German bourgeoisie sees the Gulf War to the south as at best a diversion from its real interests to the east, where it is aiming at the dismantling of the Soviet Union. "Unity chancellor" Kohl certainly intends to be in on the division of the spoils if Iraq is defeated. But if Washington has a hard time overcoming the "Vietnam-syndrome," German imperialism has an ever bigger problem with what might be called the "Second World War syndrome."

The concerns of the German capitalist ruling class are refracted through the petty-bourgeois, German nationalist peace movement and trade-union bureaucracy. On the eve of D-Day for the U.S./UN *Diktat* to Iraq, the DGB labor federation called for pacifist demonstrations, which targeted Saddam Hussein as the "guilty party." Now scruffy, purple-haired Autonomen could unite with union bureaucrats in three-piece suits, sitting in at the entrances of arms manufacturers said to be breaking the blockade of Iraq. The DGB and the powerful IG-Metall union also called for "five minutes of silence" work stoppages. As the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) declaration on the war noted, "the bureaucrats will use any excuse to silence the working class."

However, the response to this tokenistic call has sometimes been more than the bureaucrats bargained for. The German working class has no interest in the imperialists' war aims in the Near East or East Europe. In the SPD stronghold of Düsseldorf, 80,000 workers followed the DGB call for a five-minute antiwar stoppage on the 16th. The day before, 150 apprentices at Daimler-Benz in Stuttgart and 400 workers at Bosch-Leinfelden south of Stuttgart staged 30-minute work stoppages. In Hamburg, work stoppages included the subway, buses, half the harbor and a section of the airport. Social Democrat (SPD) and Green-led teachers unions have organized student "strikes" and mass student demonstrations, but they feature school principals or the state education minister as the main speaker!

At a Gulf "peace" demonstration on January 12, a group of Autonomen punks tore down the SpAD banner declaring "Defend Iraq! For the Defeat of USA/NATO Imperialism!" These anarcho-chauvinists place themselves in the service of Greater Germany no less than do the Nazi skinhead terrorists who have been rampaging in the former East Germany. But at the same time that union bureaucrats, social democrats and Green peaceniks wrap themselves in the black-red-and-gold German flag, there are many others who look to the red flag of socialism. On January 13, well over 100,000 came out to demonstrate on the anniversary of the assassination of Communist leaders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. This year like last, the SpAD commemorated the Three L's (including Lenin!), laying a wreath and soapboxing under our banners. Over 1,400 issues of *Spartakist* were sold.

Now that the U.S. is using Turkey as an aircraft carrier for bombing missions against northern Iraq, Germany may be directly drawn into the war. NATO secretary general Wörner declared that if Iraq defends itself from U.S./Turkish attacks, it would be an attack on the entire alliance, compelling all NATO members to respond. Kohl wants to use this war to eliminate the clause from the constitution that constrains the use of German armed forces outside of the NATO theater. But actually sending the Bundeswehr into Iraq is another matter—it could be bad for business in the region and elsewhere.

The *Financial Times* (22 January) reported that "Germans are paying relatively more attention to the Soviet crisis than other Europeans." Here, too, the Social Democrat-led DGB is in the forefront of German imperialist *Ostpolitik* (eastern policy). Their call for antiwar demonstrations on the 26th included: "Send our peace demand to the address of the Soviet Union, to Mikhail Gorbachev, to stop the military aggression in the Baltic." At the demonstration itself, the Social Democrats repeatedly warned against antiwar protests taking on "anti-American" tones. The Spartakist Workers Party, which uniquely opposed the West German annexation of the DDR (the East German bureaucratically deformed workers state) last year, has repeatedly warned that the SPD is a Trojan horse of counterrevolution.

Having turned the DDR over to the Frankfurt bankers in a "peaceful" counterrevolution, now Modrow, Gysi & Co. of the PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism, successor party to the former East German Stalinists) want to smooth German imperialism's *Drang nach Osten* (drive to the East). On January 14, the PDS joined hands with the SPD, Greens and Christian Democrats in a "human chain" demonstration in Berlin that stretched from the American to the Soviet consulates, demanding "No force in Lithuania and the Gulf."

This extraparliamentary "Grand Coalition" obscenely equates Gorbachev's crackdown on Baltic counterrevolutionary secessionists inside the USSR with U.S. imperialism's campaign of mass murder against Iraq. (One day after the U.S. launched its bombs on Iraq, the PDS issued an unspeakably shameful leaflet stating that "24 hours are enough"! In the Bundestag PDS superstar Gysi said: "If Germany were neutral, the government could be a force for peace negotiations." No! "Neutral" or not, the Fourth Reich of German imperialism is a force for economic spoliation and war, no less than is the decaying American empire which seeks to hide its interests behind Hitlerite talk of a "new world order."

The "human chain" demanded "Freedom for the Baltics" and "Red tanks out of Lithuania" and was followed by a

Australian Wharfies Walk Out

SYDNEY—Australia has three frigates stationed alongside the USS *Midway* in the Persian Gulf, clearly expressing the aspirations of the Hawke Labor government: to be deputy sheriff to U.S. cops of the world.

But the imperialist attack on Iraq has sparked work stoppages and protest marches in Australia. On January 18-19, some 70,000 people joined in marches around the country, including rallies of 20,000 in Melbourne and Sydney. Thousands more marched a week later. Protesters have been mostly young, with many students, pacifists, church groups, "greens" and feminists. There have been smaller contingents from unions such as the Miners and Building Workers, as well as Kurdish, Turkish and Arab groups.

When the U.S. bombing assault began, militant wharfies, members of the Waterside Workers Federation (WWF), walked off the job in Brisbane, Sydney and Port Kembla, shutting down the docks as they attended an antiwar rally and meetings. The Brisbane WWF sent a resolution to their federal union and the Trades and Labour Council calling for a one-day national general strike. During the Vietnam War, maritime workers led the way in political strikes against the war.

After years of union-busting and Cold War reaction, working people are fed up with Hawke. But the popular-front protest coalitions, with their appeals to "Bring the Frigates Home" and "Sanctions Not War," seek to channel this anger into social-patriotic appeals and support for sanctions. Reformists like the anti-Soviet International Socialist Organization have disappeared their initial slogans for "Victory to Iraq" in order to build the "peace movement" around church leaders, politicians from the Australian Democrats (bourgeois liberals) and the Labor Party lefts.

More important than a few frigates in the Gulf are the U.S. bases in Australia, especially the spy satellite ground stations at Pine Gap and Nurrungar, crucial to the murderous bombing raids over Iraq. The government is trying to whip up hysteria over the supposed threat of "terrorism," while on the streets there has been a wave of racist attacks on Arab Australians. Fascist groups have also targeted Jewish schools, synagogues and even a Zionist meeting. Meanwhile, troops are readied for a "peacekeeping force" to subdue the rebellious island of Bougainville in Papua New Guinea, an Australian neocolony.

The Spartacist League/Australia has uniquely fought to defend Iraq, with contingents calling for labour political strikes against the war, and for the defeat of U.S. and Australian imperialism. Over 1,000 pieces of revolutionary literature have been sold in the past ten days. As a Spartacist speaker told the January 17 Melbourne rally: "The Labor Party is the party of capitalist war, depression and racism. The working class needs to break from Labor in order to unleash its enormous power. We need to build a revolutionary workers party."

vigil in front of the Soviet embassy that included Republikaner fascists! Indeed, when Reichs chancellor Kohl looks out over the Bundestag benches, from Right to Left, he can say like Kaiser Wilhelm at the outset of World War I: "I see no parties here, only Germans."

Ireland: Refuse to Handle U.S./NATO Warplanes at Shannon!

DUBLIN—The Dublin Spartacist Youth Group (DSYG) calls for trade-union action to "black" (boycott) refueling of military transport at Shannon International Airport, used by U.S. warplanes on their way to the Gulf. This is not an abstract demand. The Dublin Council of Trade Unions has recently appealed to trade unionists at Shannon to implement such action.

The Labour Party/Workers Party organizers of the Gulf peace committee, bogus "anti-imperialists" who support the presence of British troops in Northern Ireland, tried to silence the DSYG contingent in a Dublin antiwar demo on January 19. But sympathetic Republicans intervened in our defense. At the Dublin demo, Eamonn McCann (a supporter of Tony Cliff's British SWP) cynically devoted a substantial portion of his speech to "defeat of the West and victory for Iraq," whereas in November his group boycotted a Trinity College "Break the Blockade" action, initiated by the DSYG, because it took a side against imperialism.

Britain: Labour Lackeys of Bush's War

LONDON, January 22—The British have the largest component of imperialist forces in the Gulf after the Americans, so Neil Kinnock and the Labour Party and trade-union tops are marching in lockstep with the Tory government. As a result, since the bombing began in the Gulf antiwar demonstrations in England have been far smaller than those on the continent.

At a London demonstration of about 15,000 on January 19, called by Labour Left MP Tony Benn's "Stop the War" committee, there was little trade-union presence. However, there were substantial numbers of foreign workers, many of whom greeted with clenched fists the Spartacist League contingent marching under the banner "Defend Iraq! Defeat US/British Imperialism!" Much of our sales went to Irish, Asian, black and other minorities, whose families have experienced firsthand the savagery of British colonialism and imperialism, and some Asian workers joined our contingent. (In contrast to the SL's forthright stand, Workers Power and its bloc partners in the "Hands Off the Middle East" committee again carried no placards or banners calling for military victory to Iraq.)

On January 22, SL supporters participated in a lunchtime antiwar picket at London University's School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS). The Ministry of Defense has declared SOAS a "soft target" for "terrorist attack," an excuse to intimidate and threaten students, many of whom are from the Near East. Already several dozen Iraqis and Palestinians in Britain have been jailed, many facing deportation. The SL says: "No deportations, no victimizations, no to internment!"

In Glasgow, Scotland on the 19th, SL supporters and sympathizers distributed a leaflet titled, "Spartacist Call for Defense of Iraq, Militant/CND Call the Cops." A Militant supporter who had sought to use the Glasgow police to exclude the Spartacist contingent is a NALGO (local government workers) official. As the leaflet, distributed to NALGO and other union contingents, noted: "It's not just the Spartacist League that's being set up here, at a time when the bourgeois state is gearing up an arsenal of repression, anti-'red' witchhunts and press censorship to regiment the population for a bloody, unpopular war."■

Ground War...

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going to be a meat grinder," said retired Army Major General Stanley Connelly (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 25 January). Some computerized scenarios predict 45,000 casualties including 10,000 or more U.S. dead, and that's the conservative estimate. On the ground, U.S. military hardware is well matched by the Iraqis, and in some cases the Iraqis have the advantage, particularly with their long-range Soviet cannon and South African artillery, which have longer range than anything the U.S. Army has.

Many experts think the highly advertised M1-A1 tank may prove no match for the Iraqis' Soviet-made T-72, which "has a slightly larger main gun and can travel just as far...on half the amount of fuel" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 25 January). And U.S. air power may not be able to cover the ground troops because in that region the Iraqis have, according to Colonel Harry Summers, "one of the most extensive low-level air defense systems in the world" composed of thousands of antiaircraft artillery machine guns and cannon (*Los Angeles Times*, 23 January).

So the Americans' high-tech in the air will be pushed to the background, and everything will depend on the foot soldier, as in all wars. Here the Iraqis have a tremendous advantage, as one Lebanese-born arms merchant familiar with their army remarked on *60 Minutes* (20 January): the American troops "have not seen blood yet," he noted, unlike the Iraqis who went through eight years of trench warfare during the Iran-Iraq War, losing a quarter million men. The first shock of a mass bloodying will likely magnify the dreaded "Vietnam syndrome."

The U.S. options on the ground are limited to "frontal attack, penetration and envelopment," as Colonel Summers puts it. But Iraqi defenses are formidable, including miles of minefields, ditches to trap tanks and other obstacles. Summers suggests a penetration attack would be used, in which the attacking forces seek a weak point and "massive bombardment by air and artillery on a very narrow portion of the enemy lines opens gaps that armored units rapidly move through" (*Los Angeles Times*, 22 January). However, this would require U.S. forces to concentrate in a small area which could become a "killing zone" for Iraqi artillery.

AP

F-117A "stealth" fighters. $3-trillion "high-tech" arsenal built to obliterate Soviet Union now being battle-tested against Iraq.

And oil itself, the object of Bush's desire, has become a weapon of defense: the giant oil spill coming out of Kuwaiti pipelines into the Gulf will surely make an amphibious landing more difficult and threatens to cut off the U.S. troops' water supply by forcing the closure of desalinization plants which supply 90 percent of fresh water to eastern Saudi Arabia. Some Kuwaiti oil wells have already been blown up, and if this is done on a large scale the smoke would no doubt obscure the battlefield for the American Air Force. In short, high-tech could be foiled by low-tech.

"After more than a week fighting a relatively antiseptic air war," notes the *San Francisco Chronicle*, the U.S. now faces "an armored clash in the desert that many combat veterans and military analysts think will be gruesome and bloody and may drag on for months." This will collapse Bush's support in the polls and give him serious problems on the "home front." The world working class must stand in defense of Iraq: every day Baghdad holds out against the most deadly war machine on the planet brings closer the demise of a declining imperialism which threatens all humanity in its drive to declare itself the one Superpower on the planet.

Now that the war is not going according to plan, the Pentagon has added "non-lethal" gas to its "tool box" of weapons—in violation of Geneva conventions on chemical warfare. Polls are already asking Americans if they would accept the use of "tactical" nuclear weapons. A century ago Karl Marx warned that the choices facing mankind were "socialism or barbarism," and today this warning is becoming terribly concrete.■

Turkey...

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> of innocent peasants are being massacred. Half of Kurdistan is a war zone and is a Prohibited Area."

Meanwhile, Iran recently executed seven Kurdish leaders. And Saddam Hussein promised support for an independent Kurdish state...on Turkish and Iranian soil!

Now Jallal Talibani, the leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, reports that thousands of Kurdish rebels who had taken refuge in Iran "to flee the repression of Saddam Hussein" had returned to Iraq since the U.S. assault began. Vowing that the "Turkish army will have to pass over our bodies to get into Iraq," Talibani added that they would not allow themselves "to be manipulated again and then end up paying the price of agreements between regional powers."

Divided among four different capitalist states in the post-World War I imperialist carve-up of the region, the Kurdish people have been alternately used as cannon fodder by one or another imperialist or regional power against their enemies, and murderously repressed by their respective state powers, including Saddam Hussein's Iraq. The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) declares that the national rights of the Kurdish people can only be won through socialist revolution by the workers of Turkey, Iraq, Iran and Syria. For a socialist republic of united Kurdistan!

With several million Turkish and Kurdish workers strategically situated in key industrial centers of West Europe, revolutionary proletarian struggle in Turkey will reverberate throughout the continent. On the day of the January 3 general strike, sympathy actions among Turkish and Kurdish communities took place in both Germany and Britain. In Britain, police attacked pickets in the London borough of Hackney, where strikes had closed several local factories and sweatshops. Some 65 people were arrested, many beaten and forced to sign a statement agreeing to leave the country if they lose their case in court. The Spartacist League/Britain has called on the workers movement to take up the demand: Drop the charges, no deportations!

Kemal Dogan

Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) contingent joins Hamburg demonstration in solidarity with Turkish general strike. SpAD signs say: "Overthrow Özal with Workers Revolution!" and "Defend Iraq! Defeat U.S./NATO Imperialists!"

In Germany, the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) distributed a Turkish-language leaflet on the coal miners strike. In Berlin, some Kurdish leftists excluded our comrades from a demonstration in solidarity with the Zonguldak miners because of the SpAD's forthright call for defense of Iraq against imperialism. The ICL has for years denounced the bloody Saddam Hussein regime, and we warn today as well against illusions that this Ba'athist despot and former U.S./NATO ally can be a savior of the Palestinian or Kurdish peoples. But today it is the elementary duty of all opponents of imperialism to come to the defense of Iraq against the bloody U.S.-led onslaught.

In fighting against the exploiters and warmongers—and in sharp opposition to all the parties of the bourgeoisie—the Turkish workers movement must fight for the right to self-determination of the Kurdish people. As American jets thunder over Iraq and an imperialist armada has seized the Persian Gulf, internationalist class struggle by the Turkish and Kurdish workers can spike the designs of rapacious U.S. imperialism and its lackeys to build a "new world order" over the corpses of the world's working people.■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Antiwar Work Stoppages, Protests Across Europe

Over the past two weeks, millions have demonstrated in various European cities calling for peace in the Near East. Already on the day after the U.S. began bombing Baghdad, there were antiwar work stoppages in France, Germany, Italy and Spain, ranging from a token five minutes to de facto citywide general strikes. The outpouring of protests indicates revulsion at the mass murder being unleashed by the NATO governments in the Near East, and deep fears that the Gulf War will spill over to a continent that has been engulfed in conflagration twice already in this century.

This has put tremendous pressure on the leaders of the trade unions and mass reformist workers parties who seek to bind the masses to the interests of their "own" national bourgeoisies. And it has opened tremendous opportunities for Marxist revolutionaries who fight for an internationalist opposition to imperialist war. As various pseudo-Trotskyists simply tail after pacifist sentiment and the reformist misleaders, the sections of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) have been unique in calling forthrightly for the defeat of imperialism and defense of Iraq.

When "Communist," "Socialist" or "Labour" misleaders talk vaguely of "peace" in the Near East, they offer "UN sanctions" as the alternative to war—in other words, starving the Iraqi masses into submission instead of killing them outright. They thus legitimize the vast imperialist military buildup in the Gulf, supposedly there to enforce the U.S.-ordered "UN" embargo that was the prelude to the present barbaric war on Iraq. In so doing, they call for a more "rational" policy for their capitalist masters, often in league with "enlightened" bourgeois leaders who worry about an explosion of Arab anger provoked by the war.

Behind the calls for negotiations from the Common Market 12, right up to the eve of Bush's January 15 ultimatum to Saddam Hussein, there was also a fear of what the U.S. will do to its imperialist "allies" (rivals) if it succeeds in regaining control of world oil supplies. This concern is particularly strong in Germany, which together with Japan is the indirect target of Washington's Persian Gulf invasion. Particularly following its annexation of East Germany, Bonn is looking East for its expansion room (and oil supplies), and has refused to send its military forces against Iraq. It's not surprising, therefore, that the German "peace" demonstrations have been the largest on the continent.

Since the German Social Democrats' vote for war credits on 4 August 1914, and the French "Communist" Party's support (on Stalin's orders) for the French government's war budget two decades later, the social-democratic and Stalinist traitors have played out their role as "labor lieutenants of the capitalist class," sabotaging revolutions and infecting the working classes with chauvinist poison. The Gulf War has exposed the "far left" as incapable of formulating a revolutionary, proletarian and internationalist opposition to the imperialist war. Instead, as usual, they tail after the reformists, this time with social-pacifist appeals to "bring the troops home."

As in 1914 when the Second International exploded with the onset of World War I, today the implosion of Stalinism in East Europe has produced massive disorientation on the left. But already in these early days of the war, there are many in the ranks of the demonstrators who recognize in the ICL's stand in defense of Iraq against imperialist attack the program of authentic socialism and communism. We fight for proletarian opposition to the war in the spirit of Lenin and Trotsky, emphasizing that *the struggle against this predatory and barbaric war means the struggle to overthrow the imperialist system through class struggle at home. The crucial factor is an authentic revolutionary leadership: reforge the Fourth International as a world party of socialist revolution.*

The following reports from our comrades around Europe indicate the revolutionary opportunities posed by this "first post-Cold War war."

L'Humanité

Paris, January 16—Thousands demonstrate outside National Assembly against French participation in war on Iraq.

La Repubblica

Rome, January 13: Massive demonstration against impending Persian Gulf War.

De Facto General Strike in Northern Italy

MILANO, January 22—This morning, train engineers carried out a half-hour strike against the war in which they effectively disrupted most rail services throughout the country. In Milano, a couple of high school collectives went to the train station in Lambrate to give their support to this action. This kind of antiwar activity in the working class has been going on for the last week.

On the day Bush's ultimatum expired, the trade-union bureaucracy called for a token five-minute strike. But in the Milano area there was a three-hour strike explicitly against the war, pretty much spontaneous, involving some ten factories. There was also a mass student rally in conjunction with the workers' action, at which spokesmen for the Lega Trotskista d'Italia intervened.

The first day of the bombardment of Iraq, January 17, workers in Milano literally walked out of the plants with their factory councils and made their way to Milano city square where 100,000 gathered at the demonstration meeting point. This included factories like Breda, Falck, Maserati and Ansaldo, important metal factories in Milano. There were also government workers, transport workers, financial center employees and other sectors of the working class.

In most of the major Italian cities in the north, there was a de facto general strike. There was an immediate call for a national general strike, as the workers were furious and wanting to put a halt to the atrocities that were taking place. The trade-union bureaucracy resisted all calls for a general strike with the excuse that this would damage the economy and that it would be construed as a strike against the government!

The January 19 demonstration in Milano was primarily high school students. Some 25,000 turned up and part of the march route passed in front of the Italian air force headquarters (Italy had just lost its first Tornado bomber). The LTd'I gave out several thousand copies of its declaration on the war. With placards and leaflets which read "Defend Iraq" and "Defeat the Imperialists," accompanied by soapboxing with a megaphone, they politically engaged the high school student pacifists.

The Lega Trotskista comrades also came up against Falcemartello, the Italian group linked to the British Militant group which is deeply embedded in the NATO social democracy of the Labour Party. Falcemartello chanted "General strike against the imperialist war in

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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Defeat U.S. Imperialism—Defend Iraq!

Terror Bombing Has Not Broken Iraq

U.S. Prepares Bloody Ground War

FEBRUARY 11—Four weeks into the U.S. air war against Iraq, the Pentagon and George Bush keep repeating hypnotically that everything is "on course" and "on schedule." The mass media lull the public to sleep with round-the-clock lies and images of an antiseptic war in which not a drop of blood nor a mangled body ever appears on the TV screen. But the only thing which is on schedule is the mass slaughter being visited on the Iraqi people by the U.S. war criminals.

The A-bomb which leveled Hiroshima carried 15,000 tons of explosive firepower. That much and more is what is being rained down on Iraq by the U.S. and its allies *every day*. Homes and hospitals, schools and factories are being turned into rubble. City bridges in Baghdad are destroyed. Not content to drop their payloads of death from the air, U.S. pilots even strafe civilians fleeing for shelter and refugees fleeing west to Jordan on the "highway of death."

In World War II, Hitler adopted a policy of *Schrecklichkeit*, deliberate terrorizing of the "enemy" population. This was expressed in the bombing of Coventry and the London blitz. The Allies outdid the Nazis in this department with the firebombing of Dresden and Tokyo, turning those cities into huge crematoria. In Vietnam this was called "destroying the country in order to save it." George Bush has set out to terrorize and destroy the Iraqi people to impose a *Pax Americana*

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Dejong/AP

"Apocalypse Now" in the desert.

Troops Protest at Fort Hood

The Army admits it's the first mass protest by American soldiers since the Persian Gulf War began. Over 100 Louisiana National Guardsmen at Fort Hood, Texas walked off at midnight on February 5 to protest conditions at the base, including charges of racism. Forty of the Guardsmen, members of the 1st Battalion, 156th Armor, 256th Infantry Brigade, were declared AWOL. Officials said 90 others used a 24-hour pass to head home to Shreveport.

The following night "another large group" were stopped as they prepared to go home on a number of chartered buses! The entire 4,300-member brigade was reportedly confined to post. According to the Baton Rouge *Morning Advocate* (8 February): "The Army said the defections was the first mass protest by U.S. troops training for the Persian Gulf war."

According to WVUE TV, New Orleans, some of the Guardsmen were arrested on "suspicion of mutiny and conspiracy." Federal agents and MPs arrested scores of soldiers as they returned to Fort Hood. Army and Guard brass are threatening swift punishment including busting rank, hard labor and years in the brig, and possibly the death penalty for desertion in wartime.

The protesting troops of the 256th Infantry Brigade included both blacks and whites. Press accounts mentioned soldiers' complaints of inadequate medical care and food, and that their promised leave was cut in half. A Louisiana reporter told *WV* that charges of racism were not being reported because they were "unsubstantiated." But this explosive issue slipped past the media self-censors in one AP dispatch, which said that brigade commander Brig. Gen Gary Whipple "generally dismissed their claims of mistreatment and racism."

Just two weeks before the protest, members of another unit of the 1st Battalion, the 141st Field Artillery from New Orleans, went AWOL. Others were arrested at the Killeen, Texas airport. One soldier said he didn't want to be "cannon fodder" in Saudi Arabia (New Orleans *Times-Picayune*, 26 January).

Soldiers who spoke to the press told of being forced to train in freezing rain without cold-weather gear. Fifteen men suffered frostbite or exposure. One artillery battery refused orders to fire in early January unless conditions improved. Another Guardsman in the 256th, a student at Southern University, declared he would not fight in the Middle East.

In the face of a wave of patriotic hoopla designed to regiment the American population in support of this racist war, here is an integrated group refusing to just "eat it." In fascist David Duke's backyard there

continued on page 12

AP

Louisiana Guardsmen walk off Fort Hood army base to protest rotten conditions and racism.

Eastern Strike Was Betrayed

The mechanics, cleaners and ramp service workers were on the picket lines against Eastern Airlines for 686 days, one week longer than the bosses, who folded the bankrupt, scab operation on January 18 after bleeding it dry of hundreds of millions of dollars.

The Eastern Airlines strike attracted instant solidarity from workers across the country—here was a national, high-profile strike against a boss, Frank Lorenzo, whose name was synonymous with the greed and union-busting of the Reagan/Bush years. When the International Association of Machinists struck in March 1989, their picket lines staffed by militant black, white and Hispanic workers were respected by the flight attendants and pilots. This was the first time in years that airlines industry unions didn't scab on each other. Everyone looked at Eastern and said, this is a strike that can win.

Yet the Machinists were isolated, set up and sold out, their jobs destroyed. The strikers hung tough for almost two years, and at incredible costs—strikers took arrests and abuse at the hands of the cops and scabs, families were destroyed, there were even suicides among their ranks. Their slogan was to stay out "one day longer" than Lorenzo, and they did. They brought down the bastard who screwed them, but the courage of the Eastern strikers was squandered. A strike that could have won big, and energized unions across the country, was knifed by the traitors who are running the American labor movement into the ground.

PATCO air controllers, Morenci copper miners, Hormel meatpackers, Greyhound bus drivers didn't lose in battle—*they were betrayed*. And the sellouts who produced this string of defeats also robbed Eastern strikers of the victory that should have been theirs. The AFL-CIO mouthed empty "solidarity," IAM tops appealed to Reagan's Labor Board and the capitalist courts while the power of the bosses' state was mobilized against the strikers. The labor fakers' "strategy" amounted to shopping around for a buyer to whom they would offer as much in givebacks as Lorenzo demanded, or more. These same loser policies are burying the New York *Daily News* strike, now over 100 days old.

At the outset of the Eastern strike, the road to winning was clear. We said it: "Spread the Eastern Strike—Shut Down the Airports! Rip Up the Injunctions!" (*WV* No. 473, 17 March 1989). But the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, especially the IAM leadership of then-president William Winpisinger, a member of the Democratic Socialists of America, crawled to Congress and did everything in their power to keep the strike from spreading. We emphasized that "the stranglehold of the AFL-CIO tops must be broken" in order to use hardhall tactics, like hot-cargoing and solidarity strikes, that could win.

As they isolated the Eastern strikers, the labor tops had some help from a few "socialist" water boys. But none more craven than the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and their newspaper, the badly misnamed *Militant*. Occupying a couple of "strike coordinator" posts, supporters of the SWP carried out a cynical, reformist game, endlessly proclaiming that the strike never looked better, even after the pilots and flight attendants crossed the IAM lines and returned to work in November 1989.

At the very beginning of the strike, Wimpy and the AFL-CIO tops blustered about shutting down East Coast commuter railroads with secondary strikes. The *Wall Street Journal* called it "Labor's 'atom bomb'." We wrote: "Picket lines must go up *now* at every airline, air freight and airport service company. No more PATCOs! Shut down the airports!" But the SWP, after admitting that Eastern strikers, and rail workers, were "looking forward" to the secondary pickets, *defended the IAM bureaucrats* when they reined in the pickets:

> "But the Eastern workers refused to be provoked [!] into breaking the court injunctions and held back from setting up the pickets—a move that could have jeopardized the broad public support for the strike and the unity of the strike itself."
>
> —*Militant*, 5 May 1989

The "unity" the SWP talks about is *their* unity with "Wimpy" and IAM District 100 honcho Charles Bryan.

Now that the strike is over, these water boys for the bureaucracy proclaimed "Eastern Strike Scores Gains for Labor" and editorialized about "Eastern Strikers' Victories" (*Militant*, 8 February). With more "victories" like this, there won't be much of a labor movement left. To cover its ass, the SWP now tsk-tsks "attempts by the union officialdom to divert the fight into the courts, halls of Congress, or buyout speculation" (*Militant*, 8 February). But back in May '89 when it counted, these reformists were telling strikers that solidarity with the strike "has been strengthened hy the official support the strike has won from the AFL-CIO leadership." This

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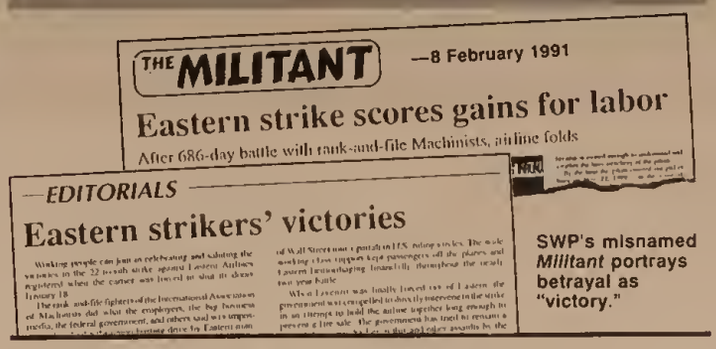
SWP Covers for IAM Sellouts



THE MILITANT —8 February 1991

Eastern strike scores gains for labor

After 686-day battle with rank-and-file Machinists, airline folds

—EDITORIALS

Eastern strikers' victories

SWP's misnamed *Militant* portrays betrayal as "victory."

TROTSKY

LENIN

American Racism and Imperialist War

Young black men and women are used as cannon fodder by the Pentagon war machine while their families are condemned to starve and freeze in America's inner-city ghettos. Fully one-third of the ground troops in U.S. imperialism's war for the Persian Gulf oil fields are black and Hispanic. At the height of the so-called "American century" in the early 1950s, the veteran Trotskyist Richard Fraser pointed to the link between the racist underpinnings of American capitalism internally and its slaughter of dark-skinned people in the colonialized world.

Having become the imperialist leader of the capitalist world, the U.S. exports race prejudice as naturally as it does death and destruction to the colonial world. Europe was virtually free of color prejudice until the white American army began its indoctrination of the "American Way"....

In the Korean War the wholesale destruction and massacre of civilians gave the world a foretaste of the ruthless contempt that the American rulers hold for the darker people of the colonial world. The introduction of "Luke the Gook's Castle" into official military and journalistic geography attests to the persistence with which the U.S. military spreads "the miasma of race prejudice," as Trotsky called it....

But capitalism, even in the southern United States, has created the conditions necessary for its own destruction. It has disrupted the old agrarian pattern, undermined the privileged white middle class, thus weakening the whole fabric of social repression. It has created great industries, proletarianizing white, urbanizing black. This process has centralized the Negro community in positions of great strategic advantage in large city communities, whereas before they were dispersed over the countryside. Capitalism has likewise created the conditions for the overthrow of race prejudice by working class solidarity.

It falls upon the shoulders of the proletarian revolution, in which the American workers will join together with the Negro people in the abolition of capitalism, to uproot the Jim Crow system.

—Richard Fraser, "The Negro Struggle and the Proletarian Revolution" (November 1953), reprinted in *Prometheus Research Series* No. 3, "In Memoriam Richard S. Fraser" (1990)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007 Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions $7.00/24 issues Second-class postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 520 **15 February 1991**

Editorial Note

South Africa and Revolution

The concluding paragraph of the two-part article, "South Africa and Permanent Revolution" (*WV* Nos. 515 and 516, 30 November and 14 December 1990), notes in the "uneven and combined development of South Africa today striking similarities to Russia in the early years of this century." We pointed to the autocratic regime presiding over vast areas of backwardness as well as a modern urban economy, and also to its Achilles' heel, a young and vibrant proletariat increasingly conscious of its power. However, there is a danger of drawing the Russian analogy too closely: there is also an important difference, centered on the racial/national question (the focus of Part I of the article).

In the tsarist "prison house of peoples" the Bolsheviks championed the fight for liberation of oppressed nations and nationalities, but the core of the revolutionary struggle was Russian workers rising up against Russian rulers. In South Africa, in contrast, the black workers are fighting a regime based on a privileged white minority. This makes the fight for working-class power more difficult. With the Afrikaner laager mentality—a kind of frightened racialist nationalism—white supremacy in its death throes will have a broader social and military base than the Russian autocracy had at the end. And with the overwhelming weight of national oppression, until now workers' allegiances have been drawn, with the aid of the reformist Communist Party, to the petty-bourgeois nationalism of the ANC, which is unable to overcome the tribal/ethnic divisions adroitly exploited by the apartheid rulers.

This underlines our insistence that "The central strategic task for a communist vanguard in South Africa is to set the proletarian and plebeian base of the ANC against the petty-bourgeois nationalist and collaborationist tops in the struggle to create organs of *dual power*, the basis for a black-centered workers government." While the reformists with their pipe dream of "power-sharing" are today *opposing* struggles of the black proletariat (such as the bitter Mercedes-Benz strike in East London), we raise the program of socialist revolution which can unite blacks, coloureds and Indians and the increasing number of whites who do not wish to live in a racist garrison state.

It is at the workplace, where the proletariat is physically concentrated, that serious struggles for class unity can be made. Organized initially independent of the ANC, the black trade unions have grown explosively to become the central focus for class struggle in South Africa. But they have since been co-opted by the SACP/ANC. The critical task is to break the working class from the nationalist/reformist stranglehold and free its enormous power in the fight to smash apartheid—for workers revolution. ■

Defense of Iraq Banned in Britain

Spartacist Arrested at Hyde Park

LONDON—On February 2, police arrested and attacked a Spartacist supporter at the demonstration organised hy the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament protesting the Gulf War in Lnndon. The Spartacist contingent marched behind a hanner which called tor "Defeat U.S./British Imperialism!" and "Defend Iraq!" Police threatened that anyone chanting "Victory to Iraq" was liable to arrest under the Puhlic Order Act. Comrade Alastair Green was seized hy the cops after demonstrators refused to stop chanting their slogans.

While the march halted for 20 minutes and outraged protesters demanded "Let him go!" our comrade was dragged away and eventually thrown into a police van. Inside the van, one of the arresting officers hit Green on the face with a helmet; the comrade sustained a nasty injury to his mouth. Hc has been charged with "obstructing a police officer" and "threatening behaviour."

At the beginning of the February 2 demonstration, a line of police moved into the crowd to force leftists carrying a banner of the Hands Off the Middle East Committee calling for "Victory to Iraq" to pull it down under threat of arrest. CND stewards applauded vociferously when the banner came down. At the end of the march, the banner was raised again in Hyde Park; the police intervened, cheered on by CNDers, and again the banner went down.

The Spartacist League/Britain had marched with its banner along with an "anti-imperialist contingent" of other left groups (including Workers Power, the Workers International League and supporters of the Revolutionary Communist Party). Later on, after repeated cop threats and harassment the police threatened that the next person who chanted "Victory to Iraq" would be arrested, and they waded into the Spartacist contingent and roughly seized comrade Green.

The threats to protesters and the arrest itself were a direct implementation of the Crown Prosecution Service instructions to police on the day.

Workers Hammer Photos

Alastair Green seized by police at February 2 demonstration.

It is often said that civil liberties, no less than the truth, are among the first casualties of war. Thus the present-day star chamber "hearings" against Iraqi and other Arab residents. This government and Labour governments before it have a despicable record on this score, war or no: to name but a few, the judicial frame-up of the Birmingham Six, Winchester Three and Guildford Four, the "ban" on Sinn Fein and Irish Republican spokesmen, the savage attack and round-up of anti-poll-tax demonstrators last March.

Now these methods, used against striking miners, print workers and their supporters, are in operation against leftists in the context of the criminal war against Iraq. Again the government has relied on its loyal opposition to exercise such repression. On January 12, Spartacist demonstrators in Glasgow were surrounded, sealed off and threatened with arrest at the behest of the CND and Militant tendency. On January 23 the *Independent* quoted CND leader Marjorie Thompson baiting those who call for Iraq's victory as "agents provocateurs," expressing the wish that they be off the demonstrations. And now the arrests begin, based on shadowy "complaints" against leftists.

The likes of Labour left MP Tony Benn and the CND endorsed the sanctions against Iraq, the prelude to war. They prnmoted the United Nations as a fig leaf for the vast buildup of forces which have now been unleashed in the filthy war against Iraq. Now the CND leadership—those "pacifists" whose overriding loyalty is to the warmongering Labour Party of Neil Kinnock—have done their bit to set the stage for police repression against leftists participating in antiwar protests.

The "Hands Off the Middle East Committee" has voted unanimously to endorse Alastair Green's united front defence. Marxists have the right to organise, and the duty to mobilise working-class action against the slaughter of the Arab peoples on behalf of Washington's oil plunder. We call on all those in the workers movement and on the left to join us in condemning the state's attack on ourselves and others who raise the call to defend Iraq. We demand that all charges against comrade Green and others arrested at the demonstration be immediately dropped! No deportations, no internment nf Iraqi and Arab people! Defeat British/U.S. imperialism! Defend Iraq! ■

The Partisan Defense Committee is undertaking a publicity and fund-raising campaign to mobilize support for the Spartacist comrade, Alastair Green. Because Green refosed to be gagged, he is being victimized expressly on the basis uf the SL's political positions on the Gulf War—for the defeat of U.S./British imperialism and for the defense of Iraq. Contributions to Alastair Green's defense can be sent, earmarked and payable to: Partisan Defense Committee, Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

John Lennon Ruled Subversive

BBC Bans "Give Peace a Chance"

The BBC is doing its bit for the war effort by coming up with a blacklist of music deemed unsuitable for broadcast, including John Lennon's song "Give Peace a Chance." Give us a break, we thought, but when our comrades of *Workers Hammer* called up the British Broadcasting Corporation's press office they were told that such a memo of "assistance and guidance" was indeed sent out to the BBC's stations.

Other moldy goldies reportedly on the hit list of 67 songs deemed too tasteless "for the duration" include Lennon's "Imagine," Queen's "Another One Bites the Dust," Abba's "Under Attack," Sonny & Cher's "Bang Bang" and the Bee Gees' "Staying Alive"—*not* what Her Majesty's cannon fodder is supposed to concentrate on in the Gulf, obviously.

In France, meanwhile, *Le Monde* (22 January) reported that 800 cassettes of a song purportedly glorifying Saddam Hussein and insulting the president of the Republic were seized. The song "Forge Ahead Saddam" and others on the cassettes were by the popular Algerian singer Mazouni. In an outhurst of chauvinism many French radio stations have stopped playing any popular songs about Arab culture nr peace.

What's next—nonstop military music drumrolling across the airwaves? This revolting chauvinism isn't new, of course. During World War I, German composers were banned from New York's Metropolitan Opera, which also canned Puccini's *Madame Butterfly* after Pearl Harbor! Such are the depths to which war hysteria quickly drags the supposed "culture" of decaying capitalism.

Meanwhile, after recent events at No. 10 Downing St., we don't suppose Her Majesty's music cops at the BBC are going to be playing "When Irish Eyes Are Smiling" anytime soon either.

Her Majesty's music censors set the drumbeat for war. They prefer the message scrawled on bomb by captain from Kokomo.

The following article is reprinted from the 8 February issue of Socialist Organiser, *representing a left-wing tendency in the British Labour Party.*

SOCIALIST ORGANISER

Police Censor Anti-War Slogans

An alarming turn was taken on the anti-war demonstration of 2 February when the police stopped a section of the march from chanting pro-Iraqi slogans.

Alastair Green was one of a group from the Spartacist League chanting "Defeat British/US imperialism!" and "Defend Iraq!" Police told them to stop or they would he arrested under the Public Order Act. They didn't, and Green was pulled into a police van and bashed in the mouth by a police helmet.

He has since been charged with "obstructing a police officer" and "threatening behaviour."

If the organisers of the anti-war demonstrations allow, without protest, the cops to determine what slogans can and cannot he shouted on the peace marches, then a day may come when the police will decide that slogans like "Peace" and "Stop the bombings!" are a breach of the peace too.

Freedom is indivisible.

Young Spartacus

Lessons of the Vietnam Antiwar Movement

Young Spartacus is pleased to print a presentation by Al Nelson of the Spartacist League Central Committee to our Bay Area district in January. Nelson's remarks have been edited and abridged for publication.

I really strongly urge everybody to read the material recommended for this class and Trotsky's "War and the Fourth International" in particular. It's like a handbook. What struck me was the programmatic continuity from Trotsky's writings anticipating World War II, through our material in the 1960s and '70s, to now. The rules of class struggle and the lines demarcated by the irreconcilability of the working class and the ruling class have not changed since the beginning of capitalism. The roles of the bourgeois liberals, the social democrats, the reformists, the right centrists and the left centrists, have not changed a bit from the first imperialist war, the second war, and all through the various partial wars to the present. We've got a very rich body of experience and basic Marxist understanding that guided the comrades through the first imperialist war, after there hadn't been a war in Europe since the Franco-Prussian War in 1871.

Trotsky starts off with a concise introduction in "On the United Front" (*The First Five Years of the Communist International*, Volume 2):

> "The task of the Communist Party is to lead the proletarian revolution. In order to summon the proletariat for the direct conquest of power and to achieve it the Communist Party must base itself on the overwhelming majority of the working class.
>
> "So long as it does not hold this majority, the party must fight to win it.
>
> "The party can achieve this only by remaining an absolutely independent organization with a clear program and strict internal discipline. That is the reason why the party was bound to break ideologically and organizationally with the reformists and the centrists who do not strive for the proletarian revolution, who possess neither the capacity nor the desire to prepare the masses for revolution, and who by their entire conduct thwart this work.
>
> "Any members of the Communist Party who bemoan the split with the centrists in the name of 'unity of forces' or 'unity of front' thereby demonstrate that they do not understand the ABC of Communism and that they themselves happen to be in the Communist Party only by accident."

That's not a bad introduction to this whole discussion.

Leninist Opposition to Imperialist War

WV Photo

"All Indochina Must Go Communist!" Spartacists called for revolutionary victory in Vietnam at antiwar protest in Washington, D.C., January 1973.

Early Days of the Vietnam Antiwar Movement

I got my training in a faction fight that was about the fundamentals of a revolutionary perspective. We spent three years in that fight in the early 1960s and other comrades anticipated it even longer. That was in the right-centrist SWP (Socialist Workers Party). Then within a year of our expulsion the bombings of North Vietnam had taken place and the SWP made its play. In a sense it was like Part Two of the faction fight and it was all about the same basic revolutionary program and principles. The first time out for the SWP was in October 1965 with the Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee. It was the first of many SWP-organized coalitions we saw and marked the passage of the SWP from centrist to reformist.

We hadn't heard of the first meeting; we weren't invited. We went to the second meeting and it was very clear that the policies discussed were classical popular-frontist approaches. There were no organizations there, except of course *everyone* was a member of an organization—I knew everybody in the room and they knew me. The SWP was there in force in the guise of the Washington Heights Peace Committee, the "Chelsea Housewives for Peace," and all these sorts of things. Ditto for Workers World, the Workers League (then the American Committee for the Fourth International) and others. They proposed rally speakers by category: the official liberal, the official disabled person, the official black, the official poet, the official folk singer, all that sort of thing.

In the next meeting we said, "No. You're trying to restrict this. There is a social revolution taking place in South Vietnam. This is why the Americans have intervened. Your single demand to the exclusion of others of 'Stop the War Now!' is a deliberate attempt to obscure the class nature of the American intervention in South Vietnam and the nature of the social revolution taking place there. We're not in favor of stopping the war! There are just wars. There are just, revolutionary wars. We're for the *victory* of the NLF and the forces they represent against the puppets of U.S. imperialism and against the U.S. forces in order to achieve that social revolution. Your policies are intended specifically to obscure that fact and to restrict the ability of the American working class to perceive the class nature of their own society and to struggle against it."

We made these arguments and argued against exclusion of signs, etc., and our position carried. (Probably for the moment the other leftists felt guilt-tripped, but it carried.) Then, out steps this old fellow, a spokesman for SANE, the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, which represented the left wing of the

continued on page 6

Sygma

***Giai Phong!* (Liberation). Saigon, April 1975: victorious NLF tanks take presidential palace.**

Liberal Mask Is the Real Face

ISO in the Antiwar Movement

As American B-52 bombers rain death and terror upon the Iraqi people, a new generation of youth are marching in protest, attending teach-ins, snapping up socialist literature and earnestly looking for a way to stop the U.S. war machine. Students just awakening to political consciousness must beware however of ostensibly socialist organizations who seek to act as "Sominex" on the body politic to keep youth from waking up to the truth that to end imperialist war we have to bury the capitalist system that breeds war.

Two, three, many antiwar coalitions have popped up. Workers World's "Coalition to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East" vies with the "National Campaign for Peace in the Middle East" (which includes other reformists like the Socialist Workers Party, Democratic Socialists of America and the Young Communist League) in organizational squabbles over who will control "the movement." Politically, they both compete with each other—and the right wing—on a populist "peace is patriotic" basis while Iraq is carpetbombed under the stars and stripes.

Students looking for a more radical alternative might be attracted to the International Socialist Organization. Here's a group that claims to defend Iraq and calls for "broad-based unity," bemoaning the "disastrous split" in the antiwar movement. But let's take a closer look at the ISO, the American offshoot of the British Socialist Workers Party.

Before the bombing of Baghdad began, the ISO wrote "in the case of the blockade and in the event of an actual war, we are on the side of Iraq" (*Socialist Worker*, October 1990). But to "campaign and agitate under the slogan 'Victory to Iraq'...would also be a sectarian error erecting a barrier between ourselves and many of those who are genuinely opposed to the war drive...."

If the ISO's position looks equivocal on paper, it was crystal clear in action. Given a choice between two very right-wing demonstrations, the "Victory to Iraq" ISO endorsed the more right-wing January 26 "Campaign for Peace" march which condemned Iraq's annexation of Kuwait and called for United Nations sanctions as an "alternative" to war—i.e., to starve the Iraqi people with a blockade backed up by aircraft carrier groups, troops and missiles. Some "defense"!

The ISO not only hurries their own position of defense of Iraq but tries to censor other leftists' views. Cops and the ISO's own goon squad (wearing red, white and blue armbands!) sealed off members of the Chicago Spartacus Youth Club and the centrist Revolutionary Workers League (RWL) from an ISO-organized antiwar conference on January 19. Facing a yawning abyss between their nominal views and their real appetite to tail liberal Democratic Party politics, the ISO resorts to exclusions and threats of violence to suppress their own contradictions.

We in the Spartacus Youth Clubs say "Defeat U.S. imperialism—Defend Iraq"...and that's exactly what we fight for. In the political debates on campuses and in demonstrations around the country we seek to win youth to an understanding that defense of the working people and exploited masses of the world requires a struggle to defeat U.S. imperialism in its bloody oil grab and bid to be top cop of a "new world order." That is why we take a clear side in this war.

Saddam Hussein should be toppled by the Iraqi working people, the oppressed Kurds and other minorities—and their cause will be furthered by defeating the U.S. which supported Hussein for years but now wants to replace him with another dictator hand-picked by George Bush. Our fight for *labor political strikes against the war* stands in sharp contrast to star-spangled peace crawls built by fake-leftists who plead to murderous U.S. rulers to "give peace a chance."

Spartacist Canada

Bloody U.S. rulers who were defeated on the battlefield by the Vietnamese say, "No More Vietnams." So does the ISO and their Canadian cothinkers, shown here at Toronto rally on January 19.

Marxism vs. Pacifism

In the *Communist Manifesto* Karl Marx and Frederick Engels state: "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims." That is an elemental credo of Marxism we Spartacists live by. Many working people, students, and particularly the black and Hispanic population *hate* this war. What they need is *leadership*. We seek to politically organize the widespread anger in a revolutionary workers party to lead class-struggle action against the capitalist state.

But the ISO thinks it has a better idea and cynically peddles the notion to their membership that censorship is really very clever, that they can rope in more people by pretending to be just liberals and then drop the mask when they've determined folks are "ready" for socialism. But for the ISO the liberal mask *is* the face—and sometimes it looks more reactionary than even liberal.

• While George Bush rails that Hussein is "another Hitler," the ISO carried a sign at the January 19 antiwar demo saying "Saddam may be a Hitler but Bush started this holocaust." Meanwhile, what echoes Hitler is George Bush's blitzkrieg for a "new world order"!

• George Bush promises the American people "no more Vietnams." Richard Nixon titled his memoirs *No More Vietnams*. The ISO says..."no more Vietnams." During the Vietnam War the ISO's political forebears (the International Socialists) tailed the liberal wing of the ruling class which only called for "U.S. troops out" after it was clear they were losing.

"Our" boys were the heroic Vietnamese who defeated U.S. imperialism and freed their country from neocolonial bondage and capitalist exploitation. The Vietnamese victory was a gain for workers all over the world—Che Guevara coined the slogan *"Two, three, many Vietnams!"* Stung by that defeat, the U.S. imperialists were unable to directly intervene on behalf of South Africa's racist army in Angola or send the Marines in against Sandinista Nicaragua.

What then is the ISO's role in the antiwar movement? They build liberal coalitions that are an *obstacle* to the development of socialist consciousness because they foster the illusion that the bourgeois government can be "pressured" to act against its own class interests. The U.S. war on Iraq is a war for imperialist hegemony—to really fight against it you have to oppose the economic and social system that produced this war. Why do the avowed socialists of the ISO pretend otherwise? Because for them, "the movement" is everything and their ostensible political program is excess baggage to chuck overboard whenever convenient.

How then do they hope to win youth to Marxism? They promote the myth that people will automatically be radicalized in the course of a bourgeois pacifist movement. If this were true, who needs Leninists? The principal effect of pacifist ideology is to obscure the class nature of war and to prevent the cohering of a politically independent working-class struggle against the "Republican" parties of war and racism.

The reformist leaders of the Vietnam antiwar movement similarly dissipated the anger and militancy of that generation by consciously suppressing revolutionary politics to keep the protests "safe" for the Democratic Party politicians they pandered to. The failure of that antiwar "strategy" is seen in the fact that just 15 years since the U.S. was defeated in Vietnam, humanity is again victim to a genocidal war for the global ambitions of the American ruling class.

As Leon Trotsky summarized Lenin's views:

> "It is impossible to fight against imperialist war by sighing for peace after the fashion of the pacifists. 'One of the ways of fooling the working class is pacifism and the abstract propaganda of peace. Under capitalism, especially in its imperialist stage, wars are inevitable.' A peace concluded by imperialists would only be a breathing spell before a new war. Only a revolutionary mass struggle against war and against imperialism which breeds war can secure a real peace. 'Without a number of revolutions the so-called democratic peace is a middle class utopia'."
>
> —"Lenin and Imperialist War" (December 1938)

Crime Doesn't Pay

The discrepancy between the ISO's pretensions to Marxism and their "just us liberals here" posture has some of their own members feeling like they've been shipped up the Gulf without a paddle. At the October ISO conference in Chicago, one member complained how he had been besieged by his comrades: "I had 5, 6, 7 people coming up to me saying 'How are we supposed to explain this? Are we supposed to bury the party program or what?'" Judging from the January issue of *Socialist Worker*, the ISO ironed out this wrinkle by moving further to the right—even the thin camouflage of left rhetoric (any reference to "capitalism" or "imperialism" for instance) has all but vanished from its pages.

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Socialist Worker
October 1990

...and political opposition to Saddam, to the dictatorship, to the repression of trade unions and the oppression of the Kurds.

If we support Iraq should we then campaign and agitate under the slogan "Victory to Iraq!"

This would be a serious tactical error.

In the first place it would sow all sorts of confusion in our audience, who would not, from the slogan, be able to make a distinction

WV Photo

ISO cynically claims to defend Iraq, but to say so out loud would be a "tactical error" because it would be unpopular. In public, ISO apes Bush's war propaganda that Hussein is "a Hitler."

Spartacist League Public Offices

– MARXIST LITERATURE –

Bay Area
Thurs 5:30-8:00 p.m. Sat 1:00-5:00 p.m.
1634 Telegraph 3rd Floor (near 17th Street)
Oakland California Phone (415) 839-0851

Chicago
Tues 5:00-9:00 p.m. Sat 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
161 W. Harrison St. 10th Floor
Chicago Illinois Phone (312) 663-0715

New York City
Tues 6:30-9:00 p.m. Sat 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York NY Phone (212) 267-1025

Antiwar Movement...

(continued from page 4)

Democratic Party. He said, "If this policy carries, we split." The SWP freaked out, called a recess, worked over everybody else, urging classless "unity," then reconvened, and our position which had been voted up was reconsidered and voted down. We walked out. The others stayed

We therefore had to fight our way into the first peace demonstration in New York City. We carried bundles of our signs wrapped in paper. We spotted the U.S. Committee to Aid the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. They liked the Viet Cong flag and they would get in trouble for raising it at demonstrations. We defended their right to carry that flag though we wouldn't carry it ourselves since it would too closely identify us with the politics of the Stalinists. So there was a de facto bloc there and we defended their rights to carry the Viet Cong flag against the wimpy SWP marshals. Then we waited until the march started to move, ripped off the paper from our signs and rapidly handed them out. They said: "Unconditional Immediate Withdrawal of All U.S. Forces from Vietnam," "Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution! No Negotiations!" and "Vietnam, Watts: Same Struggle, Same Fight." Very controversial, right?—this was a peace demonstration. But these signs went over big and a lot of people took them, so we had a bloc. But we had to shove SWP marshals away.

Spartacist

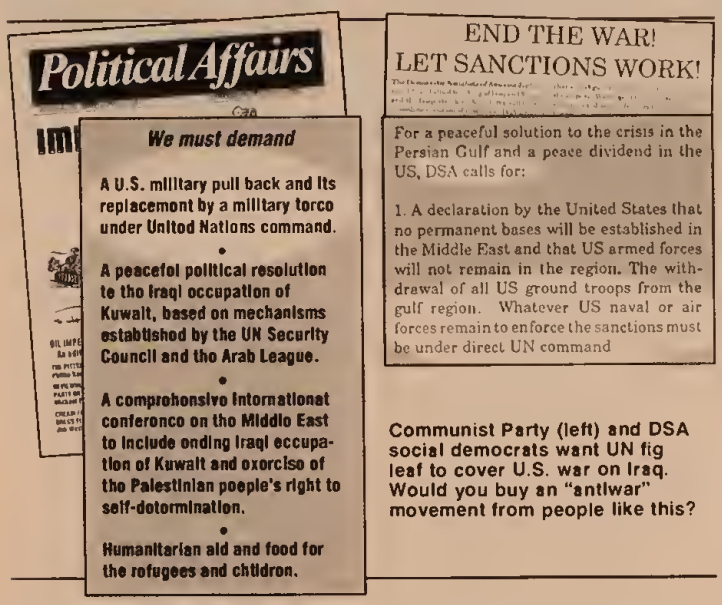
After Fifth Avenue Peace Parade Committee attempted to ban Spartacist call for "Victory to the Vietnamese Revolution," SL defiantly marched together with Walter Teague's Committee to Aid the NLF, New York City, October 1965.

Sanctions = Kill Iraqis ...Slowly

That's how it started. What we're dealing with today is our own political understanding, so that we don't get disarmed by the social-patriots waiting to support a new imperialist war. If you look at the antiwar movement writ large, and all the peace forces, their program is basically the same as the Democrats: "Sanctions, not war." They agree with the premise that "Hussein is a real bad guy," that it was "a real bad act of aggression" that Iraq went into Kuwait and "they should get out of there." But "we don't want war, we don't want killing, we had enough killing in Vietnam," so "we should allow sanctions to work their way."

What is a blockade? That means "let's kill the Iraqis real slow" and starve first the children, then the old people. That's what happens first when you have lack of nutrition. It's slow death, as opposed to a big bombardment. Then when the misery reaches a certain level, presumably a wing of the Ba'athist military elite will make a move and assassinate Saddam Hussein in order to be the new rulers in an overtly U.S.-dominated Iraq. That's how the blockade is supposed to work its way, and of course with the aid of the CIA which must still have assets there because they've been working with Iraqi intelligence for ten years, feeding them the names of Hussein's leftist opponents, and are now sitting there being very quiet.

The difference the peace movement has with the government is a tactical one. Basically they're for sanctions. They agree with the premises but want "imperialism with a humane face." How we deal with that is a question of nuances of propaganda. The "Vietnam syndrome" is very operational—there's much more widespread opposition to the war now than there ever was at the beginning of the Vietnam War. How we deal with ordinary people who have illusions and false consciousness and how we deal with the centrists and the reformists and the conscious bastards who know exactly what they're doing is another question. And we have to be very clear in our own minds what our political line is and what it is based on.



Communist Party (left) and DSA social democrats want UN fig leaf to cover U.S. war on Iraq. Would you buy an "antiwar" movement from people like this?

Capitalist System Is Root Cause of War

We're Marxists. Our starting point is the irreconcilable class interests of the ruling class and the working class. In "War and the Fourth International," Trotsky talks about the creation of the national state as the basis for the capitalist system. World War I posed the limitations of the national state as the form for the productive forces of society. Those forces had outgrown the national state and World War I was the first interimperialist war for redivision of the entire world in terms of spheres of influence. That's where Iraq and Kuwait came from. The victors drew lines on a map.

The pacifists start from the false premise that it's possible to ensure peace outside of the class struggle. Bourgeois pacifism is what you can characterize basically as a spontaneous ideology—but it's not really—because it's what people are taught. Most people who are reacting to the possibility of war are reacting in a purely pacifist sort of way, that "war is bad." To the extent that the pacifists of an organized sort and the ordinary worker do not understand the social-chauvinism that lies within both wings of the bourgeoisie, whether they're liberal and for sanctions or they're the hard-liners for war, to that extent they will be gullible in terms of being prepared for a larger war of an interimperialist sort, like World War I or World War II.

It is our task to prepare the working class for revolution. That means to utilize every social struggle to make them aware of the class basis of society and the class nature of war. War exposes the nature of capitalism in a way that nothing else does. Every day all over the world there are thousands of people that die from starvation, lack of medical attention, exposure, pure state repression, industrial accidents. War is like taking all these phenomena, these thousands of people that die every day in a random sort of way in every capitalist country in the world, be it dictatorial, democratic, Third World or most advanced, and concentrating it geographically and compressing it in time.

War is so horrible because it's such a concentration of mass killing by mass means. A kind of horrible mass industrial accident with metal removing sections of bodies, heads and arms and limbs flying in all directions. Preobrazhensky and Bukharin in their book (*The ABC of Communism*) tried to calculate how many tons of human beings were killed in World War I: "If we assume the average weight of a soldier to be 150 lb., this means that between 1 August 1914 and 1 January 1918 the capitalists had brought to market twelve hundred million pounds of putrid human flesh."

A pacifist can say these things too. The point is, what is it about capitalism that leads inevitably to war? We understand what the limitations of the nation-state are. At the same time, the nation-state is the basis for mobilizing the working class in an interimperialist war—social-patriotism. The capitalist rulers always talk of some "high motive," but the bourgeoisie does not wage war for political principles. It wages war for raw materials, for spheres of influence, for financial markets, for world hegemony and its own wealth. That's the basis for war.

You cannot end war without ending capitalism. It's a question of breaking down the false consciousness of the workers, so that in time of war they are not vulnerable to the appeals of the social-patriots. The purpose of these antiwar coalitions is to form a popular front—an alliance with political agents of the ruling class—to suppress revolutionary politics. Against this we counterpose the Bolshevik tactic of the *united front* where all groups participating in a particular action have an equal opportunity to express their views. The clash of opinion and test in action of the various forces claiming to be socialist is a crucial element in raising the consciousness of working people and youth.

Workers Have the Power

The SWP dominated the antiwar movement from 1965 through 1973. By the middle of 1971 or even earlier, their classless liberal program had so dissipated the forces that were kind of radical, not even leftist, that the campuses were quiet. The spring of 1971 was the quietest spring on the campuses in over ten years, yet this followed the invasion of Laos. The year before when the United States went into Cambodia, there were big demonstrations on the campuses. That's where the Kent State massacre came from. The SWP's policy dissipated all the militancy of all these kids who hated the government.

At the same time, it was never clearer than in 1971 how the popular-frontist antiwar coalition was counterposed to the revolutionary mobilization of the workers. The National Guardsmen that shot down those kids at Kent State had just come from a strikebreaking mission against the Teamsters who were at that very same time engaged in a huge national wildcat strike, which was opposed

Bulletin

Young Socialist

At 1971 antiwar conference (left), SWP goons assaulted members of Progressive Labor and Spartacists for opposing presence of bourgeois politician—Democratic Senator Vance Hartke was keynote speaker. SWP antiwar honcho Fred Halstead with social-patriotic sign (right).

not only by the governors of various states, be they Republican or Democrat, but also by the Democratic Party mayors where it affected them, by the president of the Teamsters and by the vice president of the Teamsters, who was considered a liberal, and who was on the steering committee of NPAC (National Peace Action Coalition).

We published a special supplement to *Spartacist* in July 1971 and said:

> "It was from this strikebreaking detail that four hundred Guardsmen were taken and sent to Kent State. Unlike the Teamsters, the students put up no resistance. But it was students, not Teamsters, who were gunned down. Why? A massacre of Teamsters, in the middle of a tense, militant nationwide wildcat by one of the country's strongest unions, would have precipitated a series of nationwide protest and sympathy strikes—a far greater show of social power than all the student strikes, peace crawls and police confrontations combined. In contrast, the massacre of students had little more long-term social impact than starting summer vacation three weeks early on college campuses.
>
> "What made the protesting students so vulnerable was precisely the question of brute social power: the Teamsters and other organized workers have it, students do not."

The Teamsters were not the only union engaging in strikes. There was a lot of strike activity in the country at that time. Yet the workers saw in the leadership of this antiwar movement some of their most sophisticated opponents. Guys who were liberals on the question of the war in Vietnam, but sponsored anti-labor legislation in Congress. And then all the parasites and labor lieutenants of capital, all the guys they *hate* in their own union, up there speaking as liberals against the war. So there was a tremendous gulf between the working class and the antiwar groups because of the reformist political character of the antiwar movement. Furthermore, there were conscious elements who sought to maintain that.

SWP Wages War on Reds for Peace with Democrats

NPAC was the SWP's antiwar coalition and on the steering committee was Senator Vance Hartke. They had an NPAC conference on July 4th weekend in New York in 1971. We went in there to intervene with our class-struggle program and to distribute our *Spartacist* supplement. The SWP had prepared about 300 of their own members plus union goons to put down so-called "disruption." The liberal wing of the bourgeoisie broke over the 1968 Tet Offensive and now opposed the war because the U.S. was losing. Hartke represented this defeatist wing of U.S. imperialism and the SWP wanted to prove to the bourgeois liberals that they could handle the reds by drawing a line in blood to prevent opposition to the war from taking a revolutionary direction, especially since there was class struggle going on in society as well.

no credit

Rufiner/Life

National Guard troops who put down 1971 Teamster wildcat strike also carried out Kent State massacre (right), leaving four students dead.

In addition to Senator Hartke, there was Victor Reuther (the brother of Walter Reuther and the CIA's man in the labor movement in Europe, who personified the linkup between the labor movement, the Democratic Party, the CIA and all its rotten operations all over the world). Our forces were very disciplined and, surprisingly, so were the PL/SDS (Progressive Labor/Students for a Democratic Society) forces. I made a motion that Senator Hartke not be permitted to be in this meeting, that it was an obscenity that a representative of the ruling class be at an antiwar conference. That motion was voted out of order. When Hartke attempted to speak, we just shouted him down—us and PL.

When Victor Reuther got up, we chanted ten times, "Labor strikes against the war!" and sat down. PL went on a little longer, but eventually they were quiet. After Reuther spoke, everything was quiet. The SWP was disappointed. SWP honcho Fred Halstead (a big, flabby sucker, but big) comes down and grabs some poor kid in a choke hold, rips him over the back of the chair and drags him out; the kid is choking. Seymour and I look at each other, and Seymour says, "We have to go. We have to go." We jumped out, pulled Halstead off and then 300 guys came up that center aisle like a hammer.

It was the most brutal experience of violence within the workers movement I've ever been through. Beating went on there for well over an hour. Someone got thrown through a plate-glass door, I had chunks of hair pulled out, somebody had their nose broken. The PL students got it worse than we did. Many were beaten badly. The Wohlforthites (now the Workers League) were on the goon squad. And right up front were Nat Weinstein and Dick Garza. Weinstein is now the leader of Socialist Action. They were then the liberal, trade-uniony face of the SWP, the SWP's interface with the pro-capitalist labor forces. This was the role that Socialist Action and their Workers World Party competitors now seek to replicate.

By 1972, a severe polarization had taken place and by the end we had a very hard time selling papers at the peace crawls organized by the official antiwar movement. It was pure, pure, pure liberal. All the speakers were respectable Senators and labor bureaucrats and such.

Anti-Imperialism Abroad Means Class Struggle At Home!

Right now this present antiwar movement is stepping off politically at this lowest point of the former antiwar movement. This is a very conscious policy aimed at keeping the level of opposition to the present war within the framework of capitalist ideology and capitalism itself. The brokers of today's antiwar coalitions perpetuate the illusion that war can be stopped by means other than socialist revolution which takes away the power entirely from the bourgeoisie. In so doing, they further illusions in the liberal wing of the bourgeoisie. The liberal wing is just as social-patriotic and social-chauvinist as the most conservative Jesse Helms or Bush or anybody. In creating these illusions in the liberal wing of the bourgeoisie, they encourage social-patriotic views among the working class, and prepare them to be cannon fodder in the next imperialist war. That's the significance of these coalitions in search of imperialist doves we're looking at and the little centrist groups who seek to be their tails.

What we badly miss right now—and we should understand that it's a handicap for the time being, but it doesn't detract one bit from our political tasks—are fractions in the industrial working class. Our main role would be agitating amongst the workers in the workplaces. And this is what we will attempt to do as this war unfolds and we work out a series of tactics and see what we're actually intersecting. Now the workers are much more inclined toward struggle than they were during the Vietnam War. The standards of living have been reduced 20, 30 percent.

The barbaric nature of imperialist war is one of the purest expressions of the indifference of the capitalists toward the workers who produce their profits. They don't give a shit about workers and will kill 60,000 in one day—it happened in World War I. World War I was a war of attrition. The Allied generals put their heads together and said, "Well, neither side has the advantage but we have more men. Eventually they'll run out of men and we won't." Some huge percentage of all the young men between certain ages simply were killed.

That horrible waste of human life sparked revolutions all over Europe after the war. Our task relative to this war is to deepen the understanding of the working class to facilitate class struggle against the capitalist system as a whole, and to recruit a new political generation of workers, blacks and students to our revolutionary perspective. ■

Black History Month Spartacist Events

Racist War Machine in Gulf War Oil Grab
Black Soldiers in the Jim Crow Military

CHICAGO
Guest Speaker Bernard Branche, member ATU Local 308
Saturday, Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m.
Blackstone Hotel, Regency Room
636 South Michigan Avenue
For more information (312) 663-0715

WASHINGTON, D.C.
Speaker Paul Collins, SL Central Committee
Saturday, Feb. 23, 2 p.m.
Howard University
Undergraduate Library Lecture Rm.
For more information (202) 872-8240

BERKELEY/OAKLAND
Saturday, Feb. 23, 7:30 p.m.
UC Berkeley, 126 Barrows
Speakers Hursey Bush
Don Alexander
For more information (415) 839-0851

Bankrupt U.S. Empire Goes for War
Defeat U.S. Imperialism! Defend Iraq!

SAN FRANCISCO
Speaker Diana Coleman
Thursday, Feb. 21, 7:30 p.m.
San Francisco State University
Student Union B 112
For more information (415) 863-6963

CLEVELAND
Tuesday, Feb. 26, 7 p.m.
Cleveland State University
22nd and Euclid
University Center 361
For more information (216) 781-7500

LOS ANGELES
Monday, Feb. 25, 7 p.m.
Los Angeles City College
Franklin Hall, Room 101
For more information (213) 380-8239

Spartacus Youth Club Class Series

NEW YORK CITY
Saturdays at 2 p.m.
41 Warren Street
(1 block south of Chambers between Church and West Broadway)
February 16
A Marxist Understanding of the State
February 23
War and Revolution
For more information (212) 267-1025

In Honor of Comrade Garry Gianninoto

Our comrade Garry Gianninoto died on January 9, after more than a year of battling cancer. He was 43 years old.

Garry joined our organization in 1978 and served in a leading capacity in both our Circulation Department and on our Medical Commission. He was a Vietnam veteran. For more than six years, in the 1980s, he worked as a physician's assistant at Harlem Hospital.

On February 2, a memorial meeting was held in his honor in New York City. His comrades, friends and coworkers from Harlem Hospital came out to pay tribute. Members of both Garry's and his wife Mindy's families were there. Garry's brother Tony spoke at the meeting.

Messages of condolence, remembrance and respect came in from comrades across the U.S. and from Sri Lanka, Britain, France, Germany, Japan and Canada. Some had personal experience with the care, kindness and attention that Garry brought to dealing with medical problems of various comrades and others internationally. A comrade from Britain wrote:

> "I remember several occasions when there were comrades in Britain with seemingly intractable medical problems, with no apparent hope of decent treatment from the National Health Service.... Even while understanding the limitations of capitalist society, Garry fought for what was available in a very concrete way.... When a comrade was sick, he would manage to keep in touch by day and by night, regardless of the time difference and regardless of his shifts."

Even those comrades who had not personally worked with or known Garry felt the impact of his contributions. This was conveyed in a letter written on behalf of the comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France: "Garry did not live to see the beginning of this latest imperialist crime against humanity, the war in the Gulf, but his work and especially his recent article, 'Vietnam: Racism and Rebellion Behind the Lines,' were key in arming the party—internationally—for that critical moment of the war breaking out, when the torrent of lies and chauvinist poison can shake even a steeled revolutionary party." A comrade wrote in from Chicago that this article also had a big impact on transit workers there who were Vietnam vets.

Garry was a hard communist. In his last months he made a tape dedicated to his wife, and comrade, Mindy. At the memorial meeting Mindy spoke for him, conveying the testimony that Garry had wanted to leave with his comrades—of his dedication to, and understanding of, the necessity of building a revolutionary combat party to fight for a socialist future.

Mindy Gianninoto

It was a very emotional meeting which reflected the tragic loss of a man so young and a man who brought so much, both in our organization and in his work outside, to furthering the cause of decency, humanity and a life free of degradation, exploitation and oppression. The rich diversity of Garry's contributions—memos on health care, meticulous statistics and records he kept in the Circulation Department, bulletins he had printed, articles from *Workers Vanguard* he had contributed to, and many other examples of his work—were displayed at the memorial.

WV Photo

New York memorial meeting to honor Garry Gianninoto, 2 February 1991.

The meeting began with the playing of the *Internationale* in Russian as Garry had wanted, and ended with the singing of the *Internationale*.

Garry deeply touched many people and many honored him at the memorial in their speeches, letters and other contributions. Here we are publishing edited excerpts of some of these. We hope that they will give our readers some measure of the man—our comrade Garry Gianninoto.

* * *

Deborah Mackson

Garry was born on October 14, 1947. He died on January 9, 1991. His 43 years were not long enough for him to do what he wanted to do, which was to help usher in a socialist America. The hope for a future where there would be no more of what he saw in Vietnam, and no more of what he saw in Harlem, gave him the strength to fight, every day of his adult life, to do his best for our party. If he believed nothing else, he believed this party was America's last best hope.

Garry was a casualty of the Vietnam War. I say this not just because I believe his cancer was likely caused by some toxic chemical to which he was undoubtedly exposed while he was there, but also because, like many other veterans, he suffered the war every day of his life afterwards.

Garry joined the Navy as a Medical Corpsman in November of 1966 at the age of 19. At that time, the government began canceling deferments for a whole class of medical problems. So Garry's deferment for a bad knee was history. Like a lot of other young men, he shopped around looking for safe service. He was told that Navy Corpsman was probably his best bet, that he would likely never be sent to Nam. So what happened? Besides the fact that they always lie about such things, Garry figured it was pure and simple bad luck.

In February of 1968, he was shipped to Da Nang. Four months later he reported to HQ to forthrightly announce that this war was wrong and he quit. They threw him in the brig. Conditions there, as you can imagine, were savage. Garry participated in one of the first prison rebellions there, which some of you will remember spread in the summer of '68 and led to the burning of what the troops bitterly referred to as "the LBJ," the Long Binh jail. Later, still in the brig, Garry helped lead sitdown strikes against the inhuman working conditions that he and his primarily black comrades were forced to endure.

Based on some study, it is my belief that those sitdowns in the Da Nang brig were in fact the spark which spread the sitdowns not only through the U.S. prison system for its own men in Southeast Asia, but later to active troops on the edge of the DMZ. Other veterans in our organization, who went to war later, tell me that by the time they arrived opposition among the troops was much more organized and individuals no longer had to face what Garry did. Entire units were literally *disarmed* and moved to the rear because they were "unreliable."

You can read about Garry's experiences, in his own words, in his article, "Vietnam: Racism and Rebellion Behind the Lines—A GI's View of America's Dirty War," printed in *Workers Vanguard* on 2 November 1990. This article was a gift to our organization—it came as the world was poised on the brink of another war. Relating and bringing this truth to a new generation cost Garry dearly. I really don't believe any of us can know how hard he had to fight—through so many memories and so much pain—to give us that history.

When he finally got out of the Navy in July of 1969, Garry had two things burned into his soul: an intense hatred of American imperialism and a deep,

WV Photo

Garry at the front of SL-organized anti-imperialist contingent marching for military victory to leftist insurgents in El Salvador, 3 May 1981.

thorough understanding of the black question. He knew he was a communist and, after some unpleasant trial and error, found the Spartacist League in 1978. He applied for membership in October while working on our New York City election campaign and was accepted as a candidate member of the New York local on November 19.

In January 1979, while still a candidate member, he was made literature director of the New York local. The local was in some disarray at the time, which must have driven the careful, meticulous Garry right up the wall. But he was also a very resourceful guy. So he quickly acquainted himself with the Circulation Department and started working through them to keep things in order. As it turned out, Garry found his niche there, bringing his organizational skills to bear on the statistics and record-keeping so necessary to keep on top of the stocking and circulation of all our publications.

In May of 1979, he fell in love with Mindy, and he never fell out. He chose well. Mindy's courage through especially the last year is and will remain an inspiration to all of her comrades. I think she knows she has our love, our respect and our most professional military salute.

By 1981 Garry was trained to operate our press and was printing our subscription blanks and the wrappers for our newspapers. After a brief tour as a treasurer in the New York local Garry returned to circ in 1983. In early 1985, Garry came to the party leadership with a big worry—many of our bulletins and pamphlets were out of print. Many of the bulletins, in particular, had been mimeographed and the stencils were too old to use and we needed new copies. This led to some intensive research on the printing of our material and in February of 1985 we decided to divide the circ department into "circulation" and "non-periodical production." Garry was made chief of the production operation.

The Spartacist League is quite proud of its history and unlike other organizations, who sometimes have a problem with their past positions, we are careful to preserve and make our material available to our members and others. Garry made this deeply felt principle —the party as the collective memory of the working class—a reality for us. This was really quite an assignment, and Garry brought his perfectionism to every aspect of the work. He was the pressman, but he also conceived the job and saw it through to the end. He coordinated the tricky "priority" and "technical" decisions, the use of other party resources —like the knowledge, skills and responsibilities of other comrades—with all the other party department heads. The comrades he worked the most closely with during this period wanted me to say for them that he was a pleasure to work with.

Darlene, who was our circ chief for a number of years, remembers that Garry set new standards for the production of our material. "No one took as much time, pride and care on even the simplest jobs," she said. But there were complicated ones as well, in particular the Farsi language pamphlets were a nightmare to produce. The script had to be done by hand and the negatives were not very clean. Garry, who didn't know the language, nevertheless spent days agonizing and poring over the negatives on the light table to ensure that each dot and scratch, in this language of dots and scratches, was supposed to be there. He did a similar job on our pamphlet "The World Prospect for Socialism" which Helene told me was his idea to produce and is on display in the back of the room with some of his other work.

During this time, I believe it was June of 1983, Garry went to work as a physician's assistant at Harlem Hospital Center. Working at Harlem Hospital was hard for Garry, it often exacerbated his post-traumatic stress disorder. We tried several times to get him to change to an easier job. But for whatever complicated reasons, he chose to stay in Harlem to help those whom society had written off.

Mindy Gianninoto

Garry and Mindy, St. Croix, summer 1986.

In January of 1983, we formed the party Medical Commission with Garry as one of its members. This is the area in which I worked most closely with him, and so it is the most painful for me to talk about. Garry liked this work and his contribution was unique. His substantial medical knowledge was painstakingly applied to each and every individual case with a kindness and a generosity of spirit not often found in this world. He also enriched our press by contributing to our articles on the AIDS epidemic, for example, "AIDS Devastates Gays, Ghettos," in October of 1988.

I think, though, that his most valuable contribution was his ability to move medical professionals to do right by each and every comrade, or their family members, who needed help. He would settle only for the best. If he didn't know who the best was, he would find out, somehow drag their asses out of bed and get them on the case. He never quit on this front, and he continued to do it from his hospital bed when he himself was dying. This is something I don't think we will ever be able to replace and we are much, much poorer for it. I will miss him horribly and it really hurts to think about it.

Garry always *hated* it when we got to the point where we had to say about a particular medical problem, "there's nothing (or nothing more) we can do." His wartime training and subsequent work at Harlem Hospital instilled in him an urgency and great drive to do everything possible to save lives and eliminate pain. This is one of the reasons his battle with cancer was so bitter for those of us who worked closely with him in this area—there was nothing we could do to make it better, and we hated that.

There are a few more things I'd like to say about Garry. He was a news hound. To show you how important that was, let me tell one story. We were over at Jim's one night—September 30, 1986 actually —just "sitting around telling lies," as Dick Fraser would have put it, and maybe playing a little bridge. Just after midnight the phone rang. It was Garry, who had been tracking the news. He called to say that the ILA had just walked out on the East Coast. Garry knew this was important and he was right. Within hours we were producing a special *Workers Vanguard* supplement on the strike. Over the next several days we distributed a half million copies to striking longshoremen and others. In the two months following that strike we produced many, many pieces of literature which had to be circulated around the country, to new places. Garry ran the entire circ department for those months.

At the beginning of this talk, I mentioned to you that Garry came out of Nam with a deep understanding of the black question. This was another area where I enjoyed working with him. I often talked to him about public events we were having on this question and he always gave me ideas and help. The last time was five days before he died. We are going to be having a public forum on blacks and the Jim Crow military, and wanted to span the period from the Civil War to the Persian Gulf. While we were sitting in the radiology department waiting for yet another test, we worked on a list of books to recommend to the comrade preparing the talk.

So I've tried here to give you an outline of Garry's history in, and multifaceted contribution to, our party. Hopefully, a little sense, too, of who he was. He was a troubled man, he had mostly sleepless nights and every day he fought a battle to maintain an emotional equilibrium which would allow him to go forward. The results of that battle were uneven, some days he won, some days he lost. But he kept fighting, and kept giving what he could. That he could give so much under such circumstances makes his contribution all the more significant. It is a testament to him, and something to which the rest of us can aspire.

Garry was a good man, not so easy to be in this world, and a fine communist, of which this world has far too few. We loved him, we will miss him and as a tribute to him we will go forward, the International Communist League, for Garry and for the rest of the human race for whom he cared so deeply.

* * *

Mindy Gianninoto

It is very hard to express what another human being felt, but I feel I need to try.

There were only two things that mattered to Garry: myself and the party.

Garry felt deeply committed to this party and what we stand for. He did and would do whatever was asked of him with no complaints. As he said, "I gave it my best shot." He said he "would have died for this party, but that should be a given."

He had no tolerance for people complaining that any task was "shit work" or people not doing what was necessary to carry out the work. He never lost sight that we were here to change this world. He felt that it was too bad that, in particular, our younger members never went through military training. That is where he learned what a combat organization is,

continued on page 10

In Honor of Garry Gianninoto...

(continued from page 9)

from the chain of command to the discipline.

I believe that without the party and myself, Garry could have very easily ended up like a lot of other Vietnam vets. Garry was a tortured soul. He could never live with or come to terms with that war. He never thought he had a right to live past 20. But he never wanted to go this way.

Garry had post-traumatic stress disorder. This government never gave a damn about any vet. All they wanted and want is cannon fodder. But Garry did courageous and honorable things in an "unhonorable" war. After four months of being a corpsman he went to his CO and said, "I'm not doing this anymore." He led a sitdown strike in the brig along with a brig uprising. All these things he expected to be shot for.

Garry really cared about people. He thought, and demanded, that everybody should get the best care. I watched this man work, and he was good. If somebody needed a neurologist, surgeon, or whatever—whether it was immediately operational or for a referral—he would get on the phone, call a contact and say, "Who's the best?" Then he'd get them.

What the party and comrades did for Garry, in his words, made it easier for him to die. He thanked people for this. Garry was asocial and he thanked comrades for the friendship that broke through this.

All through the years the party has always gone all out to help Garry—from financially facilitating his being able to see a psychiatrist for his post-traumatic stress disorder, to making Garry a consultative member so that he did not have to quit the party. Although he always hated not having a vote.

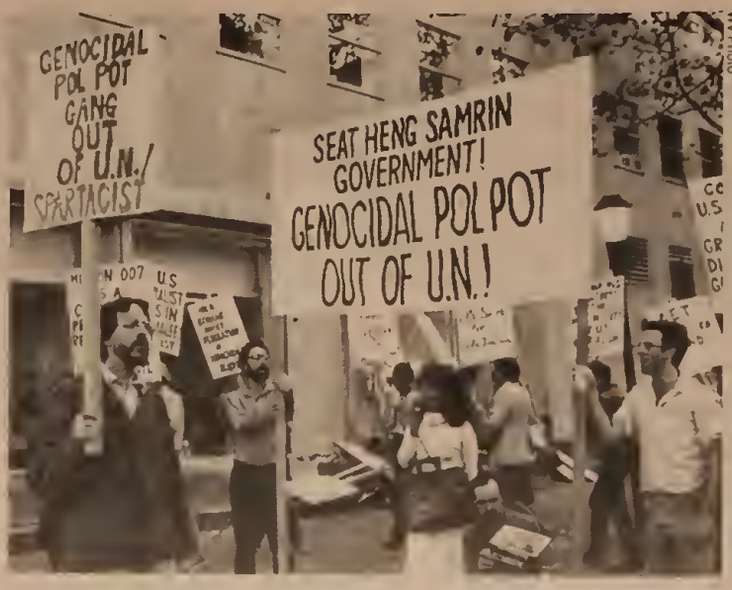
Garry took a medical leave of absence because of major depression. He was having an extremely difficult time in life, but was in the middle of producing the first Prometheus Research Library bulletin. He waited until the bulletin was produced to take his medical leave, not one day before and not one day after. I believe that during this time Garry was already sick.

The two things that they say about people who have cancer is: one, they should never be in pain, and two, they should never be alone. Garry took a lot of morphine and was still in some pain. But it was tolerable. The one thing about oncology, and probably the only thing in my opinion, is that they have been "won over" to no pain. And the party made sure that Garry was never alone. From the day Garry was diagnosed, I was never expected or asked to continue with my job—even though it had to be a big strain on the organization and comrades.

Being with Garry was important to him and important to me. There are large parts of terror and fear that another human being can never touch. But we built our own little fragile world. It worked pretty well until September, when life came crashing in.

What the party made possible was giving Garry a real quality of life, for what time he had remaining. One, he didn't have to worry about being evicted, and two, all those wonderful trips Garry and I took.

Going to Florida was very important. They did a thoracotomy on Garry which took him months to recover from. Tony and Brenda were just wonderful people. Garry loved Tony but hadn't seen him for probably 12 years. They opened up their lives to us. We had more privacy in their home than they did. To be able to sit out in the sun and watch nature was very nice.



WV Photo

September 1983, Garry at Spartacist protest against U.S.-sponsored seating of Cambodian Pol Pot regime in UN, part of continuing imperialist vendetta against the Vietnamese Revolution.

Then, all our trips to Montauk—to be able to get away from New York meant being able to leave our house, to get away from the hospital and just watch birds, feed the birds, and listen to the ocean.

The comrades were always available day or night for Garry and myself. That made a huge difference. You guys never cried and we both thank you for that.

The only thing that came easy in Garry's life was that he died in his sleep.

Garry had a tremendous sense of survival which I believe came from the war. I don't know anyone who would have gone through chemotherapy. But he wanted to give it a shot.

Neither Garry or I ever thought life was fair. So, it's never been a question of this wasn't fair. There *is* a real deep feeling of bitterness. But the man still weighed 215 pounds and had his hair, as much as they tried to destroy that.

Garry was a hard man. And he was a good man. I think I had a pretty rare thing in life. He never would have changed places with me—if there could ever be such an option in life.

* * *

Dr. James Curtis

It's a real pleasure for me to be here. As director of psychiatry for Harlem Hospital Center, it was a great pleasure for me to hire Garry, I think it must have been about six years ago now.

He worked on a project that was remarkably close to so many of the other things that I've heard about this afternoon. We were following a group of 150 patients who were being discharged from our psychiatry in-patient service, and we needed to have someone on that team of about a dozen people who could take care of their physical health care needs. That was the special assignment that Garry had, to be in charge of the physical health care case management for this group. We followed those people, not just in and out of the hospital, but all over Harlem and all over New York City, for five years. We worked extremely closely with Garry, in conferences that were held at least once a week.

So I came to know him quite well, and to know of his ability. He was really dedicated and competent and perfectionist. And the deep caring for people, you could just see it. The patients loved him and admired him and looked up to him. But the people with whom he worked, including me, also had such a tremendous feeling of warmth and respect and love for Garry.

I had no idea of the sources of some of his strength, and I'm really pleased to be here this afternoon to hear something of what inspired him and gave him the particular kind of strength of will and determination that he brought.

He also was someone who had the remarkable gift of not being caught up in cliques and factions of people who were wrangling with each other. And you can't be on a team of six or eight people, working with extremely difficult patients, without having people fall into cliques and factions. But remarkably, he never got caught up in either side and kept his eye steadfastly on the mission of our work. He was truly a remarkable man, and my life and all of our lives were made so much the better for having known him.

* * *

Jim Robertson

To Garry's family, coworkers, his friends and his comrades: I did not know Garry nearly well enough. He was, as he described in his own words, a bit asocial. I'm pretty shy, which is a terrible trait in a politician, and there was a generation gap between us.

We began to work together on the Medical Commission. Our party, having observed hospitals and the medical profession, does not let medical doctors serve on the Medical Commission. They serve as consultants. If you're a physicist, a chemist, a pharmacologist, a nurse, or otherwise in some relationship to the health field, you're a member of the commission. I believe our party doctors are very good fellows indeed. But it's a kind of profession that resembles too much the professional officer corps.

I found Garry uniquely suited for finding the right doctor in the right field for a given patient. As things unfolded over the years, I found that he had a fine wry sense of humor, an enormous interest in nature—his concern with photography and birds. I also had the opportunity, at the last possible moment because I did not think it would be very pleasant, to listen to his tape, in his dying days, of goodbye to the comrades.

I've been thinking since Garry died of what one might say, and having listened to his goodbye tape, I know that I have his full authority to make the kind of remarks that I will make, because this is how he felt.

Garry was shaped as an adult by his experiences in the Vietnam War. Garry did not draw pacifistic conclusions. He thought it was a *wrong* war, in which American soldiers were fighting on the *wrong* side. He did believe that there was a valuable quality to be learned through military discipline and responsibility. He was not a hippie.

WV Photo

Garry's meticulous work as party printer enabled Spartacist program to appear in Farsi, Japanese, Turkish-language publications.

That raises another question that's once again come up. General Norman Schwarzkopf claims that American veterans returning from the Vietnam War were spit on by antiwar activists. Now I've known a lot of militant antiwar activists. They never had any desire to spit on returning American soldiers. I never heard of such a thing. This is a version of the Hitler stab-in-the-back myth that "German Jews sold out Germany in the First World War, and that's why we lost, us front-fighters." It was a lie. It's a lie today. What do antiwar activists want to do to the reserves that are being called overseas? Give them one cold bottle of beer before they get hauled into this hellhole—because it's a bad war.

Men are terribly traumatized in good wars, but the great bulk of them come out intact. Both sides believed in the American Civil War, and so whichever side they fought on, you did not have very much post-traumatic stress syndrome, even though they went through bloody hell. When Erich Maria Remarque, a German soldier, wrote *All Quiet on the Western Front*, was he being anti-German by showing that this was a terrible war, killing men on both sides for no good purpose? So it's part of our job as socialists to fight this infamy, where the antiwar elements are supposed to be set up against the guys who are being dragged into the slaughter. Let us look instead at the Schwarzkopfs, their masters.

Beginning with the help of Stalin and now completing with the restoration of capitalism in East Europe, there are again to be two classes: the people in shirts and ties, and the people who clean the toilets. Garry despised that. He believed that all people are equal. And he meant it in the most literal, practical way. In our party, I hope that we've carried that out. Anytime you find somebody who finds that there's some task that's too menial, trivial or degrading, you have somebody who's profoundly an elitist and who believes that they ought to be part of a master class. And Garry felt that too very strongly.

Our organization went for a long time being very, very lucky and we didn't know it. It's been in existence for about 25 years. For the first ten years, nobody died or got really hurt. Then we started getting it. Toni Randell, at the age of 39, cancer; Kim Kilmer in an accident; Alden Cavanaugh, suicide; Noah Wolkenstein, suicide; Clay Dickinson, AIDS; Garry Gianninoto, cancer. We've had other serious problems. These are young people. I can list some old people, who were either old party comrades or who were, if not in close agreement, at least collaborated with us on matters of common interest. But when you get a heart attack at the age of 82 after profound medical complications, that's the way we hope we all leave this world. But in the last years, we have been getting the wrong side of the equation: early and miserable death. And Garry is the latest.

Well, the world is certainly changing. We are witnessing the death agony of the Stalinist takeover of the Russian Revolution. Immediately there's the bourgeoisie saying "Communism is dead." Some fellow in the State Department said "history is dead." Now we have a new war, the consequences of which are incalculable. The world possesses 40,000 hydrogen bombs, and some of them are already in the hands of really crazy people. It's not easy to appreciate moving into a new period. Some of the elements today—except that there's one power, the Americans, who have this vast armament—are reminiscent of pre-1914. You have these very large capitalist powers jockeying for position.

The last good thing that I can recall that happened on this planet was that a force of Angolans and Cubans beat South Africa, threw them out of Angola and assisted in getting rid of the white domination in Namibia. That was back in the Brezhnev era, because there was some residue in foreign policy on the part of the Soviet Union that was not simply to give up in the favor of imperialism. Then there was stalemate in Afghanistan and collapse, and now the Russians are butting out everywhere including inside their own country. So it's not possible to know what is going to happen.

But I know what Garry wanted, and I know what this party is committed to, and that is to struggle for the authentic socialist organization of society. And that remains true even though we are moving into a new period, many of the variables of which are not now known to us. It is necessary to fight.

* * *

Glenn

I had the privilege to know and work with Garry for many years. In many tense and serious situations Garry always stood tall and held his ground.

He paid heavily for being in the Vietnam War, and for being against it. There's discussion on whether Agent Orange is a facilitator of cancer. Of course it's not in the government's interest to make that determination. But Garry was exposed to Agent Orange and he died of lung cancer. He was also forced to live with other scars from Vietnam. He was exposed to and experienced the horrors that you see in war. As a medic, he felt the strong intensity of those horrors and the pain inflicted on soldiers. Post-traumatic stress syndrome burns those horrors into your psyche. Simple, everyday life events retrigger those emotions with similar intensity. That's why it's so debilitating. This made his life harder. It made suffering from his disease harder, particularly since he knew and hated the health system, he saw what was happening to him, and that made it all the harder for him.

As a medical professional, I often worked with Garry on medical problems that arose. We always saw in him a clarity of thought, a demand for accuracy in information, firmness and determination to push things through. He also demonstrated the ability to be lighthearted when that was appropriate, which I think everyone has always appreciated.

I think the most important thing was the trust that he earned from everyone. Comrades always knew they had someone that was in their corner. Whether it was an illness or an accident, Garry was always interested in organizing all the facets because it's not simply medical. There's the personal, financial and political side.

Garry helped to develop the medical component of the anti-Klan demonstrations that we've initiated and organized. Our strategy is to organize the trade-union movement and minority organizations who are targeted by the fascists. The strategy makes us strong. Nonetheless there are risks of violence and attack, not only from the fascists but particularly from the squadrons of cops who have been mobilized to protect them. If Garry was there, he was in charge of the medical component. We needed to be ready for any eventuality and we always have been.

One of Garry's last projects, which you can see in the displays, was his work on preventive health care. The most important thing is simply to stay healthy, in order to stay out of this health care system. But therein lies the contradiction, because in order to stay out of it you have to use it. Garry actually devoted a lot of time to trying to develop advice for people on how to keep themselves healthy.

So I miss him very much as a trusted friend and comrade.

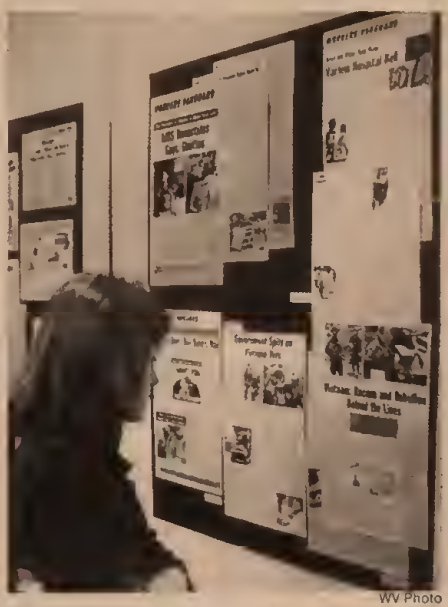
* * *

Bruce

To those who don't know me, I'm a comrade of Garry's. I too wanted to give an example of his marvelous compassion and ability to organize on a moment's notice. When Laurie was pregnant, we learned from the doctor that the baby's chromosomes were scrambled. The doctors refused to issue an opinion as to whether the baby would be born perfectly healthy or brain-dead. In 24 hours' time, Garry had organized an appointment with the top cytogeneticist in the country, who Garry had learned was working in New York. He got another leading doctor, to speak to this scientist, so as to have the authority to get an urgent appointment. It was through that scientist's lab work and professional opinion—which she was willing to give—that we learned that the baby would be perfectly normal. The worst ailment that Sasha's ever had is the flu. That was Garry's doing.

Mindy Gianninoto

In Florida at his brother's house, February 1990.



WV Photo

Through articles in the pages of the Spartacist press, Garry told the searing and painful truth about what U.S. imperialism's dirty war in Vietnam was like, and the hellish medical conditions in America's ghettos.

WV Photo

"KKK, Hit the Road!" Leading chants at 5,000-strong rally that stopped the Klan in Washington, D.C., 27 November 1982. Garry also headed SL medical team to care for demonstrators in case of trouble.

Terror Bombing...

(continued from page 1)

on the Near East and the world.

"Our plan is mathematical and it has its schedule," a particularly dimwitted White House official announced last week. But as Count Helmuth von Moltke the Elder, chief of staff of the Prussian army, observed, "no plan survives contact with the enemy." And on January 29, U.S.-led forces got their first contact with Iraqi troops. An armored column of some 2,000 Iraqi troops swept straight into the high-tech teeth of the American war machine, took the town of Khafji six miles inside Saudi territory, held it for two days and then withdrew with the bulk of its forces intact.

While the brass played up the number of Iraqi tanks destroyed and played down the significance of the battle (like they did after the Vietnamese Tet Offensive in 1968), for the American troops on the ground, it was a sobering shock after weeks of glib, racist propaganda about how the Iraqis would simply collapse in the face of superior U.S. firepower. One Marine helicopter pilot who participated in the recapture of Khafji said afterward: "Nobody who is going to go face-to-face with the Iraqis—cold steel to cold steel—believes it will be a cake walk." Another added, "I wouldn't say this war will be quick. Many people will die."

Many people have already died. But once the ground war starts in earnest, it will no longer be just Iraqi civilians—many Americans will also die. Despite the cutesy codenames like "Razzle-Dazzle" and "Bulldozer" the Pentagon has assigned to its various scenarios for a ground assault, Khafji will seem like a cakewalk compared to what the U.S. is in for with the bloody ground offensive they're preparing. With a battle-hardened and well-armored army, Iraqi soldiers will no doubt exact revenge on the ground for the murderous bombing inflicted on their families over the last month.

Rumens/Reuters

Remains of baby formula factory in Baghdad destroyed by U.S. bombs.

With Iraqi positions well entrenched behind layer after layer of defensive fortifications, ground fighting in Kuwait will be more like the trench carnage of World War I than any war the U.S. has fought since. In his antiwar classic, *All Quiet on the Western Front* (1928), Erich Maria Remarque described the horrors of that war:

> "We see men living with their skulls blown open; we see soldiers run with their two feet cut off, they stagger on their splintered stumps into the next shell-hole; a lance-corporal crawls a mile and a half on his hands dragging his smashed knee after him; another goes to the dressing station and over his clasped hands bulge his intestines; we see men without mouths, without jaws, without faces, we find one man who has held the artery of his arm in his teeth for two hours in order not to bleed to death."

This is what the flag-waving yahoos—financed and organized by Contragate terrorist John Singlaub and right-wing wheeler-dealer Richard Viguerie—are cheering.

Meanwhile, the war is being sold to the American population through the tame media which is "free to report what they're told." *New York Times* correspondent Chris Hedges complained on ABC News (11 February): "You never see any problems, you're never allowed to report, nothing's ever wrong. This entire war has become videotapes of planes always hitting their targets like giant Nintendo games and soldiers up front eating turkey and waving flags. And it's a lie." This lie will be exploded as the body bags start coming home by the hundreds and thousands.

Smart Bombs, Dumb Bombs, War Crimes

"U.S. officials have repeatedly declined to disclose the cumulative tonnage of explosives dropped," notes the *Washington Post* (3 February). Why? Because the astronomical numbers would belie the Pentagon's sanitized picture of the air war as clean, "precision" bombing of strictly "military targets." While media attention has focused on high-tech weapons, Baghdad and especially Basra are being hit by Vietnam-era B-52s. "With B-52s, the emphasis changes from dropping smart bombs worth $1,000 a pound to $1-a-pound dumb bombs" reported the *U.S. News & World Report* (11 February), a bottom line which the rising stock market seems to love.

One report quotes a British defense consultant in Saudi Arabia that "the tonnage of high explosive bombs already released has exceeded the combined allied air offensive of World War II" (London *Times*, 5 February). This may be an overestimate, but not by a hell of a lot. Our own estimate (based on the Pentagon's conservative figure of 2,000 sorties a day and taking into account estimated percentages of those which did not drop bombs) is that the U.S. is dropping at least 16,000 tons a day, a total of a *half million tons* in the first month of war.

This is mass bombing on an unprecedented scale. In four weeks the U.S. has hit Iraq with a quarter of all the bombing tonnage dropped on Germany and German-occupied Europe in all of World War II (2.2 million tons), and in ten days it exceeded the firepower unleashed against Japan (153,000 tons). As Baghdad rightly charged, the U.S. is out to "expel Iraq from the 20th century" (*Washington Post*, 7 February), just as the Americans tried to bomb Vietnam "back to the Stone Age."

A Vietnamese civil engineer in Basra, who lived through the carpetbombing of Haiphong, said: "I thought I was back in Vietnam." The Pentagon has declared the whole city of Basra a "military target," recalling the "free fire" zones of Vietnam. *Los Angeles Times* reporter Mark Fineman described videotapes of the destruction in Basra showing "limbs protruding from piles of residential rubble, dolls strewn atop twisted furniture in what clearly were once homes; bloodied civilians with shrapnel wounds being rushed into hospital emergency rooms; blanket-covered corpses on sidewalks; crumpled swing sets in battered playgrounds."

When CNN's Peter Arnett revealed that the supposed "biological weapons plant" bombed by the Americans made powdered milk and infant formula, he was denounced as a virtual Iraqi agent by Washington. Now an Australian clergyman who visited the devastated factory says: "I walked through the rubble of that plant and I was contaminated with milk powder." Nestlé's said they knew all about the state-owned factory, since they keep tabs on their competition. And the *Washington Post* (8 February) quotes the director of the French company which built the plant: "It would have been impossible to transform this...into the making of chemical products."

U.S. Threatens Nuclear Holocaust

The devastating bombardment of Iraq is justified with the line that it will "save American lives" in the coming ground attack, echoing Truman's justification for the nuclear incineration of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. The arrogant U.S. imperialists claim the right to bomb any country off the face of the planet if they think it will "save American lives" in a criminal invasion.

For the ground offensive, the Pentagon has delivered "fuel-air explosives," which dropped in clusters create a giant fireball

United Front Press

Fort Hood was hotbed of GI protests against Vietnam War. Five hundred GIs march in Killeen, Texas, 25 October 1971.

Fort Hood...

(continued from page 1)

are some cracks in the capitalist war machine. Fort Hood alone has supplied 23,000 Army troops and trained 10,000 Guardsmen for the Gulf War. The head of the Louisiana National Guard is quoted as saying the incident had "a platonn of four-star generals concerned."

Press accounts also talk of "low morale" in Mississippi and Georgia Guard units. Around the U.S., the Military Family Support Network says local groups to aid soldiers who desire to become conscientious objectors are mushrooming. And in Germany, about 100 U.S. soldiers have reportedly left their units, many seeking CO status. A network of German pacifists is sheltering those who refuse to fight Iraq.

Imperialist war sharpens social contradictions at home. Fort Hood, which draws soldiers from across the Deep South, has been a particular focal point. In June 1966 the Fort Hood Three were the first soldiers to publicly refuse orders sending them to Vietnam. In 1968, some 150 black GIs refused to leave base for "riot control" duty against antiwar demonstrators outside the Democratic convention in Chicago. And in 1971, over 500 active-duty troops marched down the streets of Killeen behind a giant banner demanding, "We Want Out Now." Fort Hood was also where the racist Army brass unsuccessfully tried to court-martial baseball star Jackie Robinson in 1944 for refusing to sit in the back of a bus.

Coordinated mass social protest in the army poses a threat to the war in a way that individual refusals to fight do not. When the generals launch their bloodbath on the ground and the body bags start coming into Dover AFB, such protests will spread among the black, Hispanic and poor white troops who are the "cannon fodder" for Bush's New World Order. Drop the charges against the Fort Hood protesters! ■

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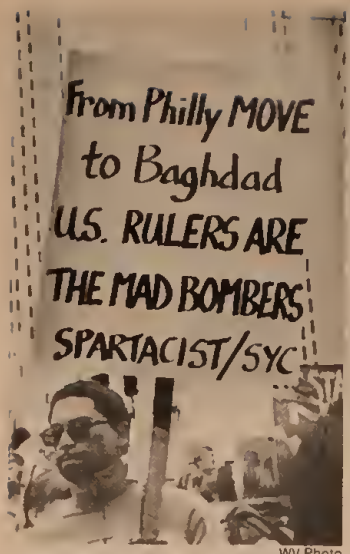

WV Photo

Spartacists march in SF demonstration, January 26.

with the force and fire of a tactical nuclear explosion. In addition, the U.S. has thousands of actual nuclear weapons in the Gulf. The Tomahawk cruise missiles being launched from carriers in the Gulf were in fact armed with nuclear warheads which were replaced with conventional ones. The nuclear tips can easily be placed back on, and each has a yield of up to 150 kilotons. Naval aircraft can carry "tactical" nuclear bombs of up to a 1,000-kiloton yield.

And American spokesmen have already made clear they would have no qualms about unleashing a nuclear holocaust over Iraq. When Cheney was asked on CNN's *Evans & Novak Report* (2 February), "That means we might use tactical weapons, then?" he coyly replied, "It means that we've got a wide spectrum of capabilities." Cheney also gave the Israelis a green light to use their nukes against Baghdad, warning that if Iraq launched chemical weapons against Israel, "the possibility would then exist, certainly with respect to the Israelis, for example, that they might retaliate with unconventional weapons."

To that purpose, the Zionist madmen could certainly manufacture an "Iraqi" C-weapons attack, no doubt one that would land on the occupied West Bank, where 90 percent of the Palestinian population still has not been given gas masks. For all the outcry over Scud attacks, when one missile appeared headed for an Arab village in the West Bank, the Israelis told the American Patriot crew: "Let it go" (*New York Post*, 31 January). With the Washington/Tel Aviv axis aiming at Iraq, the Near East stands a good chance of suffering a regional Armageddon.

In the meantime the Zionist rulers, itching for some Arab blood, have opened a "second front" against Palestinian refugee camps in Lebanon. At least eleven Arabs, including prominent Palestinian journalist Sari Nusseibeh, have been rounded up as "Iraqi spies." And as the U.S. gears up for a bloody ground war, the Zionists gear up for their bloody "Final Solution." Shamir has taken the Moledet party, whose sole program is the mass expulsion of all Palestinians from the Occupied Territories, into the cabinet. This flagrant statement of the Zionist butchers' genocidal intentions angered many even in Shamir's own rightist Likud party.

Arab World in Turmoil

Massive protests are sweeping through all of North Africa and the Near East. After initially threatening to arrest anyone who tried to organize pro-Iraq demonstrations, Morocco's King Hassan—who has 1,200 troops in the U.S.-led coalition—not only permitted but endorsed a massive one-day general strike. Five hundred thousand people surged onto the streets of Rabat with Iraqi and Palestinian flags and banners reading "We are all Iraqis." In Algeria, Tunisia and Egypt high schools and universities have been shut down to prevent student demonstrations. And Iran remains a wild card.

To a large extent, the outpouring of opposition to U.S. imperialism in the region is influenced, if not dominated, by Islamic fundamentalists. But many of these countries, especially in North Africa, have sizable secular leftist movements. Egypt and Turkey have substantial working classes. The memory of previous colonialist and imperialist atrocities is deeply seared into the consciousness of the masses of the Near East, not least Winston Churchill's use of poison gas to quell an anti-colonial uprising in Iraq in 1921, which he said would "spread a lively terror" among the "uncivilised tribes."

In the struggle to crush the imperialist invaders, a revolutionary leadership could channel the anti-imperialist sentiments of the masses toward proletarian-led uprisings to sweep away all the bloody despots in the region—from Teheran to Baghdad to Tel Aviv and beyond. It is the task of the Iraqi working people—Kurds and Arabs, Sunnis and Shi'ites—to drive out the erstwhile imperialist ally Saddam Hussein and the capitalist class rule he represents. Only workers revolution can ensure the national rights of all the peoples in the region—Palestinians, Kurds and Hebrews alike. For a socialist federation of the Near East!

Reuters

Workers at demonstration of 400,000 in Algiers last month for Iraqi victory.

Whose War?

In the wake of the battle of Khafji, the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (10 February) front-page headline read: "The body bags begin to flow." This time, the Pentagon has ordered, there will be no TV cameras waiting when they return, no ceremonies, no flags draped over them. But the families will know, they will still get the dreaded phone call in the middle of the night, as did one family in the South Bronx last week.

Inside one of those body bags was 27-year-old Ismael Cotto Jr., a Puerto Rican who managed to escape the hellish conditions of his South Bronx barrio by enlisting in the Marines. "I think he died unnecessarily," said his distraught 23-year-old sister Maria as she lashed out at the government that sent him to his death:

> "Why are they spending all this money on this stupid war? Why aren't they spending it here? Why aren't they spending it on the children, on the schools, on housing, on factories?...
> "I saw them on television saying they were spending billions on this. I saw them on Wall Street and they were cheering! It was sick. They were cheering, like it was a game. Don't they know it means that people will die? Not them. Not their families. Not their kids. People like my brother. What do they want?"
>
> —*New York Post*, 2 February

Describing the home that Ismael managed to buy for his young wife and three-year-old daughter in California, his brother Carlos said: "He achieved the things he dreamed of, the American dream."

All too cruelly, Ismael Cotto Jr. found out in the end what the American dream really means for blacks and Hispanics and all the dispossessed in this disgustingly racist, capitalist society. "What do they want?" asks Maria Cotto, "To be the best in the world? Well, I don't care if we're the best. I want my brother back. They took him away." If Bush and his class have their way, there will be many, many more Ismael Cottos before this bloody war is over, including hundreds of thousands of Iraqi civilians. This ruling class cares very much whether it's the "best," biggest and bloodiest in the world—that's what its survival depends on.

The dollar declines in value against the D-mark and yen, the U.S. economy is wracked by recession—a "temporary interruption of economic growth" as Bush terms it—while the stock market soars. American capitalism can't produce a decent car, not to mention VCRs, it can't provide education and housing for its population. But it can throw around its military muscle in an attempt to stay top dog of the imperialist pack. "When we win," rants Bush, the world will know "that what we say goes." When "we" win, vows the would-be *Führer* of the "new world order," Japan and Germany "have got to give us access to markets."

Class-Struggle Road to Peace

The left-liberal organizers of the anti-war protests seek to outbid the war criminals in patriotic sloganeering with calls to "support our troops" and displays of yellow ribbons and flag-waving. Ironically, Vietnam vets have taken to wearing orange ribbons, a reminder of the cancer-inducing Agent Orange defoliant that was dumped on the Vietnamese people as well as U.S. troops during the imperialist devastation of Vietnam. Now that the U.S. is sending another generation of youth to be slaughtered, Bush has finally signed legislation acknowledging that Vietnam vets were afflicted by Agent Orange.

As the German-Polish Jewish revolutionary Rosa Luxemburg put it during the carnage of World War I, the alternatives are socialism or barbarism. This could not be clearer than it is today. The imperialist system has spawned two world wars and more than 150 "lesser" wars so far in this century. More than three million people have died in wars since 1979, a million of them in the hideous eight-year-long Iran-Iraq border war in which the U.S. alternately (and sometimes simultaneously) supported both sides. While Bush talks of a "new world order," the reality underlines V.I. Lenin's statement that the imperialist epoch is one of wars and revolutions.

The barbarism of this imperialist system in its death agony must be swept away through revolutionary working-class struggle if humanity is to be spared ever grislier holocausts. A resounding battlefield defeat for the war criminals of Washington and Wall Street, linked to class struggle by workers and minorities at home, can pave the way for ending the horrors of imperialist war once and for all. The working people of this country have the power to bring down this most dangerous enemy of all humanity, the U.S. ruling class. The key to unchaining this power lies in the forging of an internationalist vanguard party committed to the program of socialist revolution.

For labor strikes against the war! Sink U.S. imperialism in the Persian Gulf! Defend Iraq! ■

Eastern ...

(continued from page 2)

came *after* Kirkland, Winpisinger and the Teamsters bureaucrats kept airline and airport workers on the job.

You see, according to the SWP, *workers can't win strikes in this period*:

> "Taking place outside of conditions of generalized resistance or an offensive by the labor movement, the strike accomplished what the relationship of forces between the employers and the working class would today allow. This is its great victory."

The truth is the SWP, following the IAM and AFL-CIO, won't go beyond what the capitalist class, their courts, cops and labor boards will "allow." The Machinists strike could have been the battle that sparked a long-overdue offensive by the working class—*as long as they didn't play by the bosses' rules*. The strikers' determination, the solidarity of workers across the country, a truly evil boss—it was all there, *except* the fighting leadership the strikers deserved.

Real militants who don't buy the SWP's cynical, self-serving reformism must draw the lessons of this betrayal. As we insisted early in the strike (*WV* No. 475, 14 April 1989): "The Eastern strike has posed pointblank the need for class-struggle leadership. Any serious class battle must be waged *politically*, taking on the capitalist labor hoards, no-strike laws and strikebreaking injunctions. This means a fight to take workers' struggles out of the hands of the pro-capitalist labor bureaucracy, ousting these class traitors and forging a workers party to fight for a workers government which will undertake the socialist reindustrialization of America." ■

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Soviet Union...

(continued from page 16)

Soviet peoples living in these republics. For example, the parliaments which declared "independence" were elected on voters' rolls which *exclude* large numbers of Soviet citizens who live in Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia.

The Sajudis regime of Vytautas Landsbergis has demonstrated in the most flagrant way its intent to restore capitalism amid the immiserization of the working class. A Sajudis supporter, Leonid Mlechin, summed up its economic program in the Moscow journal *New Times* (23 October 1990):

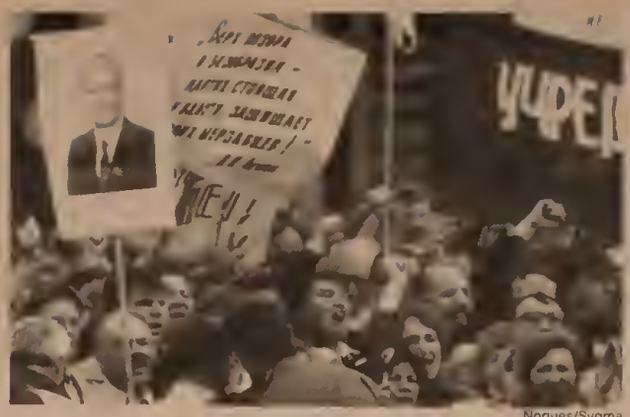
> "Lithuania honours the right to private property and is prepared to give land to people, privatization schemes are being elaborated together with programmes to attract foreign capital....
>
> "Former state enterprises will become either private or joint-stock enterprises. It is forbidden to make factories collective property of their work collectives, this practice is viewed in Lithuania as 'a manifestation of socialist, in particular Soviet ideology, which is incompatible with the Lithuanian model of economic reforms.'
>
> "Prices will be determined on a free market. Losses will never be covered by state subsidies. Goods, currency and securities will be freely exchanged and unemployment offices will appear."

This program could have been, and perhaps was, dictated by the *Wall Street Journal* or London *Economist*.

Just as the Lithuanian nationalists are in the forefront of capitalist counterrevolution, so they are spearheading the imperialist drive to dismember the USSR. In an interview with the *Wall Street Journal* (11 September 1990), Landsbergis called on the NATO powers to launch a new Cold War offensive; "we think that the West is too careful; too careful, not to risk any complications with the Soviets. They could push the Soviets back more strongly, because the Soviets are collapsing and are pulling back from all conquests and this pullback could include the Baltics."

The Sajudis nationalists have deliberately provoked Soviet soldiers and officers stationed in Lithuania. They are taunted in the streets, their children beaten up in the schools, Red Army monuments commemorating the victory over Nazi Germany are destroyed and defaced. The Landsbergis regime has deprived Soviet soldiers of housing and their children of schools. The commander of a paratroop regiment stationed in Kaunas contrasted the Soviet military intervention in Hungary in 1956 and Czechoslovakia in 1968, which he condemned, with the current situation in Lithuania: "There they were putting down democracy. Here there is no democracy. It is a real fascist dictatorship."

The Western bourgeois media depicts the internal opponents of Baltic secession, now organized around "National Salvation Committees," as simply agents or stooges manipulated by Moscow. Yet 20 percent of Lithuania, 40 percent of Latvia and almost half of Estonia consist of Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians and other nationalities. Heavily concentrated in the working class, these people will be the main immediate victims of the drive toward capitalist exploitation. If the Baltic nationalists secede and establish independent states, they will drive out those whom they sneeringly call "Soviet peoples."



Nogues/Sygma

Avakian/Woodfin Camp

Demagogue Boris Yeltsin, longtime Stalinist hack, former Gorbachev lieutenant, is now hero of forces which openly seek to restore capitalism and dismember the Soviet Union.

That is why Moscow has a substantial base of support in the Baltic republics. This is seen even by the *Wall Street Journal* (17 January), which cites Galina Mkhitaryan, a Byelorussian assembly-line worker at a Vilnius appliance factory, who describes the Landsbergis regime as "a totalitarian system." Last April Mrs. Mkhitaryan and her fellow worker militants formed the Civilian Committee, which became part of the National Salvation Committee in Lithuania.

A week before the crackdown in Vilnius in mid-January, there were large-scale demonstrations by Russians, Poles and also ethnic Lithuanians against the Sajudis regime's plans to raise prices between *200 and 800 percent!* The price increases were immediately rescinded and the prime minister Kazimiera Prunskiene was forced to resign. She was then replaced by a more extreme nationalist and "free marketeer." These protests point to the possibility of uniting the multinational working class against the forces of bloody counterrevolution from Vilnius to Moscow.

Behind Gorbachev's "Conservative" Turn

When Gorbachev denounced the Landsbergis regime for seeking to restore "the bourgeois system," the London *Guardian* (11 January) commented acidly: "This old Marxist-Leninist term is one not heard from Mr. Gorbachev for many a long year—though it has been frequently used by his most conservative critics to denounce his attempt to introduce a market economy in the rest of the Soviet Union."

Der Spiegel

Gorbachev with Bush in Malta, December 1989; "New thinking" means appeasement of imperialism, from abandonment of Afghanistan to support of U.S. war against Iraq.

The Western bourgeois media is acting as if Gorbachev has betrayed his promises and even his own principles. But is that in fact so? Imperialist ideologues and their "democratic" Soviet protégés invariably link capitalist restoration to the breakup of the USSR along national lines. However, there is nothing inherent or necessary in such a linkage. Historically, it is possible—although admittedly unlikely—for the Soviet Union to be transformed into a capitalist state while preserving its present boundaries. Insofar as Gorbachev has a coherent program, this is the direction in which he is moving. Thus his new economic policy, announced in mid-October, calls for *both* "speedy progress on the road to the market economy" and "a renewed federative and strong Union." Translating this program from paper to the real world is altogether another matter.

Gorbachev's current turn is not simply a reaction to the provocations of the Baltic secessionists. It is also a response to the campaign against him by the "democratic" opposition now led by Boris Yeltsin from his power base as president of the Russian republic. At the end of August, Yeltsin spokesmen announced agreement on a "radical" new program worked out by Gorbachev's economic advisers, notably Stanislav Shatalin, for transforming the USSR into a full-fledged market economy. Housing would be privatized, agricultural land sold to peasant smallholders and at least 70 percent of industrial enterprises denationalized—all *in 500 days*. Real power of economic decision-making would be transferred from the central government to the various republics (see "Smash Yeltsin/Gorbachev 500-Day Plan!" *WV* No. 510, 21 September 1990).

The prime minister Nikolai Ryzhkov opposed this, while Gorbachev himself waffled for weeks. Finally, he backed away from the Shatalin plan for fear of triggering a mass explosion. In mid-October Gorbachev offered a new economic program which had the *same goals* as the Shatalin plan but without the forced-march timetable. It called for "denationalization and privatization" through the auctioning of state property, "including the incomplete construction projects, uninstalled equipment, construction materials, means of transportation, enterprises and shops, food and service outlets." It also specified that "Foreign firms can operate on the domestic market on an equal basis."

Had Mr. Perestroika come out with this economic platform a year earlier, it would have been hailed by Wall Street, the City of London and Frankfurt as a bold step toward "free markets," private property and the decentralization of the Soviet state. But now the "500-day" plan was viewed by the imperialist bourgeoisie and its Russian agents as a litmus test of the Soviet president's commitment to capitalist restoration. When Gorbachev rejected this, he came under heavy fire from the pro-Western "democrats" encouraged by their foreign godfathers.

Yeltsin threatened that the Russian republic would issue its own currency and establish its own armed forces, while pushing ahead with its own "free market" economic program. At the same time, Yeltsin demanded that Gorbachev dishand the central Soviet government and replace it with a "government of national unity" including himself and other leading anti-Communists. This campaign was taken up by prominent intellectuals like Oleg Bogomolov and Tatyana Zaslavskaya who had been among the main ideologues of perestroika.

Soviet Pilots Refuse to Transport German Rockets

On February 8 a chartered Soviet air freighter arrived at the Bonn-Köln airport to pick up a German "Roland" antiaircraft defense system and its Bundeswehr crew. But when the Soviet pilots found out that the cargo was to be delivered to southeastern Turkey, for use against Iraq in the present war, they refused to take off. The captain also refused to speak with the Soviet ambassador. Over the weekend there were hourly radio reports as the plane sat on the runway. The Kohl government insisted it had paid good D-marks to lease the giant Antonov freighter, one of the few planes large enough to hold the "Roland." (U.S. Galaxys are hooked up for the Gulf War.) But on Saturday, Gorbachev declared that Moscow was unhappy over the U.S. military operations, and the next day the Soviet news agency TASS officially stated that Soviet planes would henceforth not be allowed to carry weapons to crisis areas.

During the standoff, our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) issued a statement (translated below) solidarizing with the action of the Soviet pilots:

"The SpAD hails the refusal of Soviet pilots to carry Roland rockets to the Bundeswehr at Dyabarkir, in Turkish Kurdistan. The NATO-backed and widely hated Özal dictatorship has leaped into the U.S./NATO war of mass murder against the Iraqi people with designs on the oil fields of Kirkuk and Mosul. The Luftwaffe unit there is part of NATO's mobile strike force, a dagger directed against the Soviet Union. The Kohl government has declared that defense of Turkey is required for reasons of alliance, raising the possibility of direct intervention of the Bundeswehr together with the rest of NATO.

"With the defense of Iraq against murderous imperialism directly posed, the Soviet Union backed first the U.S.-ordered UN blockade to starve Iraq, and then the U.S./NATO mass slaughter. This imperialist adventure to make the Pentagon cops of the world and to plunder and redivide the region's resources endangers the Soviet Union itself and brings the world closer to world war. U.S. war minister Cheney declared the land of October remains Enemy Number One. We say: 'Defeat U.S./NATO imperialism in the Gulf! Defend Iraq!' Your courageous action is a concrete measure in defense both of the Soviet Union and Iraq against imperialism, and is an inspiration to the international working class."

ISO...

(continued from page 5)

The ISO has eagerly built an aptly named front group, "Chicago Campuses Against War" or "CCAW" (read: seesaw). Now it looks like they may have created their own Frankenstein and spawned a group that's even too right-wing for them. At a February 3 CCAW meeting, the ISO scrambled to squash a proposal by the liberals they attracted to decorate Chicago campuses with blue and yellow ribbons (blue for "peace," yellow for "support our troops") and launch a *blood drive for U.S. troops!* The same meeting was crashed by anti-communist anarchists who were hilarious in spoofing the ISO's bureaucratic opportunism. One sported a circus ringmaster's costume and raised a sign reading "Welcome to the Zoo" while others passed out animal crackers and a satirical leaflet:

> "CSAW members come from a broad variety of political perspectives and points of view, but we are united in our membership in the ISO. We agree to work together around four points of unity. Dissidents out of CSAW—No intervention in the CSAW hierarchy—No Democracy—Recruit at home and abroad.... Jump on the C-SAW!"

In their efforts to ride whatever wave may be popular at the moment, the ISO has hailed "movements" that would make even a reactionary blush. In 1979 the ISO supported the ayatollah Khomeini's "Islamic revolution" in Iran—a revolution that put women in veils, leftists in jails and killed countless thousands of Kurds and Communists. They swung back and forth over the squalid Iran/Iraq border war, first hypocritically denouncing the Iranian left's "fatal support for the mullahs at the outbreak of the war" (*SW*, October 1987) and then insisting that there was "no choice but to support the Khomeini regime against the U.S. and its allies" (*SW*, February 1988).

The ISO wouldn't recognize the class line if they tripped over it—which they do, regularly. In the winter of 1984-85 Britain was convulsed by the militant coal miners strike. All sectors of society—leftist students, steel workers, blacks and Asian immigrants, gays and women—united in active solidarity with the miners because they saw the strike as the spearhead of a fight to bring down the vicious Thatcher government. But the British SWP incredibly declared: "The miners' strike is an extreme example of what we in the Socialist Workers Party have called the 'downturn' in the movement" (*Socialist Review*, April 1984).

The sellout Labour Party tops worked overtime against solidarity in action by other unionists who were eager to be called out on strike with the miners. As miners battled cops and scabs in the pits and villages throughout Britain, Tony Cliff, the ISO's British mentor, boasted at an SWP public meeting in London on 23 August 1984: "We have steelworkers in Redcar who cross picket lines. We have three steelworkers in Scunthorpe, they cross picket lines. We have a steelworker in Ravenscraig who crosses picket lines. We have a steelworker in Llanwern who crosses picket lines."

State Department "Socialists"

The problem for the ISO is that they have a wildly twisting weathervane where communists need a good backbone. Crisscrossing the class line is the defining political characteristic and origins of their organization. They crossed it decisively at the height of the Cold War when defending the Soviet Union became unpopular. The Cliffites abandoned defense of the Soviet Union—putting forward the ridiculous theory that the USSR is "state-capitalist"—and haven't known which way is up since. Ironically, the "we hate Russia" ISO employs every despicable practice that Stalinism brought into the workers movement—from physical violence against Trotskyists to building illusions in "democratic" capitalism and building popular fronts while duplicitously "boring from within."

Since 1917, when the Russian workers and peasants under the leadership of the Bolsheviks smashed the power of the capitalist class and instituted a workers state for the first time in history, the "Russian question" has been the litmus test for any organization that lays claim to Marxism. Although the gains of the revolution have been corroded by decades of Stalinist bureaucratic misrule, the imperialists have not given up on their drive to reconquer that lost market for capitalist exploitation. We Trotskyists fight to defend the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution while struggling to oust the bureaucrats and restore workers democracy.

As Trotsky wrote:

> "The workers' state must be taken as it has emerged from the merciless laboratory of history and not as it is imagined by a 'socialist' professor, reflectively exploring his nose with his finger. It is the duty of revolutionists to defend every conquest of the working class even though it may be distorted by the pressure of hostile forces. Those who cannot defend old positions will never conquer new ones."
>
> —*In Defense of Marxism*

"Old positions" were junked rather than defended by Tony Cliff when the Cold War burned red hot over Korea. As in the Persian Gulf today, the U.S. fought the Korean War under the cover of the United Nations flag. *Three million* Koreans were slaughtered and the countryside was reduced to a moonscape. Cliff refused to take an elementary stand in defense of the North Korean deformed workers state—instead he split from the Trotskyist movement. The ISO traces its origins to this, and in every conflict since, where the imperialists have sought to "roll back Communism"—from Poland to Afghanistan to Eastern Europe and the Baltics today—the ISO has stood in the camp of U.S. imperialism.

Only the fact of Soviet nuclear capability deterred the U.S. from using nuclear weapons in Vietnam. Today it is precisely the collapse of Stalinist rule in East Europe and the deepening crisis in the Soviet Union, as Gorbachev goes all out to appease imperialism—from the withdrawal from Afghanistan to the handing over of East Germany to capitalism and the "Fourth Reich"—that has emboldened the U.S. to launch its bloody adventure in the Near East.

The destruction being wrought by U.S. imperialism in the Persian Gulf is opening many young people's eyes to the horrors and injustices inherent in this so-called "democracy." Nothing short of a fundamental change in the class rule of this society will eliminate this system of war, racism and exploitation. To pretend otherwise is simply a lie. It is the working class which has the power to bring this rotten system down. Anti-imperialism abroad means class struggle at home! As Trotsky's biographer Isaac Deutscher once told an audience of Vietnam antiwar activists, he'd trade all the peace marches for just one good dock strike against the war.

We take as our watchword Trotsky's injunction to "speak the truth to the masses." Antiwar militants should join the revolutionary youth organization whose program provides a basis for linking this struggle with the social power of the working class against the capitalist system. Join the Spartacus Youth Clubs! ■

Abbas/Gamma-Liaison

Socialist Worker

February 1979

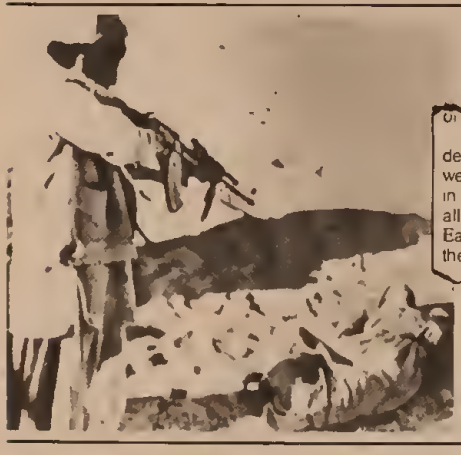
streets, dressed however they wished.

Iranian women are on the threshold of a freedom denied them for years.

Thousands have been involved in the fight to oust

ISO hailed Khomeini's rise to power in Iran which put women in veils, leftists in jails, and thousands in the grave. "Socialist-feminist" ISO claimed the oppressive veil was a symbol of resistance to imperialism!

DPA



Socialist Worker

May 1988

Just as socialists welcomed the defeat of the U.S in Vietnam, we welcome the defeat of the Russians in Afghanistan. It will give heart to all those inside the USSR and in Eastern Europe who want to break the rule of Stalin's heirs.

But this does not erase every

ISO supported CIA-aided *mujahedin* cutthroats in Afghanistan. When Gorbachev criminally ordered Soviet withdrawal, ISO cheered.

In mid-December a special economic commission appointed by the world bankers cartel (International Monetary Fund, World Bank, et al.) "recommended" that the Soviet Union carry out a Polish-style "shock treatment"—a freeze on wages, an end to price controls and subsidies, the closure of unprofitable enterprises and privatization of state-owned property. Shortly thereafter, Yeltsin attempted his own economic "shock treatment" by threatening to cut back by *90 percent* the Russian republic's contribution to the central Soviet budget!

Faced with the political offensive and provocations of the Yeltsin-led "democrats," amid mounting nationalist unrest and economic chaos, Gorbachev turned for support to the old-time Stalinist apparatchiks whom he previously downgraded and even abused. He replaced the "liberal" minister of the interior with a hardliner, Boris Pugo. Appointed as Pugo's deputy was Colonel General Boris Gromov, the last Soviet commander in Afghanistan, who as such is especially hated and feared by pro-imperialist forces. Gorbachev pushed through as his new vice president an undistinguished party hack. Likewise, his new prime minister.

However, Gorbachev's "conservative" turn is of a quite *limited* character. The dismantling of the socialized economy is continuing *at an accelerated pace*. In October a presidential decree allowed foreign multinationals to own 100 percent of Soviet enterprises and repatriate their profits in hard currency. In January another presidential decree set aside 16,000 square miles of agricultural land to be leased to private farmers. No tumultuous debates on these issues were allowed in the Congress of People's Deputies.

Gorbachev's latest economic "reform" is to make the working people, including the poorest sections, pay for years of gross bureaucratic mismanagement. Ever since the late Brezhnev period, successive Kremlin regimes have pumped billions of rubles into the economy while seeking to freeze the prices of consumer goods sold in state shops. The result is an extreme case of suppressed hyperinflation with empty state shops and extortionate prices in private markets. The mass of unspendable rubles hoarded in savings banks, cupboards and mattresses is at least equal to the annual wage bill.

The Gorbachev regime has now *confiscated* part of these forced savings by abolishing large 50- and 100-ruble bills while restricting withdrawals from savings accounts. The government claims that in doing so it is only going after the illegal earnings of black marketeers and speculators. But big-time private operators and, of course, well-placed government functionaries have *already* transformed their surplus rubles into foreign currency or real goods. Everyone in the world knows the Soviet Union is about to experience unsuppressed inflation. Official consumer prices are scheduled to rise 50 to 70 percent this year. The main victims of the currency "reform" are working people, especially old-age pensioners, many of whom do not trust putting their money in savings banks. Perhaps they remember how Stalin confiscated their savings after World War II.

Gorbachev's continuing attacks on Soviet working people internally are coupled with his continuing appeasement of Western imperialism globally. After Shevardnadze's dramatic resignation, Moscow went out of its way to assure Washington there would be no change in the "new thinking" in foreign policy, especially support for the U.S. war against Iraq. A few weeks ago, Shevardnadze's protégé and successor as foreign minister, Aleksandr Bessmertnykh, issued a joint statement with U.S. secretary of state James Baker maintaining that: "The military actions authorized by the United Nations have been provoked by the refusal of the Iraqi leadership to comply with the clear and lawful demands of the international community for withdrawal from Kuwait."

Restoring the independence of the filthy rich sheikdom of Kuwait is but a pretext for American imperialism to seize the Persian Gulf oil fields and reassert its role as cops of the world. If the U.S. defeats and occupies Iraq after a big, bloody war, Washington will be greatly emboldened in its aim of dismembering the Soviet Union in the name of Bush's "new world order." The Soviet working people must link the defense and regeneration of the collectivized economy, the restoration of workers democracy, to the struggle against imperialist militarism on a world scale.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

WORKERS VANGUARD

Pro-Imperialist "Democrats," Hardliners and Gorbachev

Where Is the Soviet Union Going?

"The West's Gorbachev honeymoon ends," proclaims the London *Guardian*. The London *Economist* writes of "The Rise and Fall of Perestroika." "No Aid for a Repressive Moscow," lectures the *New York Times*. The West European Common Market suspended $1 billion in aid and the Bush White House canceled a scheduled summit in Moscow to show their displeasure at Gorbachev's crackdown against the Lithuanian

PART ONE OF TWO

secessionists who want to join the capitalist "free world" right now. As the *New York Times* complained: "This is where Mikhail S. Gorbachev has drawn the line."

Moscow's actions against the Baltic separatists, which so distress the Western imperialists, come in the context of a turn by the Gorbachev regime to shore up the disintegrating existing system. Mr. Perestroika now increasingly calls for law, order and discipline. The KGB has been instructed to crack down on illegal profiteering and "economic sabotage." Army troops have joined the police in patrolling major Soviet cities. Meanwhile, Gorbachev's once closest cothinkers and fellow "new thinkers" have gone by the wayside and been replaced by old-line Stalinist apparatchiks. In December foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze, described as NATO's best ally in the Kremlin, resigned, darkly prophesying, "A dictatorship is approaching."

Clearly, a turn of some sort has occurred. But how decisive and permanent is it? Has Gorbachev abandoned his "reform" program and is he now seeking to restore strict Stalinist order? Is this even possible in any event? What are the prospects for a military coup, for a civil war? In short, where is the Soviet Union going?

Gamma

SHOWDOWN IN VILNIUS: Soviet troops outside Lithuanian parliament. Crisis of Stalinism paves the way for capitalist restorationists, reactionary secessionists.

The crackdown against Baltic separatists and the law-and-order turn is but an *episode* in the terminal crisis of Stalinist rule in the USSR. The Kremlin bureaucratic elite is disintegrating and tending to polarize. On one side are the pampered children of Stalin's apparatchiks who want to live like American or German yuppies. These "free marketeers" want to sell off the factories, mines and oil fields—built by the sweat and blood of the workers—to Wall Street and the Frankfurt banks, and pocket the proceeds. They call themselves "democrats."

On the other side are conservative Stalinist apparatchiks, military men and KGB operatives who want to return to the days when they gave the orders and everyone kowtowed, when no one questioned their right to a dacha, ZIL limousine and the other privileges of the ruling caste (the *nomenklatura*). They now appeal to Great Russian nationalism and even vile anti-Semitic demagogy. They call themselves "patriots."

What is missing in the present ideological division is the Soviet working class. While the October Revolution has been eclipsed in the political consciousness of the masses, working people take for granted the tangible gains of October: the right to a job, cheap food, subsidized housing, free medical care and schools for their children. And these gains are under attack by all wings of the bureaucracy.

Everyone is expecting strikes and mass protests against the impending sharp price increases planned by the Gorbachev regime. Working-class struggles in defense of social equality and the emergence of an authentic Leninist pole of attraction would shatter the present alignments within the bureaucracy and intelligentsia. Some intellectuals who now support the "democratic" opposition and also many Soviet-patriotic military men would come over to the side of the embattled masses. At the same time, some "free marketeers" would bloc with hardline Stalinists in seeking to suppress workers' resistance.

The Soviet working people must cut through the false polarization between the "democrats" and the "patriots," each in their own way heirs of the parasitic and reactionary Stalinist bureaucracy. The forces driving for the restoration of capitalism can and must be defeated, socialized property must be maintained and revitalized by the working class taking *political power on the basis of soviet democracy* as was established by the 1917 October Revolution.

Today many Soviet working people rightly fear that the breakup of the USSR will ignite bloody nationalist strife (as now in the Caucasus), while the remnants will become semi-colonies of Western imperialism. The multinational Soviet state can be preserved and regenerated on a socialist basis only through genuine equality and justice for all its peoples. This requires returning to the proletarian internationalism of the Bolsheviks, who resolutely combatted all forms of nationalism, including and especially Great Russian chauvinism.

Der Spiegel

Spartacist

Gorbachev's perestroika has produced economic chaos. Left: Empty shelves in Moscow bread store. Right: Homeless erect tents behind Red Square.

Lithuanian Sajudis in the Vanguard of Counterrevolution

As Leninists and internationalists, we stand for the democratic reorganization of the Soviet Union and for the right of any nationality with a leadership that *opposes* counterrevolution to withdraw to any extent it sees fit. However, the Baltic separatists mean to carry out a bloody capitalist counterrevolution. Behind their appeals to "democratic" rights, they have pursued viciously *anti*-democratic, indeed racist, policies toward the non-Baltic

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Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky! For a Socialist Union of Soviet Republics!

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 521 1 March 1991

American Blitzkrieg— Bush's "New Order"

FEBRUARY 26—After five weeks of terrorizing the civilian population from the air, the U.S. launched its invasion of Iraq, billed as a "lightning strike" like Hitler's Blitzkrieg against Poland. Like Hitler, George Bush glories in the use of overwhelming military force against an outclassed opponent to impose the American Reich's "new world order" on the region and the globe.

From the outset, Washington cynically spurned every offer of negotiations with Iraqi strongman Saddam Hussein. In the week before the ground war began—"on schedule" according to a timetable planned long before—the U.S. rejected outright Iraq's offers of withdrawal from Kuwait. Nothing less than Hussein's head would do—Bush wants scalps.

To secure their domination, America's rulers demand blood, the blood of tens of thousands of Iraqi soldiers and civilians. And the U.S. president wants the American army bloodied as well, to turn it into a killer force and prepare the American population for grislier bloodbaths ahead.

While keeping up a constant barrage of made-in-Riyadh tales of Iraqi atrocities, and the putative threat of Iraqi chemical warfare, the Americans used napalm, white phosphorus and fuel-air bombs which create an enormous fireball. And U.S. spokesmen repetitively hinted they would use "tactical" nuclear weapons.

As we go to press, it's impossible to get a picture of the military situation from behind the thick fog of self-congratulatory Pentagon war propaganda. The airwaves are saturated with images of armor racing across the desert and Iraqi soldiers rounded up by the thousands with almost no American casualties. Disgustingly racist military videotapes show dark-skinned Arab POWs kissing the hands of their white captors. TV anchormen compete with each other in "Go team" cheerleading.

An Iraqi Scud missile finally hit a military target, landing on a U.S. barracks in Dhahran, killing 28 and injuring 100. There have been reports of "fierce" tank battles, including a daylong clash at the Kuwait City airport which left the Iraqis in place at nightfall. The U.S. claims to have 100,000 troops on the Euphrates River cutting off Republican Guard concentrations in southern Iraq.

Bush declares that Hussein's order to pull out of Kuwait is irrelevant—the war goes on, even against withdrawing units of the Iraqi army. This is hardly the "mother of all battles" that Saddam Hussein vowed to wage. But if the U.S. forces bottle up elite Iraqi units and demand a groveling surrender, there could still be some bloody fighting.

Never has the U.S. media been so tightly controlled, and so willingly submissive to government *Diktat*. The first shred of truth to come out of the Pentagon in months was Cheney's announcement after the start of the ground offensive that the American people would be told nothing about the actual state of the fighting. The German population under the Nazis got more accurate news about World War II than Americans are getting today.

If George Bush has acted true to form as an imperialist warmonger, first prize for perfidy must go to Mikhail Gorbachev, who turned his back on the Soviets' Iraqi client and wheedled and cajoled Hussein to agree to each and every humiliating ultimatum from Washington. When Baghdad agreed to the latest Soviet plan and the White House declared this unacceptable, Moscow turned around and denounced the Iraqis. And after this treachery, they now have a triumphalist imperialist military juggernaut strutting its stuff a few hundred miles from the Soviet southern border.

George Bush, Baby Killer

Estrade/AFP

February 13: Baghdad shelter massacre. See article, page 4.

It is not lost on the Soviet general staff that the Pentagon is now carrying out its AirLand Battle military strategy designed for an offensive strike against the Soviet Union. A worried *Pravda* writes, "The war is waged first of all to satisfy the ambitions of the U.S. to achieve sole leadership of the world." It dawns on the thick-skulled Stalinist bureaucrats in the Kremlin...a little late. We Trotskyists have been saying for months that the U.S. was intent on war to impose its imperialist hegemony.

The International Communist League took a clear stand from the outset against the imperialist attack and in defense of Iraq. We have no truck with the *rais* (chief) of Baghdad, Saddam Hussein, the killer of Kurds, Communists and oil workers. This former U.S. ally is getting the same treatment Washington metes out to all its lackeys who step out of line, from Trujillo to Diem to Panama's Noriega. And like in Panama, if Bush has his way, they'll just install a more pliant puppet ruler in Baghdad. But if the U.S. rolls over Iraq with impunity, it will make this world a much more dangerous place. The White House has its hit list ready.

A cocksure imperialist colossus on the loose, with a fresh taste of blood and its pumped-up "Top Gun" war machine, is a deadly danger to all humanity. Reagan and Bush set their sights on overcoming the "Vietnam syndrome"—in the process they could set off a chain of events leading to a nuclear World War III.

Hitler also was emboldened by his first Blitzkrieg successes but soon found himself overextended, and ultimately crushed. The American military colossus rests on foundations that cannot sustain it. Even a Henry Kissinger warns that "U.S. pre-eminence cannot last.... Nor can the U.S. economy indefinitely sustain a policy of essentially unilateral global interventionism" (*Los Angeles Times*, 24 February). It is up to the international proletariat, first and foremost the American working class, to bring down by revolutionary class struggle this imperialist ruling class bent on war.

Would-Be Rulers of the World

The Pentagon and White House war hawks can barely contain their jubilation at the course of events. But, as we asked earlier, if they win, what have they won? Do they slog through Mesopotamia to Baghdad, or slice off southern Iraq to be traded for "reparations"? Meanwhile, the slaughter of Iraqi civilians and soldiers has provoked fury from Arab protesters throughout the region. Already there have been three days of escalating protests in Cairo in which two students have been killed by police.

Among the first victims of the U.S. war are the Palestinian people. In the West Bank and Gaza they have been

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The Hidden History of U.S. Terror Bombing

SEE PAGE SIX

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Free Sari Nusseibeh!

David Silliffe

Prominent Palestinian spokesman Sari Nusseibeh, imprisoned by Israeli government.

On January 29, prominent Palestinian spokesman and philosophy professor Sari Nusseibeh was arrested by the Israeli government on bogus espionage charges. With supreme *chutzpah*, the Zionists accused Nusseibeh of informing Iraq as to the location of its Scud strikes *while he was under house arrest* along with the rest of the Palestinian population of the Occupied Territories. When the espionage charges exploded in the Zionists' face, they labeled him a "security risk" and ordered him held for three months under the Administrative Detention Act. This police-state measure was inherited from the British Mandate.

In January the Israeli government also arrested Taher Shriteh, an officially accredited journalist who works as a stringer for Reuters, the *New York Times*, CBS News, the BBC and Voice of America. Shriteh is one of at least 30 Palestinian journalists being held under administrative detention—without charges, trial or any rights. Shriteh was picked up for "assisting" the Islamic fundamentalist Hamas group by translating its leaflets to the international press—information which regularly appears in Israeli newspapers.

The government only announced its allegations after holding Shriteh for three weeks in a cell measuring 60 by 30 inches. At his bail hearing on February 18, Shriteh broke into tears as he described his Israeli prison hell: "They tortured me. They held me in solitary confinement for eleven days. They gave me no food for four days and wouldn't let me go to the bathroom." Military prosecutor Lt. Oded Savorey argued that "continuing the investigation" meant that Shriteh must be locked up indefinitely, so "he will tell us more things."

On February 21 the Partisan Defense Committee protested the arrests to the Israeli embassy, and pointed out that Nusseibeh's detention "under patently false espionage charges illustrates the government's intent to eliminate from public view even the most moderate spokesmen for Palestinian rights. This comes in the context of the Zionist state's gearing up for a genocidal 'final solution' of the Palestinian question by a forced population transfer from the Occupied Territories."

Also locked up in jail is Mordechai Vanunu, the courageous nuclear technician sentenced to 18 years in solitary for exposing the extent of Israel's deadly nuclear arsenal. As the Zionist butchers ready their Nazi-like resolution of the Palestinian question, they also may just plunge the world into a thermonuclear holocaust. Vanunu's service in warning the world's working people must not be forgotten. Free Mordechai Vanunu! Free Sari Nusseibeh, Taher Shriteh and all victims of Zionist state repression! Defend the Palestinians! Israel out of the Occupied Territories!

* * *

For years the largely black MOVE organization has been the target of the most brutal cop terror and repression. The "American way of life" for which Bush ordered the massive bombing of the Iraqi peoples was epitomized by the barbaric bombing of the MOVE house on 13 May 1985—eleven black people burned to death, five of them children. That massacre, ordered by black Democratic mayor Wilson Goode and bearing the signature of the Reagan years, was a message to all who step out of line in racist, capitalist America.

Thirteen MOVE members remain in jail for defending themselves against racist terror. Ramona Africa has done six years for being the sole adult survivor of the May 13 holocaust. Repeatedly, the vindictive Pennsylvania Parole Board has refused to even consider parole to any MOVE member or supporter unless they first agree to the "special condition" to *never* associate with any other member of MOVE. On January 29, MOVE supporter Richard Garland asked to see a Parole Board representative in the hopes of obtaining a new hearing. His answer came the same day: "If you are willing to comply with the stipulation imposed on you by the Board, i.e., remain separate from other MOVE members, then we can schedule you for a board appearance." Garland declined.

But in a surprising turnabout, two days later the Board recommended parole for MOVE member Carlos Africa. Carlos was convicted in 1981 on charges stemming from the May 1977 "guns on the porch day" demonstration to protest the arrest of Chuck Africa. He is due to receive his "green sheet" authorizing release within weeks. We caution that Carlos is not yet free. State authorities have lied to and about MOVE incessantly. And we know that Carlos' only "crime," like all his MOVE brothers and sisters, was to defend their alternative lifestyles and dignity as human beings against racist cop attacks.

The workers movement must not forget that 12 MOVE members besides Carlos remain behind bars, that MOVE supporter Mumia Abu-Jamal is fighting for his life on Huntingdon Prison's death row. All opponents of racist terror and defenders of democratic rights must not rest until they are released from prison bondage. Free all the imprisoned MOVE members and supporters! Save Mumia Abu-Jamal!

* * *

For 20 years Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa (David Rice) has been fighting for his freedom against a racist COINTELPRO frame-up. Mondo and Ed Poindexter, former leaders of the Omaha, Nebraska Committee to Combat Fascism and Black Panther Party supporters, were framed on charges of killing a cop in a 1970 bomb explosion. Fifteen months ago a federal district court denied Mondo's *habeas corpus* petition challenging the legality of his frame-up conviction. On November 14, oral argument of Mondo's appeal was held in the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals. No decision has been issued.

Mondo's appeal attacks the COINTELPRO frame-up. At least five volumes of FBI papers document the government's vendetta against this small Panther outpost in Nebraska, and confirm that the cops concealed from Mondo and Poindexter evidence favorable to their defense. As prosecutor Art O'Leary said 20 years ago, where Mondo and Poindexter are concerned, "it doesn't make any difference what the truth is."

Mondo recently wrote the PDC appealing for letters to be sent to the Court. On January 24, we wrote, "It would be a crime to make this innocent man spend another day behind bars. We join with many around the world who have called for David Rice's freedom." Send your letters to: U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit, 1114 Market Street, Suite 511, St. Louis, MO 63101. Free Mondo and Poindexter!

* * *

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

TROTSKY

U.S. Imperialism— Would-Be Dictator of the World

LENIN

In its drive to assert unchallenged control over global oil supplies and through that over the world itself, the bankrupt U.S. empire is waging a war of annihilation against semicolonial Iraq. In this conflict, the working people must seek the defeat of the imperialists and stand for the defense of Iraq. At the outset of the second inter-imperialist world war, Leon Trotsky laid out the Marxist position on wars between imperialist powers and semicolonial countries.

The industrial, financial, and military strength of the United States, the foremost capitalist power in the world, does not at all insure the blossoming of American economic life, but on the contrary, invests the crisis of her social system with an especially malignant and convulsive character. Gold in the billions cannot be made use of, nor can the millions of unemployed! In the theses of the Fourth International, *War and the Fourth International*, published six years ago, it was predicted:

"U.S. capitalism is up against the same problems that pushed Germany in 1914 on the path of war. The world is divided? It must be redivided. For Germany it was a question of 'organizing Europe.' The United States must 'organize' the world. History is bringing humanity face to face with the volcanic eruption of American imperialism."...

Official patriotism is a mask for the exploiting interests. Class conscious workers throw this mask contemptuously aside. They do not defend the bourgeois fatherland, but the interests of the toilers and the oppressed of their own country and of the entire world....

In the colonial and semicolonial countries the struggle for an independent national state, and consequently the "defense of the fatherland," is different in principle from that of the imperialist countries. The revolutionary proletariat of the whole world gives unconditional support to the struggle of China or India for national independence, for this struggle, by "tearing the backward peoples from Asiatism, sectionalism, and foreign bondage,...strike[s] powerful blows at the imperialist states."

At the same time, the Fourth International knows in advance and openly warns the backward nations that their belated national states can no longer count upon an independent democratic development. Surrounded by decaying capitalism and enmeshed in the imperialist contradictions, the independence of a backward state inevitably will be semi-fictitious, and its political regime, under the influence of internal class contradictions and external pressure, will unavoidably fall into dictatorship against the people—such is the regime of the "People's" party in Turkey, the Kuomintang in China; Gandhi's regime will be similar tomorrow in India. The struggle for the national independence of the colonies is, from the standpoint of the revolutionary proletariat, only a transitional stage on the road toward drawing the backward countries into the international socialist revolution.

—Leon Trotsky, "Manifesto of the Fourth International on the Imperialist War and the Proletarian World Revolution" (May 1940)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweakly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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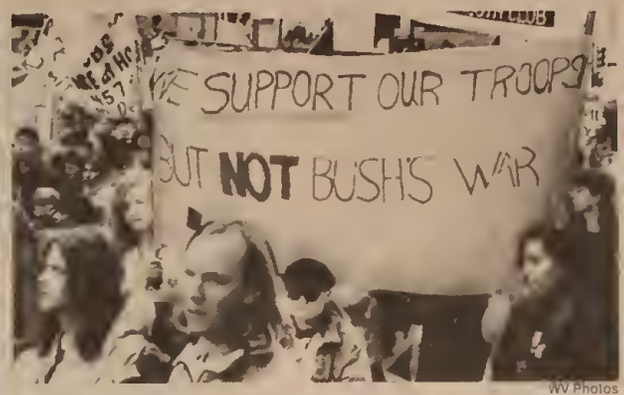
The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: $7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116.

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 521 **1 March 1991**

Pentagon War Machine—Not "Our" Troops



WV Photos

Spartacists call for defeat of U.S. imperialism, while liberals and reformists compete with Bush & Co. in "support our troops" rhetoric.

Increasingly, many groups demonstrating against the Persian Gulf War have been at pains to say that "peace is patriotic." A widely heard refrain is that, while opposing the war, "we support our troops." Antiwar demonstrations on January 19 and 26 were awash with the stars and stripes. As we commented in our last issue, it's sometimes hard to tell antiwar protesters apart from pro-war flag-wavers. Indeed, a Pennsylvania peace group unsuccessfully tried to speak at a right-wing Hero Day "support the troops" rally.

At the January 19 peace crawl in D.C., placards and banners proclaimed, "We Love Our Troops, Bring Them Home!" and "Respect Our Troops—Don't Kill and Maim Them for Arab Oil!" The podium was draped with the soft-core version of this line, "Bring the Troops Home Now," which is the common currency of the various squabbling pseudo-socialist groups. This is what Lenin called "social-patriotism," expressing concern solely for the loss of *American lives* as the U.S. is raining death on the people of Iraq.

The ubiquitous red-white-and-blue hunting and talk of supporting "our" troops speak volumes, for the liberal/reformist leaders of the "antiwar movement" take as their framework what's best for "American interests." The Spartacist League put forward a sharply different program, of revolutionary working-class opposition to the war, in our signs and banners declaring: "Defeat U.S. Imperialism—Defend Iraq!" A sign carried by an SL demonstrator in Chicago said simply, "A Defeat for 'Our' Rulers Is a Victory for Us!"

It is a betrayal of every principle of socialism to refer to the Pentagon war machine as "our" troops. This is what Lenin was referring to when he lambasted the social-patriots during World War I for supporting their "own" bourgeoisie. He noted that the trade-union bureaucracy and the privileged layers of the labor aristocracy identified with the interests of the ruling class, and this viewpoint had been adopted by self-proclaimed socialists.

Many look back to the Vietnam "antiwar movement," when groups like the Socialist Workers Party launched the slogan "Bring the troops home." Sometimes they went even further, calling to "Bring our boys home" or "Bring the troops home and send them to Mississippi." This slogan was doubly pernicious, implying that federal troops would protect blacks from the racists, when in fact FBI agents were beating up freedom riders, their "informants" were among the KKK nightriders, and U.S. troops were brought in to suppress black protesters.

While the liberal and reformist leaders see the Vietnam-era popular front as their halcyon days, many have bought the right-wing lie that returning Vietnam vets were "spat on" by "peaceniks." So they wrap themselves in the flag to prove that now they're for "our boys," they're just opposed to sending them "over there." The whole business is a Big Lie, a conscious rewrite of history like Hitler's "stab in the back" myth, pushed by Rambo movies and the likes of Dan Quayle.

Far from showing contempt for Viet vets, antiwar activists reached out to them. There were underground newspapers, leaflets and coffeehouses for active-duty soldiers. And radicalized GIs came to learn that their enemy was the government at home. So many of them became antiwar protesters that it led to the popular joke about how Pat Nixon is looking out the White House window and sees a horde of protesters advancing on the lawn. "Call out the 82nd Airborne," says President Nixon, to which Pat replies, "But dear, that *is* the 82nd Airborne."

Ironically, its slogans of yesteryear have come back to embarrass the SWP, which today presents itself in Castroite colors. Reporting on a leadership meeting in December, they note that at a meeting of their party members in the oil and chemical industries "there had also been a discussion around using the slogan 'Support our troops! Bring them home now!'" When "antiwar activists" put up a placard with that slogan, they report, "Workers didn't know what side the activists were on"

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Gulf War Racist Hell for Harlem Regiment

In a rare glimpse of what is going on with troops in the Saudi desert, on the eve of the ground war blitzkrieg *New York Times* correspondent Chris Hedges filed a story on the famous 369th Transport Battalion, a National Guard regiment known as the Harlem Hell Fighters. These black troops, the majority of whom are in their 40s and saw combat in Vietnam, have faced hell since arriving in Saudi Arabia in September. Sgt. Ruben McCann, a Bronx postal worker, described their reception: "We have three strikes against us. We are from the Guard, we are from New York, and we are black." As one of the 369th, who joined the Army in 1958, said:

> "It was a Jim Crow Army then. We had a black water fountain and a black U.S.O. I get the same feeling being over here."
>
> —*New York Times*, 23 February

Other members of the 369th told Hedges, "I don't think we should be here," and "The war is over oil." The men angrily denounced the army's racism: "We're out here fighting two armies, the U.S. Army and the enemy," said Corporal Theo Lewis. The 369th has been "broken up, stripped of much of its equipment and moved into front-line positions without proper preparation or training"...and attached to the 101st Airborne! A wife of one soldier, a New York City transit worker, told *WV*: "It started out as a lie and it continued to be a lie.... They're too old, if they go in, what's going to happen? Are they sending them in to die? We feel it is a suicide mission for our husbands."

The stark fact is that the United States Army is using this black unit as cannon fodder. This is a reflection of the war on black people at home, where the ghettos have been devastated and a whole generation of youth are left without hope of a job and a future. Grotesquely, in a Black History Month ceremony at the White House, George Bush praised the Pentagon as the "greatest equal opportunity employer around." In fact, in the racist military machine black and Hispanic minorities have better than equal opportunity to die for the American empire. But as Vietnam showed, widespread disaffection among the troops can throw a wrench in the gears of the imperialist war machine.

What is needed, and what the Spartacist League fights for, is to link the struggle against racism and imperialist slaughter in the army with the power of the working class to make a socialist revolution to bring down the system that spawns that oppression and war.

Letter

TWU Bureaucrats and Wannabees Stand Up for War

22 February 1991

Dear Workers Vanguard:

We thought readers of *WV* might be interested in an incident at a recent meeting of the Car Equipment Division of the Transport Workers Union Local 100 in New York City. Not surprisingly, the bureaucrats of the TWU are marching in lockstep with the AFL-CIO tops' support to the U.S. imperialists' slaughter in Iraq. International president George Leitz uses the pages of the union paper to rail against the "terrorist tactics of Saddam Hussein," the "Russian built Scud missiles" and the "unforgivable" oil spill in the Persian Gulf. But it is the bloody rulers of this country, who are trying to turn Iraq into a moonscape with massive terror bombing and napalm, who are the real war criminals!

So some of us were not surprised when our division officers tried to open the union meeting, which was called to discuss demands for the upcoming contract negotiations, with a little flag waving of their own. After the pledge of allegiance they asked everyone to remain standing for a moment of silence for our union brothers and sisters who have passed away (a tradition in meetings). But they slipped in "and to support our troops in Saudi Arabia." One union brother, a supporter of the Committee for a Fighting TWU, interrupted and moved to separate the issues, saying that while he was all in favor of paying respects to our departed brothers and sisters, he was *not* for the American troops in Saudi Arabia who were engaged in an imperialist war.

The room erupted in catcalls from the pro-war yahoos, egged on by the bureaucrats. The division chairman, Caputo, had the nerve to order the brother from the room. The brother insisted on his rights as a union member, pointblank refused and said he would sit down and pay his respects in his own way. I sat down in solidarity with his anti-war statement. After some hesitation, a supporter of the SWP's *Militant* did as well. Naomi Allen, an executive board member of the union and a supporter of the Fourth Internationalist Tendency, remained standing and silent. Joining her was a supporter of the Marxist-Leninist Party. It's not surprising that these so-called socialists, who are all tailing after the pro-Democratic Party "peace movement," won't take on the Democratic Party hawks in the labor movement.

There are a lot of workers who aren't fooled by the flag waving of the union tops. At an earlier Track division meeting, just after the terror bombing of Iraq started, black track workers applauded another transit worker, a Marine Vietnam veteran, who denounced the war on Iraq.

Frankly, we're disgusted that the

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Hundreds Killed as U.S. Deliberately Bombs Civilian Shelter

George Bush—Baby Killer

As the two American F-117 "stealth" bombers homed in on Baghdad's Amiriya district on the night of February 13, they locked onto their target. With split-second timing, two laser-guided "smart" bombs tore into the air raid shelter, packed with hundreds of women and children sleeping there to escape the deadly rain of bombs falling on the city for the 28th consecutive night.

This really was "surgical" precision. The first of the 2,000-pound GBU-27 "bunker busters" was aimed right at the steel doors of the shelter, cutting off the only exit. The second went right down the air shaft, turning the shelter into a tightly sealed crematorium. *No one was meant to survive.*

Eight did, barely. Among them was 17-year-old Omar Adnan, who recalled from his hospital bed: "I was sleeping and suddenly I felt heat and the blanket was burning. I turned to try and touch my mother who was next to me, but I grabbed nothing but a piece of flesh."

Over 300 bodies were recovered, most of them charred beyond recognition. Many were decapitated. With some of the young children, among them babies barely a month old, nothing remained but the torso, as heads, legs and arms were sheared off by the powerful explosion.

Standing outside the shelter, ITN correspondent Brent Sadler described the "grotesque procession of incinerated people being brought to the surface" as "powerful supporting evidence" for Iraq's claims that the U.S. was targeting civilians.

Immediately, Washington's spin controllers set to work. "By mid-afternoon Riyadh time," reported the London *Sunday Times* (17 February) Insight team, "the official version of events was finalised: the shelter had been a legitimate military target and civilians should not have been there." The U.S. media snapped to attention, with editorials and headlines parroting Washington's line. Instant polls declared by the next day that Americans were overwhelmingly buying the lie.

Both the heinous atrocity and the media packaging to a population mesmerized by war propaganda are reminiscent of the Nazi "new order" and its Big Lie machine. The gang running the American government have the mentality of assassins and the state power to carry out their bloodlust.

It was "a well-planned crime," charged Iraq's health minister as he stood before the smoldering carnage. And like the Nazi war criminals tried at Nuremberg, U.S. spokesmen not only showed no remorse, but boasted of the technical proficiency with which they carried out their mass murder. "Both bombs landed right where they were programmed," bragged Pentagon spokesman General Thomas Kelly. Right up to the top, *America's war planners knew exactly what they were doing.*

AP

Gerhard Kromschröder

Amiriya air raid shelter in Baghdad: hundreds of women and children wantonly murdered by U.S. leaders.

White House mouthpiece Marlin Fitzwater grotesquely ranted that "Saddam Hussein does not share our value in the sanctity of life." Washington's "value" on life is proven to be *zero*. The Pentagon claimed that Iraq had deliberately "insinuated" civilians into a military facility. But at the Riyadh central command, General Richard Neal admitted that the Iraqi ruler "has never had civilians, or allowed civilians, in even close proximity to any of his command and control facilities."

The government's cover-up was transparent. "We are sure that it was a military command-and-control facility," lied Kelly. What made them sure? The brass pointed out how "strange" it was to have a sign outside reading "shelter" in both Arabic and English—just like the bilingual sign identifying the baby formula factory bombed last month was evidence that it was really a biological weapons plant! Yet outside *all* the shelters in Baghdad are similar signs.

Another "tidbit," added Neal in Riyadh, "is that there was no air raid siren." But, as CNN's Peter Arnett pointed out, thousands of people in Baghdad, including Western journalists, have been routinely sleeping in air raid shelters every night since the U.S. terror bombing started. Besides which, the bomb was dropped by a "stealth" bomber, expressly *designed* to evade air raid detection.

The other supposedly incriminating "evidence" was that the roof of the shelter was reinforced with steel (how bizarre for an air raid shelter!), was painted in camouflage and had an antenna. Moreover, there was a fence around the building! As the *Sunday Times* summed it up:

> "Close up, there was no evidence to support the American claims that the building was a key military command structure. On the roof was a single antenna with the appearance of an old-fashioned television aerial.
>
> "The faded green markings were unlike camouflage painted on other Iraqi buildings in recent months.
>
> "Nor was there any sign of the usual defences associated with government buildings, most of which have checkpoints posted outside; even the television station is guarded by two tanks."

The U.S. *knew* that this was an air raid shelter, one of some 25 of similar design built during the Iran-Iraq War. And they were aiming at this one in particular. The Pentagon's "bombing encyclopedia," reported the *Sunday Times*, designated the target as "a 'leadership bunker' designed to protect senior Iraqi officials and their families."

When satellite reconnaissance supposedly showed "military trucks and leadership staff cars parked outside the shelter," it was put on the short-term "active" bombing list. It was then that visiting war secretary Dick Cheney and JCS chief Colin Powell gruesomely autographed two GBU-27s. Cheney signed his: "To Saddam, with affection."

Washington claimed that, despite all its high-tech reconnaissance, there was no way of checking whether civilians used the shelter. But the London *Sunday Times* article reveals that "the allied command did not carry out any checks at all"—because they already knew. "The U.S. raid was aimed at Saddam's inner circle," says *Newsweek* (25 February) pointblank, quoting an anonymous "war planner": "You have to convince those around Saddam that, unless they stop him, they personally are at risk." Indeed, the whole notion of targeting "command and control" is Pentagonese for assassination. Jimmy Carter's 1980 Presidential Directive 59, which codified policy dating back at least to the Ford administration, made the "decapitation" of the Soviet leadership through a nuclear first strike a keystone of U.S. military strategy.

Now this policy is being carried out in Iraq, just as Air Force general Dugan laid out last September when he was sacked for saying too much, too soon. At least three of Saddam Hussein's residences have been bombed. And American planes have been bombing the small town of Tikrit in northern Iraq from the first night of the air war solely because it is the hometown of Saddam and his close circle.

The *Sunday Times* claims that "the Pentagon is privately facing up to the likelihood that the bombing was a blunder." From Washington's standpoint, the only "blunder" was that Western TV crews were in Baghdad to report it. While the Pentagon ranted that Western reporters were "dupes of Saddam Hussein," the *Wall Street Journal* (14 February) ran an insidious editorial singling out CNN's Peter Arnett as one of "Saddam's Civilians."

And the same day as it reported the shelter bombing, the *New York Times* (14 February) ran an inspired story

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Reuters

Ghoulish war secretary Richard Cheney autographs "bunker-buster" bomb aimed at Saddam Hussein. Was this the bomb that landed on Amiriya shelter?

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Socialist Action: Untrue in Small Things and Big

On the eve of the U.S. bombing of Baghdad, Socialist Action, a San Francisco-based outfit claiming to be Trotskyist, prophesied in its newspaper's front-page article by SA national leader Nat Weinstein that Bush and Saddam Hussein would make a deal without going to war. But on January 16 the bombs began raining down on Iraqis. With national antiwar marches scheduled for January 19 and January 26, the quick-change artists at Socialist Action rushed out another edition of their paper bearing the same date, same issue number and with most of the same articles.

But here yesterday, gone today was crystal ball gazer Weinstein's prediction that "President George Bush's objective is to achieve, if possible, a political settlement short of a shooting war." The second January issue replaced his analysis with Jeff Mackler's article "Protests Grow as U.S. Assault Intensifies." Clearly Socialist Action is embarrassed, but why resort to a crude cover-up to wipe the egg off their face? Their perfidy in this matter is a telltale reflection of their whole political profile of betraying every principle Trotsky ever stood for.

In the particular, it wasn't George Bush whose objective was to achieve a settlement without a shooting war but the liberal Democrats who claimed that a bloody war was "unnecessary" and "UN sanctions" would do the job. And Socialist Action's tailist social-patriotism led them to embrace these imperialist doves in a red-white-and-blue "peace movement." Thus they endorsed and built the January 26 demonstration sponsored by the "National Campaign for Peace in the Middle East" which demanded that Saddam Hussein get out of Kuwait and endorsed UN "sanctions."

This brand of pro-sanctions socialism has nothing in common with the politics of Leon Trotsky, who founded the Fourth International in 1938 to continue the fight for world revolution opened up by the Russian Revolution of 1917. Trotsky wrote in the Transitional Program:

> "To face reality squarely; not to seek the line of least resistance; to call things by their right names; to speak the truth to the masses, no matter how bitter it may be; not to fear obstacles; to be true in little things as in big ones; to base one's program on the logic of the class struggle; to be bold when the hour for action arrives—these are the rules of the Fourth International."

In this revolutionary spirit, the Spartacist League calls for the defeat of U.S. imperialism—defend Iraq!

Not so with these fakers. Like the International Socialist Organization (see "ISO in the Antiwar Movement" in the *Young Spartacus* pages of our last issue), Socialist Action is after the yellow ribbon "patriots for peace" crowd. "Should antiwar activists organize blood drives?" asks an article in the February *Socialist Action*. An "interesting idea" and "admirable" sentiments, opines the author before reluctantly turning thumbs down to this proposal to turn their "antiwar" movement into candystripers for the Pentagon.

It reminds us of all those articles in the Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* on the order of "Where Ayatollah Khomeini goes wrong on women's rights."

The "antiwar supplement" to the February *Socialist Action* is loaded up with photos of social-patriotic signs calling to "Support Our Troops! Bring Them Home!" An ad for their Persian Gulf pamphlet shows its cover—a remake of the well-known photo of the WW II Marine landing on Iwo Jima with the American flag "ironically" replaced by a gas pump. Another photo shows a placard reading "Viet Nam Is 56,000 Reasons Why We Need to Get Out of the Gulf!"

—Vol. 9, No. 1, January 1991

Socialist Action — S. Africa:

Demonstrate on Jan. 26!
Bring the Troops Home Now!

Protest U.S. intervention in the Gulf!

Bush's Middle East policy: a deadly game of chicken

—Vol. 9, No. 1, January 1991...also

Socialist Action — S. Africa:

Stop the U.S. war against Iraq!
Demonstrate on Jan. 26!
Bring the Troops Home Now!

Protests grow as U.S. assault intensifies

Will the real January issue please stand up?

It's not just in the photos. *Socialist Action* writes: "For those who question the validity of the demand: Bring the Troops Home Now!, remember that nearly 50 percent of the 58,000 American troops who died in the Vietnam War were killed during the 1968-1973 Paris Peace talks." What about the *two million Vietnamese* who were wantonly slaughtered by carpetbombing, napalm and My Lai-style massacres?! Today it's the people of Baghdad and Basra whose homes are reduced to rubble and bodies torn to pieces by bombs dropped by "our troops."

Untrue in big things as in small ones, Socialist Action has been pushing the liberal-reformist lie that mass demonstrations organized around social-patriotic slogans can end the onslaught against Iraq as allegedly happened in the Vietnam War: "The American people can stop this crime against the Arab nation and the entire human race by way of a relentless series of peaceful and legal marches, demonstrations and protest meetings around the central demand: 'Bring U.S. Troops Home Now!'" Bullshit.

The leaders of Socialist Action hold up the Vietnam "antiwar movement" as the Holy Grail of "revnlutionary politics." Back then they were SWP goons trying to keep their "peace coalitions" safe for Democrats like Senator Hartke. But while Weinstein and Mackler were chanting "peaceful, legal" as they tried to keep New Left radicals with NLF flags out of their peace crawls, it was the Vietnamese peasants and workers fighting for social revolution who defeated the U.S. army nn the battlefield.

The American ruling class has spent the last decade and a half in the largest military buildup in world history to erase the "Vietnam syndrome" while targeting the Soviet Union for counterrevolution. The Spartacist League says: Vietnam was a victory! Two, three, many defeats for U.S. imperialism!

After Weinstein & Co. were expelled from the ex-Trotskyist SWP, their first act as an independent organization was to keep striking workers "in line" for the bureaucrats. At a union rally in SF to support the 1983 Greyhound bus strike, Socialist Action members acted as goons for the bureaucratic transit union sellouts attempting to prevent angry workers from shutting down the Greyhound terminal.

They haven't changed a bit. But what else can you expect from a group that adopted and still uses for its masthead the logo of CIA-financed Polish Solidarność, the only "union" that Ronald Reagan loved, which today is shoving capitalist austerity down the throats of hungry Polish workers? Little lies and big lies are the necessary stock in trade of these phonies.

The giant economy size is their claim to be Trotskyist. ■

Federico Pereira, Murdered by NYPD

Federico Pereira, an unarmed and defenseless 21-year-old Hispanic youth from Queens, was severely beaten and killed by five white cops who found him asleep in a car February 5. The young man's death was quickly ruled a homicide by the city Medical Examiner's office, contradicting the official police story that gave the cause of death as self-inflicted.

According to the killer cops, after they handcuffed Pereira's hands behind his back, he was forced face down on the sidewalk where "he began to pound his face against the sidewalk" (*Newsday*, 7 February). He died an hour later in the hospital.

The truth of the matter is Pereira was sadistically murdered by five cops, who according to the NYPD's "preliminary report" acted within departmental guidelines. Wanton street executions, you see, are official policy. The murderers were put on desk duty until things cool off.

However, two teenage witnesses, Thomas Zorobinski and Anthony Hickok, saw the killer cops do their dirty work and said in a televised interview:

> "We saw cops beating him up pretty bad, hitting him with a nightstick and stepping on his head, cuffing his hands and feet together. He was coughing up blood...and one of the cops was laughing."

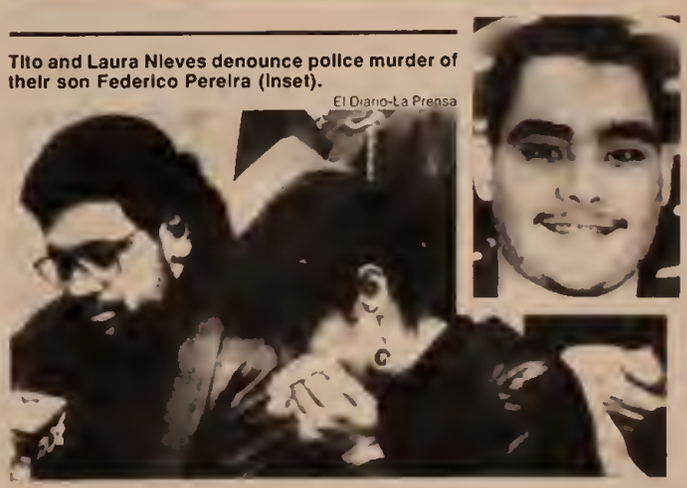
The coroner's office ruled the death "traumatic asphyxiation."

Pereira's stepfather, internationally famous salsa singer Tito Nieves, said after viewing the body, "They murdered him. The cops killed my son." In an interview with Juan Gonzalez on WNYC-TV (12 February), he said: "It wasn't he beat himself. He had some nightstick marks on his forehead, his right eye was bashed out. It was a brutal beating."

Laura Nieves, who lost her only son, responded angrily to the cops' claims that Pereira was caught sleeping in a stolen car and had an "arrest record": "The issue is what the police did to my son.... What has his past got to do with it?" She noted that Federico, who himself had a two-year-old son, had no history of violence.

Tito and Laura Nieves denounce police murder of their son Federico Pereira (inset).

El Diario-La Prensa



The Pereira slaying recalls the 1988 cop execution of Juan Rodríguez, who was seized in his home but declared DOA at the hospital. On the *13 Alive* TV program, striking *Daily News* journalist Gonzalez noted that from 1987 through 1990, New York police shot and killed 51 blacks, 25 Hispanics and 8 whites. So far in 1991, 3 Hispanics have been slain by the cops.

With the decline of American industry, ghetto blacks and Hispanics have been declared "surplus population" to be preyed on by killer cops and "cannon fodder" sent to die as frontline soldiers in U.S. imperialism's Persian Gulf War for control of strategic world oil supplies. It will take proletarian revolution, led by an internationalist vanguard party, to avenge the death of Federico Pereira and countless other victims of the enforcers of Bush's racist "New World Order."

Shigeo Hayashi

U.S. atomic bomb incinerated over 140,000 people, Hiroshima, 6 August 1945.

The Hidden History of U.S. Terror Bombing

How Washington Perfected Hitler's Schrecklichkeit

Video images of laser-guided "smart" bombs homing in on their targets, generals talking of "precision bombing," vague references to "collateral damage": the Pentagon has worked up a cult of high tech as Washington's propaganda machine is spreading the lie that the U.S. air assault against Iraq is a "clean" war. And meanwhile Iraqi civilians are deliberately incinerated in a bomb shelter in Baghdad. The roads of Iraq have become killing fields, lined with the bombed-out wreckage of cars and trucks. In two recent atrocities, bombers targeted buses loaded with civilians, killing a total of 60 people. The "surgical strikes" are hitting hospitals where doctors perform surgery on mutilated women and children.

The orgy of destruction has leveled power plants, factories, warehouses, bridges, roads, phone installations—the entire infrastructure of the country. The city of Basra in southern Iraq, which has been singled out for special devastation, was simply declared by U.S. military authorities to be a "military town." Pentagon spokesmen classify any civilian target hit as "dual purpose," both military and civilian. According to our estimate the U.S. is dropping at least 16,000 tons of bombs a day, so after 40 days of air war, with 100,000 sorties flown, the U.S. has dropped on Iraq almost a quarter of the total tonnage dropped by all the belligerent powers in World War II!

Uneasy with the "bad press" that the bombing of civilians is getting, the *New York Times* (14 February) asked plaintively: "Why not stop bombing cities?" Liberals have often sought to distance themselves from the policy of strategic bombing, arguing that in any case it is "ineffective" in destroying a country's ability to wage war. This is the argument of economist John Kenneth Galbraith, who headed the U.S. Strategic Bombing Survey in World War II. Galbraith writes that his study showed, "Germany's industrial production—weapons and munitions, in particular—continued to increase, with no visible halt until nearly the end of the war" (*Los Angeles Times*, 10 February).

What Galbraith leaves unsaid is that the nose dive in production in those final months was because of *the mass terror bombing campaign which deliberately targeted and massacred hundreds of thousands of industrial workers.*

AP

B-52s carpetbombed Vietnam, now rain death on Iraq.

Colonel Harry Summers Jr., the Vietnam War historian and former professor of strategy at the Army War College, was blunter. In a column titled "'Collateral Damage' a Familiar, Often Intended, Part of War" (*Los Angeles Times*, 8 February), Summers noted that the deliberate targeting of the civilian population in order to break the will to resist "didn't start with 'We had to destroy the town in order to save it,' the unfortunate remark of the young Army officer in the Mekong Delta during the Vietnam war...." The carpetbombing of Vietnam only continued the U.S. forces' "scorched earth" policy in Korea, the firebombing campaign in Germany and Japan and the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

In our last issue ("Terror Bombing Has Not Broken Iraq," *WV* No. 520, 15 February) we noted that "in World War II, Hitler adopted a policy of *Schrecklichkeit*, deliberate terrorizing of the 'enemy' population," but "the Allies outdid the Nazis in this department." The "democratic" imperialists in fact had a *preference* for mass slaughter through air power, which kept the horrendous casualties at a distance.

The Allies pursued the policy of mass terror bombing of civilians with increasing ferocity throughout World War II, raising it to unspeakable dimensions. Hamburg, Dresden, Tokyo, Hiroshima and Nagasaki are among the many cities which were transformed into fiery crematoriums for their working populations. In Germany, Allied bombers deliberately massacred some 600,000 civilians; in Japan hundreds of thousands died under U.S. bombs. In sum, almost *one million* civilians were deliberately massacred by Allied terror bombing.

Schrecklichkeit U.S.-Style

In the *Dictionary of Historical Terms* (1983) by Chris Cook, *Schrecklichkeit* is defined as the "deliberate policy of committing atrocities to subdue a subject people." *Louis L. Snyder's Historical Guide to World War II* (1982) writes that "The bombing of Warsaw early in the war made it clear to the Allies how Hitler intended to fight his war. It was to be *Schrecklichkeit* ('frightfulness') with no regard for the civilian population." The Luftwaffe began the *Blitzkrieg* (lightning war) by destroying the Polish Air Force on the ground, and for six days 400 German bombers battered the city day and night.

The next year, the Germans put an end to the *Sitzkrieg* (sitting war), the period of inactivity on the Western Front between September 1939 and May 1940 called the "phony war" in English, by employing the same policy against the Dutch port of Rotterdam. In an act of gratuitous cruelty (the city had already surrendered), Stuka dive-bombers leveled the center of the city. In repeated attacks on London's civilian population throughout 1940, German bombers killed some 30,000 people as they tried to bomb the population into submission. Later that same year, when Hitler's plans for an invasion of Britain were frustrated, he took out his revenge on the city of

Coventry, killing over 500 people in a ten-hour bombing raid.

The policy of terror bombing civilians in order to undermine the ability to wage war was first systematically developed by the Italian general Giulio Douhet. His ideas on air war had a decisive influence in shaping American military doctrine. Colonel Summers refers to Douhet's 1921 treatise, *The Command of the Air*, reprinted by the U.S. Office of Air Force History in 1983, as a "masterwork." And a recent U.S. Air Force publication calls him a "prophet of the air" (Thomas Greer, *The Development of Air Doctrine in the Army Air Arm 1917-1941* [1985]). What they fail to mention is that this "prophet" was commissioner of aviation in Mussolini's fascist regime. Here is Douhet's strategy for waging air war:

> "What civil or military authority could keep order, public services functioning, and production going under such a threat? And even if a semblance of order was maintained and some work done, would not the sight of a single enemy plane be enough to stampede the population into panic? In short, normal life would be impossible in this constant nightmare of imminent death and destruction....
>
> "A complete breakdown of the social structure cannot but take place in a country subjected to this kind of merciless pounding from the air. The time would soon come when, to put an end to horror and suffering, the people themselves, driven by the instinct of self-preservation, would rise up and demand an end to the war."
>
> —quoted in Edward Earle, ed., *Makers of Modern Strategy: Military Thought from Machiavelli to Hitler* (1952)

From the start, U.S. air commanders embraced Douhet's policy of terror bombing as a way to limit their casualties and win wars "on the cheap." His ideas were taken up almost word for word—and rendered even more brutal—by "Billy" Mitchell, one of the first chiefs of the U.S. air service in the '20s. Mitchell wrote that instead of destroying cities it might be preferable to eliminate the civilian population with "a few gas bombs." Decades later, this same concept was behind the neutron bomb, a particularly "dirty" nuclear device designed to maximize deaths through radiation and minimize bomb blast damage to structures.

Douhet's doctrine was incorporated in the official Air Force textbook used until World War II which, according to Greer's official Air Force history, "established national morale and industry as more crucial objectives than enemy armies. The easiest and cheapest way to win a war was thought to be by air attack upon the enemy's population and production facilities." Military historian John Keegan correctly pointed out that this policy "depended ultimately upon class bias—the judgment that the latent discontents of the proletariat were the Achilles heel of an industrial state" (*The Second World War* [1989]).

Class hatred of the industrial proletariat is so pervasive in the documents of Allied military and political leaders that it is impossible to cite more than a fraction of the documents which explicitly affirm that the target of strategic bombing was to be the workers themselves. The future British chief of air staff John Slessor summed it up with imperial snideness:

> "In air operations against production the weight of attack will inevitably fall upon a vitally important, and not by nature very amenable, section of the community—the industrial workers, whose morale and sticking power cannot be expected to equal that of the disciplined soldier."
>
> —quoted in Max Hastings, *Bomber Command* (1979)

And the official British history of the air war cites the February 1942 bombing directive which notes that the "primary object" of the bombing "should now be focused on the morale of the enemy civil population and in particular, of the industrial workers" (see Charles Webster and Noble Frankland, *The Strategic Air Offensive Against Germany: 1939-1945* [1961]).

There is a widespread myth that, unlike the British who engaged in indiscriminate "area" bombing against civilians, the U.S. carried out "precision" bombing against military and industrial targets. This myth is rooted in what was essentially a division of labor between the two Allied imperialist powers. The British, saddled with antiquated bombers and without long-range fighter protection, were forced to limit themselves to night raids. Their notorious inaccuracy is highlighted in Len Deighton's novel, *Bomber*, which details the horrendous destruction inflicted on a German town by British bombers who got lost on a night raid.

One could hardly pretend that these raids were anything but indiscriminate terror directed against civilians, and British military leaders openly extolled the supposed efficacy of mass terror bombing. U.S. bombers, less vulnerable and (starting in early 1944) protected by a fleet of long-range fighters, were able to carry out daylight bombing raids. Drawing German fighters into a head-to-head air war of attrition, they eventually depleted Germany's home defenses (while most of the Luftwaffe was on the Eastern Front facing the Soviet Army). This permitted the Allies toward the end of the war to bomb German cities with virtual impunity.

Most often it made scarcely any difference to those on the ground whether they were being subjected to U.S. "precision" bombing or British "area" bombing, since most U.S. bombs missed their assigned targets anyway and fell on surrounding working-class residential areas. Then as today, U.S. commanders generated a cult of high-tech arms, claiming that U.S. bombers equipped with the "top secret" Norden bomb sight could drop a bomb "into a pickle barrel." In reality, an estimated one-half of U.S. bombs were dropped through cloud cover or at night where the average bombing error was about *three miles* off target. And of those bombs dropped in daylight under clear conditions, at most half fell within one-quarter mile of the target point (John Ellis, *Brute Force: Allied Strategy and Tactics in the Second World War* [1990]).

The myth that U.S. air strikes did not target civilians has been reinforced by a concerted whitewash by U.S. officials which started during World War II, keeping military memos "clean" of any hint of targeting civilians. In an important study, historian Ronald Schaffer notes:

> "High-ranking officers sent official messages to one another which caused the record to suggest that AAF [Army Air Forces] practice fitted with the official policy. Yet these officers knew this was not the case.... [U.S. deputy air commander] Anderson and his colleagues were protecting the image of the AAF from historians and other investigators."
>
> —"American Military Ethics in World War II: The Bombing of German Civilians," *Journal of American History*, September 1980

Schaffer reveals that when the British and U.S. Combined Chiefs of Staff met to approve the terror bombing attacks on Berlin, Dresden and other cities, FDR's representative intervened to advise not to "record" such a decision.

This concern for prettifying the historical record was the cause of a cynical "doublespeak" in U.S. military documents. After preparing a series of daylight raids with incendiary bombs against densely built-up sections of German cities, U.S. commander Arnold informed the Air Staff in Washington: "the way to stop the killing of civilians is to cause so much damage and destruction and death that the civilians will demand that their government cease fighting. This doesn't mean that we are making civilians or civilian institutions a war objective...."

Favorably contrasting U.S. military censorship in World War II with the Pentagon's "arrogant" but "so far successful" control of the press in the Persian Gulf

continued on page 8

1921—Tulsa, Oklahoma

Literary Digest

1945—Dresden, Germany

Wilhelm Heyne Verlag

1945—Osaka, Japan

Mainichi Shimbun, Tokyo

1985—Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

UPI

At home and abroad, U.S. rulers have repeatedly used mass terror bombing to maintain their oppressive rule. Workers and non-white peoples are consciously targeted for destruction.

Terror Bombing...

(continued from page 7)

War, Walter Cronkite wrote that army censors in Britain "held up my report that the Eighth Air Force had bombed Germany through a solid cloud cover," since supposedly "we were practicing only precision bombing on military targets." The Luftwaffe knew the reality, Cronkite pointed out: "The truth was not being withheld from Germans but Americans" (*Newsweek*, 25 February).

Incinerating the German Proletariat

In their drive to raze entire cities, the Allies eventually succeeded in provoking through incendiary bombing a horrible new phenomenon in warfare, the firestorm. They discovered that by concentrating sufficient fire in one area they could create an infernal microclimate in which an entire city was transformed into a blast furnace, enormously multiplying the bombs' murderous effects. The areas which were chosen for immolation were invariably the working-class districts.

The first firestorm took place in Hamburg, which the Allies bombed in July 1943, targeting the most heavily built-up and densely populated area. As in subsequent firebombings, both incendiary and high-explosive bombs were dropped; the latter were used to destroy metallic roofs and windows and expose the building interiors to the conflagration: "People died within seconds of being subjected to the unimaginable heat, dying from oxygen-lack, carbon monoxide poisoning, even incandescence" (Chaz Bowyer, *Air War Over Europe* [1981]). Some 50,000 civilians died in Hamburg. In the civilian bomb shelters the intense heat melted metal pots and pans. Photos taken when the shelters were opened show piles of grey ash outlining where the bodies had lain.

Allied bombers continued to wage an escalating war of extermination against Germany's cities. Toward the fall of 1944, as the Allies achieved supremacy in the skies over Germany and could concentrate their fire undeterred, they succeeded with regularity in provoking firestorms—in Kassel, Würzburg, Darmstadt, Heilbronn, Wuppertal, Weser, Magdeburg, and culminating in the incredible butchery of Dresden. The Allies experimented on the best way to provoke the desired effect. Different bombing patterns were tried to give the deadliest concentration of incendiary bombs (the optimum was found to be a "fan" pattern which was then used on Dresden).

The Allies' firebombing of Dresden was the most terrible of all air raids on Germany—possibly the greatest single massacre in history. Prime Minister Winston Churchill berated British air minister Archibald Sinclair to get him to target "Berlin, and no doubt other large cities in East Germany." In February 1945 British bombers, virtually unhindered by fighters or antiaircraft fire, dropped thousands of blast bombs and almost 650,000 incendiaries on Dresden, provoking a firestorm which was visible for 200 miles. The next morning 300 U.S. bombers blasted the still-burning city through the smoke and cloud cover (U.S. authorities would later present this as "precision" bombing of the rail yards). Escorting U.S. fighters strafed bombed-out survivors huddled on the banks of the Elbe.

The horrendous level of civilian casualties has been a subject of controversy for years. The city was swollen to twice its peacetime size by refugees fleeing fighting in the East, and these were concentrated in the railway terminal area which was ground zero for the bombs. For many years the figure of 225,000 was the standard estimate of the number of dead. The Americans and British have tried to reduce the figure to 60,000, which is absurdly low, while "the German Federal Bureau of Statistics in Wiesbaden claims that it was 600,000" (Janusz Piekalkiewicz, *The Air War: 1939-1945* [1985]).

The grisly destruction of Dresden (which contained no important military or even industrial targets) provoked a wave of revulsion. In response to an AP story on "deliberate terror bombing," U.S. air commanders, after consultation with General Eisenhower, issued guidelines for officers on how to answer questions:

> "A. That there has been no change in bombing policy;
> "B. The United States Strategic Air Forces have always directed their attacks against military objectives and will continue to do so:
> "C. The story was erroneously passed by censor."

Identical guidelines must have been issued by the Pentagon "spin doctors" on how to respond over the criminal U.S. bombing of the Baghdad shelter.

Histories of the air war in Europe generally explain the destruction of Dresden as an effort to facilitate the Soviet advance by blocking German reinforcements headed to the Eastern Front. In reality, the reason for extending the campaign of terror bombings to Dresden and other cities in eastern Germany was, as General David Schlatter, Eisenhower's deputy chief of air staff, noted at the time in his diary:

> "I feel that our air forces are the blue chips with which we will approach the post-war treaty table, and that this operation will add immeasurably to their strength, or rather to the Russian knowledge of their strength."

Firebombing and A-Bombing Japan

At the very moment that American authorities were cynically denying wanton attacks on civilians in Dresden, they were preparing for the firebombing of Tokyo and other Japanese cities. In the hysterical climate of anti-Japanese racism, U.S. officials felt less compunction than in Germany to camouflage the massacres. U.S. bombers launched massive firebomb raids on Tokyo, Osaka, Kobe and Nagoya, destroying a total built-up area of 50 miles square. The most horrendous bloodletting came in Tokyo where in a single raid in March 1945 some 100,000 people perished as "canals boiled, metal melted, and buildings and human beings burst spontaneously into flames" (John Dower, *War Without Mercy: Race & Power in the Pacific War* [1986]).

By August 1945 fully 58 cities had been destroyed by firebombing. General Curtis LeMay, who commanded the raids, was forced to temporarily check his bloodlust after three weeks because he had run out of his entire supply of 10,000 tons of incendiary bombs. This was the same LeMay who as head of the Air Force at the outset of the Vietnam War called for bombing Vietnam "back to the Stone Age." In their savage attempt to crush a social revolution, they dropped unthinkable quantities of napalm, cluster bombs and high explosives, carpetbombing from Saigon to Hanoi—before they were driven out by the heroic Vietnamese workers and peasants.

On 6 August 1945 the U.S. dropped the first atomic bomb on Hiroshima and, three days later, on Nagasaki, slaughtering over 200,000 people. Untold thousands were left suffering from excruciating burns, radiation sickness and genetic defects. In choosing these cities, Secretary of War Henry Stimson said there should be a "war plant employing a large number of workers closely surrounded by workers' houses" (see our article "Racism, Anti-Sovietism and Atomic Holocaust," *WV* No. 459, 12 August 1988). In addition to the Japanese working people killed at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, over 10,000 Korean—and many Chinese—forced laborers died. Yet President Truman cynically claimed that Hiroshima was a "military base" which was targeted "because we wished in this first attack to avoid, insofar as possible, the killing of civilians" (*Truman Speaks* [1960]).

As we wrote a decade ago:

> "With racist calculation the already defeated Japanese were chosen as the human testing ground to prove to American imperialism's opponents—especially the USSR—that the USA will stop at *nothing* to maintain world domination."
>
> —"Hiroshima Day: To Remember Is Not Enough!" *WV* No. 263, 5 September 1980

Air War Against the Workers

World War II closed as it had opened with the indiscriminate bombardment of civilians, but the bourgeoisie had pushed its criminal massacres to a truly monstrous scale. The 1937 terror bombing of Manchuria by the Japanese and the German blitz of Coventry and London were among the war crimes for which Japanese and German leaders were executed by the victorious Allies. (The latter were considerably less offended when German bombers sowed terror in Spain while fighting in support of Franco—the horror of which was captured in Picasso's mural *Guernica*.) Rarely has the stark hypocrisy of the bourgeoisie been more patent. Allied prosecutors sat amid the ruins of Nuremberg and Tokyo as they condemned their vanquished foe for killing "men, women and children alike."

In reality, all the imperialist bourgeoisies had seized upon air power, from the earliest days of its development, as an effective instrument of mass terror for keeping their subject peoples in place. From the early '20s, the British used frequent air strikes in Iraq to terrorize rebellious Kurds and others. In India, British bombers killed thousands in smashing the 1942 "Quit India" movement. The French sent their bombers against Damascus in 1926 to crush a nationalist revolt. In 1945 they massacred tens of thousands of Algerians as an incipient colonial revolt was drowned in blood. The Italians used the horrors of aerial bombardment in the '30s in conquering Ethiopia.

The U.S. bourgeoisie distinguished itself by carrying out terror bombing *against its own population*, against black people. In May 1921, in Tulsa, Oklahoma a group of 75 armed blacks showed up at a jail to defend a young black man (arrested after falling against a white woman) from a lynch mob. A report at the time describes how "the white mobs, numbering by then more than 10,000, invaded the negro section, the colored men resisting determinedly" (*Literary Digest*, 18 June 1921). The heart of the segregated black community of Tulsa was set on fire and allowed to burn to the ground as police dropped dynamite from commandeered private planes against blacks who had taken up arms to defend themselves against white racists. Dozens of people were killed, mostly blacks, and thousands of blacks were locked up in concentration camps (see "The Day They Bombed Blacks in Tulsa," *WV* No. 380, 31 May 1985).

And then, six years ago, on 13 May 1985 the home of Philadelphia MOVE was bombed from the air by a police helicopter, with the approval of black Democrat mayor Wilson Goode and the aid of U.S. officials going right up to Ronald Reagan's White House. The resulting fire incinerated five black children and six black men and women and destroyed entire blocks of the black neighborhood. This heinous crime, symbol of the harsh brutality of the Reagan years, was intended to be a threatening message to blacks, workers and all oppressed (see "Philly Inferno: Racist Murder!" *WV* No. 380, 31 May 1985).

From the time it was developed, air power has had a special attraction for the bourgeoisie as a weapon which can inflict unimaginable devastation at a distance, anonymously, and "on the cheap." And the principal victims have always been the workers, oppressed minorities and colonial peoples. Historian John Keegan quotes British military strategist B.H. Liddell Hart to the effect that bombing attacks would provoke "the slum districts maddened into the impulse to break loose and maraud." The aim was to "stampede" the working people into rising up against their rulers, as General Douhet advocated. This reflected, wrote Keegan, "the ruling classes' prevailing fear of insurrection, perhaps leading to revolution, which the success of the Bolsheviks in war-torn Russia had rekindled throughout Europe after 1917" (*The Second World War*).

Certainly the bourgeoisie expected its bombing campaign to provoke chaos and social breakdown—in their class-limited view, this is no doubt how they summed up the Bolshevik Revolution. But sheer terrorization of the population does not lead to rebellion, nor did the terror bombing by either imperialist coalition in World War II succeed in breaking civilian will to fight. Allied "strategic bombing" didn't work in Germany. The 900-day-long German siege of Leningrad, reducing the population to starvation, didn't break the will of the people of Leningrad, who rose fiercely to defend the gains of their revolution against the Nazi invaders. And in the extreme case of the Jewish ghettos of East Europe, Hitler's genocidal destruction inspired the relative few who survived to become hardened, heroic fighters against the Third Reich.

As the U.S. imperialists rain hideous death and destruction on the working people of Iraq, we Trotskyists reaffirm our dedication to leading a true Bolshevik Revolution—to working-class power—which can put an end to imperialism and its ghastly wars. ■

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Soviet Union...

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not only of the Baltic republics and the USSR, but for all of Europe." A Sajudis activist who negotiated with the Kremlin leadership reported that Aleksandr Yakovlev, then Gorbachev's chief lieutenant, "kept talking about the colossal pressure they were feeling from the Army."

Ever since, the pressure on Gorbachev from the armed forces has intensified, especially with U.S. imperialism flaunting its power in the Persian Gulf War. This fall, the Soviet president originally wanted to cancel the traditional November 7 parades commemorating the anniversary of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution to avoid trouble. The mayors of Moscow and Leningrad declared there would be no celebrations. But the military high command insisted that the Revolution Day parades be held, and so they were (see "Soviet Union: Winter of Decision," *WV* No. 515, 30 November 1990). When a week later Gorbachev addressed 1,000 military officers, he met with undisguised hostility.

Of all sections of the bureaucracy and intelligentsia, the military cadre most keenly feel the loss of Soviet power and influence in the world. A junior officer at the elite Lenin Political-Military Academy in Moscow, Major Yuri Laskin, told an American journalist: "The Communist Party made our country a great state—a superpower, as you call it" (*Washington Post*, 20 November 1990). Major Laskin no doubt deeply believes, because he has been so taught, that the goal of the October Revolution was to transform backward Russia into a global superpower on a par with the United States. The underlying vision of the Bolshevik Revolution outlined in Lenin's *The State and Revolution* is quite alien to the Lenin Political-Military Academy. Lenin, Trotsky and their comrades saw the Russian October as the first act of an international proletarian revolution which would lead to a global communist society through the withering away of the nation-state.

Liu/AP

Perestroika produces economic chaos: Muscovites clamoring outside bank after government scraps large-denomination ruble notes.

Raymer/National Geographic

Soviet veterans of Afghan war left out of May 9 World War II victory parade. Gorbachev's abandonment of Afghanistan has emboldened U.S. imperialism.

This vision was shared by the officer corps of Trotsky's Red Army. Marshals Tukhachevsky, Blücher and their comrades were fighting for a strong Soviet state as a bastion of international proletarian revolution. They were not seeking to make Soviet Russia into just another world power, peacefully coexisting for decades with the imperialist powers. Stalin sought to exterminate the internationalist traditions of the Red Army by killing Tukhachevsky, Blücher, Gamarnik (the brilliant Jewish chief political commissar) and the other Red commanders from the Civil War, just as he killed the surviving leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution. In this blood sacrifice to "peace" with imperialism, Stalin criminally sabotaged the defense of the Soviet Union and vastly facilitated Hitler's invasion.

Then, as now, the Stalinist bureaucracy used Russian nationalism in the service of conciliating imperialism. The difference today is that Stalin's heirs, both in Yeltsin's Russian parliament and in the army, have jettisoned even deformed "socialist" elements of Stalinism and keep only the Great Russian nationalism. Whereas Stalin spoke of defending "the socialist Fatherland," the Soyuz leaders speak of defending "the Fatherland." Whereas Stalin called for "building socialism in one country," the "red colonel" Petrushenko offers "the future of a great Russia":

> "The sustenance of the liberals, the so-called 'democrats,' has been Western propaganda. We have two camps now in this country: the democrats and the patriots. The democrats have had their day. We, the patriots, will now dictate the future direction of the country. We are people who don't rush off to the U.S. to read lectures or open foreign bank accounts. We stay at home and think through our plans for the future of a great Russia."
>
> —*Washington Post*, 28 December 1990

Petrushenko is here echoing the famous declaration of the tsarist minister Stolypin following the suppression of the Revolution of 1905: "What you want are great upheavals. But what *we* want is a Great Russia!" This cry of reaction is now emblazoned word for word on the banners of today's ultra-nationalistic "Fatherland" group. Petrushenko's fellow "red colonel" Alksnis recently went on television with the popular pro-tsarist TV journalist Aleksandr Nevzorov, where they jointly attacked the Baltic separatists. Alksnis openly proclaims, "I find more in common with Nevzorov the monarchist than Comrade Yakovlev the Communist."

If Petrushenko echoes Stolypin, some of his fellow "patriots" sound like the tsarist Black Hundreds or their spiritual heirs of today, the Russian fascists of Pamyat. Major General Viktor Filatov, editor of the influential *Military-Historical Journal*, reprinted a 1910 book in praise of the Russian army which recommended that Jews not be taken into military service alleging that they are physically weak and lacking in character. General Filatov was planning to reprint that notorious forgery of the tsarist bureaucracy, the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion," as an authentic religious document "like the Bible or the Koran"! That such anti-Semitic filth appears in a journal of the Soviet armed forces should scandalize and infuriate genuinely Soviet-patriotic officers.

While many officers would be embarrassed by such patent ravings of obscurantist racialism, the Russian Orthodox church—the strongest bastion of medieval obscurantism—is now addressing appeals to the military, seeking to subvert the army formed to defend the workers state. The German imperialists, who strove to carve up the Soviet Union in 1941 through Operation Barbarossa, now send columns of demobilized Soviet Army trucks home loaded with German care packages. According to the nightly news program *Vremya*, these were handed over to the Soviet Army as a gift to the Russian Orthodox church!

Appeals to Great Russian chauvinism have led to the undermining of the multinational Soviet Army, inciting ethnic blood feuds among soldiers, and between soldiers and officers, and played a large part in the rise of pogromist "national militias" in the republics. The fact that Alksnis (with Gorbachev) spearheads the ideological campaign against the Baltic restorationists with the Russian monarchist Nevzorov's reportage plays right into the hands of the Baltic separatists, who slanderously identify the Soviet Union with the tsarist empire. Military officers who want to defend the Soviet Union on a socialist basis must take as their model the communist internationalists of Trotsky's Red Army, not the Stalinist criminals who usurped power and murdered the earlier revolutionary generation.

At present the military hardliners have a conservative attitude toward economic change because the "democrats" link capitalist restoration to the breakup of the USSR and global appeasement of Western imperialism. However, anti-Western Russian nationalism can also serve as an ideological basis for capitalist counterrevolution. The ideology of the tsarist autocracy was Russian nationalism in its most obscurantist, medieval form. Slavophile reactionaries like Dostoyevsky denounced the soul-destroying materialism of the Western bourgeois world. This in no way prevented the tsarist bureaucracy from promoting capitalist development under the direction of West European financial centers, especially the Paris Bourse. (To this day French rentiers still expect to cash in on their tsarist bonds.)

Particularly after the Revolution of 1905, the weak Russian bourgeoisie came to see it needed the knout of the tsarist autocracy to protect capitalist property. In this period the prime minister Stolypin consciously fostered the development of wealthy peasant smallholders (*kulaks*) as a counterweight to the revolutionary and socialist proletariat.

In many respects the "red colonels" of Soyuz are similar to Slobodan Milosevic, the hardline Stalinist boss of Serbia, the dominant national republic in Yugoslavia. Milosevic is a rabid Serb chauvinist who is threatening war against the secessionist republican governments of Slovenia and Croatia. At the same time, he is carrying out a Polish-style economic "shock treatment" dictated by Western bankers. Over half a million Serbian workers are to be thrown into the streets as thousands of "unprofitable" enterprises are shut down. New laws in Yugoslavia allow for the wholesale privatization of socialized property. A regime of "patriots" like Petrushenko and Filatov in Russia would act in much the same way as their Serbian counterparts.

A Return to Stalinist Order?

General Filatov ranks Gorbachev with Lenin and Stalin as the three brilliant Soviet leaders of the century. But he says that Gorbachev "should find another Beria. Now we have means of persuasion, but no means of compulsion, and one cannot exist without the other. That is nonsense. Gorbachev has a carrot, but no whip." General Filatov and his friends may long for a return to the Stalinist order. But the conditions which underlay the Stalin regime of the 1930s-'40s and the very different conditions underlying the Brezhnev regime of the '70s do not exist in the Soviet Union today and cannot be recreated.

The hardline military man Filatov, like the pro-Western "democrats," reduces the Stalin regime to police-state terror personified by Beria. However, Stalin appealed to and exploited the enormous reservoir of *socialist idealism* created by the October Revolution. Even staunch anti-Stalinists who lived through the 1930s, such as the humanistic writer Anatoli Rybakov, recount the enthusiasm with which workers, poor peasants and leftist intellectuals threw themselves into the industrialization drive and collectivization of agriculture. "Socialism in one country" was a lie, but it was a lie deeply believed by Communist militants at the time. Nikita Khrushchev, who typified the worker turned party functionary of the 1920s, recalls that in 1930:

> "As Stalin was speaking, I thought to myself, 'Here is a man who knows how to direct our minds and energies toward the priority goals of industrializing our country and assuring the impregnability of our Homeland's borders against the

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Keller/NY Times

Guardian [London]

Russian-nationalist hardline Stalinists: anti-Semite Major General Viktor I. Filatov (left) and Soyuz spokesman Colonel Viktor Alksnis.

Soviet Union...

(continued from page 9)

> capitalist world; the well-being of the people is obviously in firm hands."
> —*Khrushchev Remembers* (1970)

During and after World War II, Stalin was able to mobilize the Soviet patriotism of the masses. In the late '40s the workers and collective farmers dedicated themselves to rebuilding their war-devastated country. The prewar level of industrial output was restored within five years.

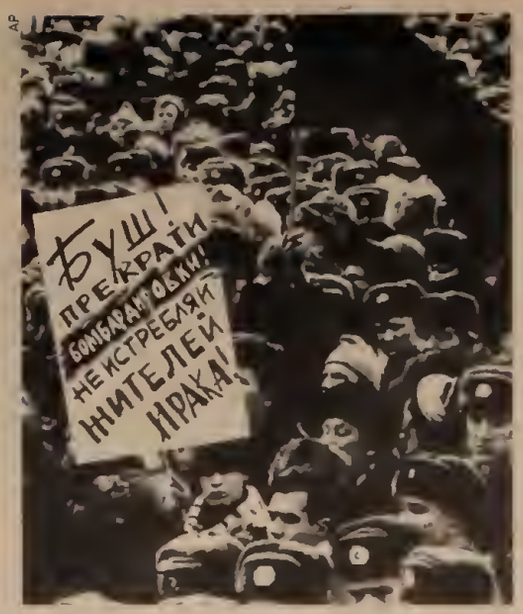
However, after Stalin died in early 1953, the Kremlin oligarchy could no longer rule through a combination of mass political mobilization and police-state repression (i.e., totalitarianism). The attempt to do so would have led to a popular revolt such as occurred at the time in East Europe (East Germany in 1953, Poland and Hungary in 1956). Under Khrushchev and even more so under Brezhnev, the Soviet leadership based its popular appeal on consumerism. During the 1970s the Soviet Union was governed by a tacit social contract. The people were guaranteed employment without having to work hard, a stable cost of living and a level of consumption substantially higher than a generation earlier. In return the people were expected not to meddle in politics, allowing the *nomenklatura* to run the country as it saw fit.

However, during the late 1970s the economic conditions underpinning the Brezhnevite social contract rapidly eroded. The one-sided concentration on heavy industry during the Stalin era made it relatively easy for his successors to rapidly increase the output of consumer goods by shifting the direction of investment. But beginning in the mid-'70s the Brezhnev regime *cut back* the rate of industrial investment in order to keep up with the American arms buildup without reducing living standards. By 1980 the Soviet industrial plant was relatively more antiquated by world standards than it had been a decade earlier.

Until around 1970 the Soviet Union still had a large pool of surplus labor in the countryside. Thus the transfer of young people from rural villages to urban factories or Siberian mines in itself raised the overall level of labor productivity. However, during the 1970s the continuing exodus of farmers' sons and daughters weakened and unbalanced the Soviet economy. The rapidly shrinking and aging workforce on the collective and state farms is the main reason why the enormous agricultural investments of the Brezhnev era failed to produce a comparable increase in crop yields.

The inflationary boom in the world market price of oil, natural gas and gold in the 1970s provided a major windfall for the Soviet economy. The inflow of petrodollars enabled the Brezhnev regime to maintain a relatively high level of investment, military spending and consumption. In particular, large quantities of feed grain for cattle were imported so that Soviet citizens could eat more meat.

No small part of the external stability enjoyed by the Brezhnev regime was paid for by the heroic revolutionary war of the Vietnamese, who took the heat of American imperialism. (Today, children of these heroes toil in unspeakable poverty as immigrant workers in the Soviet Union.) The collapse of the world oil-price boom in the early '80s signaled the collapse of the Brezhnevite Stalinist order.



Moscow, February 23: over one-quarter million Soviets demonstrate on Army Day. Poster demands that Bush stop bombing and killing Iraqis.

The "red colonel" Petrushenko blames the rise of the "free market" intellectuals to positions of influence on the pernicious doings of Western propagandists. However, the generation of party first secretaries represented by Gorbachev, Yeltsin and Shevardnadze were not somehow seduced by the intellectual arguments of Milton Friedman or Friedrich Hayek (whom they doubtless never read). The drive toward a "market economy" was a reactionary response to the *objective impasse* of the Soviet economy after six decades of bureaucratic parasitism and mismanagement in the name of "building socialism in one country."

Dominant elements of the bureaucracy and intelligentsia saw no other way to increase productivity and efficiency than the whip of market competition (the whip of another Beria wouldn't do it). This was clearly stated by the economist Nikolai Shmelyov, who in 1985 was the first to openly advocate unemployment as a means of improving labor discipline:

> "Today it is, I believe, clear to everyone that we owe disorderliness, drunkenness, and shoddy work largely to excessively full employment. We must discuss fearlessly and in businesslike terms what we could gain from a comparatively small reserve army of labor.... A real danger of losing your job and going onto a temporary allowance or being obliged to work wherever you are sent is a very good cure for laziness, drunkenness and irresponsibility."
> —quoted in U.S. Congress, Joint Economic Committee, *Gorbachev's Economic Plans* (1987)

Formerly married to a daughter of Khrushchev, Shmelyov is here speaking as a bona fide member of the *nomenklatura*, not some out-of-the-way "dissident." Today, such opinions are rampant throughout the intelligentsia.

Naturally, Soviet working people dread the prospect of a transition to a "market economy." The most hated and despised class of people in the USSR today are the price-gouging petty capitalist entrepreneurs ("cooperativists") and the "Sovbour" party bureaucrats who are now looting everything they can from the collective economy to finance their buy-in to the new property-owning class. A poll, reported in the *Wall Street Journal* (2 January), indicates that only *5 percent* of the Soviet population supports allowing the market to determine prices, while 75 percent want to preserve controls on at least some consumer goods and services. Soviet working people desperately want to preserve their jobs, maintain a stable cost of living and restore consumption to pre-perestroika levels.

However, they do not want to return to the bureaucratic commandism and police-state controls of the Brezhnev era. The "red colonel" Petrushenko may believe that "We, the patriots, will dictate the future direction of the country," but that will not be so easy. It is not only the intellectuals who have utilized the freedoms created by the disintegration of the old Stalinist order. In the summer of 1989 coal miners went on strike in the Donbass of the eastern Ukraine and Kuzbass in Siberia and effectively took over these regions.

Since then there have been numerous strikes and job actions, many of them organized by official trade unions which are no longer under tight bureaucratic control. In December a conference of 3,000 enterprise directors in Moscow called for a three-year ban on strikes. If the army and police move to suppress striking workers and their unions, the "law and order" hardliners will lose much of the public sympathy they now have as a reaction against the prevailing political and economic chaos.

Soviet working people must understand that both the "democratic" intellectuals and "patriotic" colonels are products of the terminal degeneration of the reactionary and parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy. Both are enemies and oppressors of the proletariat in the interests of world capitalism, the "democrats" of Yeltsin's camp more directly and consciously so. It is high time that the multinational Soviet proletariat comes forth in its own defense, against the forces of capitalist restoration, in the process sweeping away all wings of the bureaucracy.

It is the ghastly legacy of this bureaucracy that the gains of the October Revolution, chiefly the planned collectivized economy—which represents the greatest victory for the proletariat in history—lies in shambles. The privileged *nomenklatura* has plundered and undermined the Soviet economy for decades. Now they are preparing the death blow: the parasites are ever more openly sabotaging the economy so as to paralyze working-class resistance and are looting everything to buy their way into the top of a new order of direct imperialist exploitation and mastery over the Soviet peoples. Soviet workers: every position must be defended against the parasitic bureaucracy and the gathering forces of bourgeois mafias.

The Stalinists committed monstrous crimes, demanded great sacrifices of the Soviet working people and told endless lies, all in the name of "Communism." But in the coming class battles in defense of the working people, it is the internationalist program of Lenin's Bolsheviks, carried forth by the Trotskyist Left Opposition in the 1920s and the Fourth International founded in 1938—and the International Communist League today—that must point the way forward.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

"Our" Troops...

(continued from page 3)

(*Militant*, 11 January). Big surprise!

The article concludes that this slogan "bends to the pressure of the right wing," that it "obscures" the key questions and "disarms vanguard workers, who above all need clarity on which class benefits from this war and which class loses." And they even say, "The army is not 'ours'" but instead it's "the army of the imperialists." Just how the SWP's approved "Bring the troops home" slogan provides clarity on which class benefits from the Gulf War, they don't explain.

But they'll sure have a lot of explaining to do if any of their members should remember the picture of SWP leader Fred Halstead carrying the sign "Support Our Boys—Bring Them Home NOW." On the SWP's "antiwar" work in the '60s and '70s, he wrote the book, literally. As Malcolm X said, "The chickens come home to roost."

When reformists like the SWP refer to "our" troops, or "our boys," they are expressing political support to their bourgeois masters. Proletarian revolutionaries take an opposite view. Leon Trotsky wrote in *My Life* (1929) about how Lenin showed him around London when he arrived there in 1902 after escaping from Siberian exile: "'This is their famous Westminster,' and 'their' referred of course not to the English but to the ruling classes."

During the first imperialist world war he denounced the leaders of the Second International for their "act of treachery against socialism by voting for war credits, by reiterating the chauvinist ('patriotic') slogans of the bourgeoisie of their 'own' countries, by justifying and defending the war." But it was not just the open supporters of war who adopted this stance. Lenin wrote:

> "The standpoint of social-chauvinism is shared equally by both advocates of victory for their governments in the present war and by advocates of the slogan of 'neither victory nor defeat.' A revolutionary class cannot but wish for the defeat of its government in a reactionary war, and cannot fail to see that the latter's military reverses must facilitate its overthrow."
> —V.I. Lenin and G. Zinoviev, "Socialism and War" (July-August 1915)

And again in September 1915, a resolution submitted by Lenin and Karl Radek on behalf of the left wing at the Zimmerwald conference declared:

> "In *Germany*, both the openly patriotic majority current, made up of former Social-Democratic leaders, and also the party's 'Center' current around Kautsky, which merely postures as an opposition, have gone over to social patriotism and social imperialism.... *A ruthless struggle against social imperialism is the first prerequisite for the revolutionary mobilization of the proletariat and the restoration of the International.*"

For Lenin, as for all revolutionaries, class-conscious workers and fighters against imperialist war, clarity about what really is "ours" and what is "theirs" is key. ■

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Blitzkrieg...

(continued from page 1)

under house arrest for five weeks while their jobs are given to the 200,000 Soviet Jewish immigrants who have arrived in Israel in the last year. The Zionist rulers are pushing for a "final solution" to the Palestinian "problem," preparing for bloody mass expulsions from the Occupied Territories.

Other indirect targets of the chiefly Anglo-American Gulf War are the U.S.' chief imperialist rivals (and World War II enemies), Germany and Japan. Washington wants to counter their more modern and productive economic apparatus by militarily controlling the flow of oil from the Middle East. The German business magazine *WirtschaftsWoche* (8 February) headlined, "Gulf War: Germany the Loser." But Germany has its own options. Having hooked up to Soviet pipeline terminals as a result of its annexation of East Germany last year, the German Reich is already looking to the USSR for oil supplies. And with Moscow increasingly on the outs with Washington over the Gulf War, Bonn and Tokyo may be dreaming of an alliance with the resource- and population-rich Soviet Union.

For Class War Against Imperialist War

The Democratic "doves" in Congress, who earlier wanted to starve Iraq into submission through "UN sanctions," more recently called for continuing the murderous air war in order to "save American lives." Lining up behind them are the reformist "antiwar" organizers who in the name of "unity" with flag-waving liberals have become red-white-and-blue, yellow-ribboned "socialists." All their "support our troops" appeals only fuel the patriotic war hysteria which sent half a million troops to the Saudi desert to kill and be killed. And the American rulers *want* to see dead American troops. As former CIA agent John Stockwell said in an interview shortly after the bombing began:

> "The fascinating thing about this war is that they promised us, they being Mr. Reagan and Mr. Bush to a lesser sense in the 1980s, and especially the military establishment, they promised us since the Vietnam War that we would have another war in which we would erase the Vietnam syndrome.
>
> "...the Bush administration clearly wanted this war and steamrolled the opposition, but I don't think they want it over in the first day. It won't be a sufficient pageant. In fact, a certain amount of struggle will be useful to their purposes...."
>
> —"U.S. Policy: The Need for War" (January 1991)

Under the banner of Carter's anti-Soviet "human rights" crusade, continuing through Reagan's terrorist "proxy wars" against Soviet "surrogates" during the 1980s, U.S. imperialism has been preparing for a war like this for 15 years. As Stockwell points out, this time Washington "picked an enemy very carefully." After encouraging Hussein to invade Kuwait, the U.S. turned around and declared all-out war to the death against him. The *New York Times* (23 February) quotes a national security review ordered by Bush when he first took office: "In cases where the U.S. confronts much weaker enemies, our challenge will be not simply to defeat them, but to defeat them decisively and rapidly." This war was made to order from the start.

Coskun/Sipa

U.S. "precision bombing" flattens shops in Baghdad.

McNamee/Newsweek

Profits rising, proletarians falling: Raytheon, manufacturer of Patriot missiles, salutes its commander in chief.

Washington is grooving on its military prowess, but the Pentagon war machine has an Achilles' heel: the high percentage of black and Hispanic troops in a "volunteer" army whose recruits are driven by desperation to escape rampant poverty at home. And more than at any time in recent memory, the racial division over Washington's war is dramatic. Even at the height of the chauvinist hysteria, with five out of six whites favoring the war, half of all blacks polled opposed it. The understanding that "our war is at home" is widespread.

Homelessness, a wave of epidemics of diseases of poverty (AIDS, TB), permanent unemployment, and more young black men in prison than in college—this is the "American Way of Life" in the ghettos and the barrios. No wonder many of those condemned to live it aren't too hot about dying to defend it. Minorities are overwhelmingly hit by escalating budget cuts, including those ordered by liberal Democrats such as New York's governor Cuomo. And the black Democrats and labor bureaucrats are working overtime to make sure that the discontent remains passive.

From the start, the Spartacist League insisted that a *defeat* for U.S. imperialism would be a victory for the working people of the world. We have called for defense of Iraq and for labor strikes against the war. Today more than ever what's urgently needed is a revolutionary leadership to organize working-class struggle against war-crazed imperialism at home and abroad. ■

Letter...

(continued from page 3)

bosses' lackeys in the TWU cheer on the war from the comfort of the posh offices on West End Avenue while thousands of Iraqis die and our union brothers in the army and Guard face death for Bush and his oil buddies. TWUers are among the Harlem Hell Fighters, the black troops of the National Guard 369th Transport Battalion, the unit which has been abused, broken up, stripped of equipment and set up like sitting ducks in front-line positions on the Iraqi border. After this racist treatment, a lot of these brothers have vowed to quit the Guard when they return. Let the Pentagon's lieutenants in union office try to order them out of a union meeting for speaking their mind!

The bureaucrats have aided and abetted the bosses' war on the unions. But we're the ones taking all the "collateral damage." Because of these labor traitors, the likes of Frank Lorenzo and "Boss Hoge" of the *Daily News* walk away from busted unions with a pocketful of unearned wealth while union members walk away jobless. It was all meant to streamline the country for war—and now we're in it. The rulers of this country are willing to fight to the last drop of *our* blood to defend *their* way of life.

But the enemy of working people in this country is not in Baghdad...it's here at home, in Washington, on Wall Street. Our fight is here. And it's crystal clear that if we want to fight to stop the attacks on our unions, on black and Hispanic communities, and stop the carnage of war in the Middle East and elsewhere, we've got to fight to take back the unions and build a class-struggle workers party that can lead those fights. The junior bureaucrats-in-training who stand for racist U.S. imperialism will be an obstacle to that task.

Mary Jo Marino
New York

Baby Killer...

(continued from page 4)

citing Pentagon officials' claims that the Al Rashid Hotel, where Arnett and other Western journalists in Baghdad are based, was also a secret military communications node. "The good news," Ted Koppel told ABC reporter Bill Blakemore in Baghdad, is that the Rashid would not be bombed "for the time being."

The cynicism with which this blood-drenched ruling class proclaims the "sanctity of life" is breathtaking. "We would never put, ever put, civilians in a military communications facility that we knew was an apt target for the enemy," declared Kelly. Tell that to the families of the over 200 people killed aboard Korean Air Lines Flight 007, which was sent on a spy mission over some of the most sensitive Soviet military installations.

The Amiriya bombing is of a piece with Hiroshima, Nagasaki, My Lai and countless other U.S. war crimes aimed at terrorizing an "enemy" population into submission. In the Vietnamese village of My Lai in 1968, as many as 400 unarmed men, women and children were massacred. The psychopathic junior officer who ordered the slaughter was court-martialed, slapped on the wrist and held up as an exception.

In fact, My Lai was the rule, as Washington drummed it into the heads of its Lieutenant Calleys that the only way to defeat a "people's war" was by annihilating the people. And the CIA methodically executed 100,000 Vietnamese in its Operation Phoenix mass assassination program.

George Bush is a certified war criminal and baby killer. And when he and his fellow war criminals in Washington are finally brought to justice this premeditated mass murder will be Exhibit A. But war crimes tribunals are carried out by the victors. In order to try Bush and his gang of cutthroats, the American working people have to take state power. ■

Haeberle/Life

My Lai massacre in Vietnam, March 1968. Mass murder of civilians is nothing new for U.S. imperialism.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Pro-Imperialist "Democrats," Hardliners and Gorbachev

Where Is the Soviet Union Going?

Part 2: Rise of the Military Opposition

Responding to an appeal by a spokesman for the armed forces calling on "all Muscovites to come into the streets" on Soviet Army Day, February 23, several hundred thousand gathered in Manege Square near the Kremlin under the slogan "the party and the army are one." The demonstration was also called by the "Soyuz" (Union) grouping of parliamentary deputies of Russian-nationalist Stalinist hardliners. In the crisis atmosphere engulfing the Soviet Union, Soyuz spokesman Colonel Viktor Alksnis declared that "Our offspring will curse us if we let the union collapse," warning of the danger of "civil war." Denouncing those who say "Down with the empire," Alksnis openly appealed to reactionary Russian nationalism, invoking the "forefathers [who] died on the battlefields of Borodino" fighting in the tsar's army against Napoleon.

The square and the adjoining streets were a flood of people with red banners. In response to Russian Republic leader Boris Yeltsin, the darling of the pro-Western "democrats," who last week provocatively demanded on nationwide TV that Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev resign, signs declared "Traitor Yeltsin Resign" and "Yeltsin Equals Civil War." There were also signs denouncing the U.S. war on Iraq, including "Bush! Stop the Bombing and Don't Annihilate the Citizens of Iraq." But alongside "Hands Off Lenin" banners there were monarchist emblems, and the demonstration was permeated with outright anti-Semites, with signs putting the Star of David next to the word "Enemy."

The Army Day mobilization comes only days after a group of 29 organizations—including Soyuz, the Russian Communist Party and the United Front of Toilers (OFT)—issued an appeal in the Soviet Army paper *Krasnaya Zvezda*: "The country has reached a critical point after which come anarchy and chaos, the collapse of the state, poverty and bloodshed." Saying that "fascist-type forces" whose aim is the destruction of the USSR have taken power in parts of the country, they set up a "working conference to consolidate all patriotic and internationalist forces" (*Financial Times* [London], 18 February). With the prospect of draconian price rises on basic consumer goods in the offing, the situation in the Soviet Union is explosive.

Increasingly, military men have put themselves forward as leaders of the "conservative" Stalinist forces. Many Western observers now consider that Gorbachev has become a captive of the hardliners in the military. Speculation over and even the expectation of a military coup to restore order have become commonplace in Soviet political life, from the Kremlin to the factory floor. In his bitter resignation statement as foreign minister in December in which he spoke of the spectre of "dictatorship," Eduard Shevardnadze lashed out at the "boys in colonels' epaulets" who accused him of selling out to the imperialists. He was referring to the so-called "red colonels" Alksnis and his fellow Soyuz spokesman Vladimir Petrushenko.

Raymer/National Geographic

Retired Soviet Army officer confronts anti-Communist demonstrator at last year's May Day celebration in Red Square.

It would, however, be wrong to think that the military cadre were from the start hostile to Gorbachev's perestroika and longed to return to the "good old days" of Brezhnev. In the late '70s the Brezhnev regime, facing an economic slowdown, cut back on military procurement, much to the dissatisfaction of the generals and admirals. A section of the high command, led by then chief of staff Nikolai Ogarkov, publicly campaigned for a sweeping modernization of the USSR's weapons systems, especially its conventional (non-nuclear) arsenal. Brezhnev defended his economic priorities against Ogarkov and his military colleagues by arguing in 1981: "What we are talking about—foodstuffs, consumer goods, the services sphere—is a question of the daily life of millions of people.... It is according to how these questions are answered that people largely judge our work" (quoted in Dale R. Herspring, *The Soviet High Command 1967-1989* [1990]).

The military's dissatisfaction with the effects of economic stagnation was one of the factors leading to Gorbachev's taking over the Kremlin in 1985 and introducing perestroika (restructuring). The military wing of the bureaucracy had no desire to perpetuate the consumerism and lax labor discipline of the later Brezhnev years, and was willing to experiment with market-oriented measures as a promised means of accelerating economic growth. In the initial period of the Gorbachev regime, official military journals, like *Kommunist Vooruzhennykh Sil* (Communist in the Armed Forces), ran articles by prominent "reform" economists advocating decentralization, enterprise autonomy and a greater role for profitability. Writing in 1986, the American Sovietologist George Weickhardt commented:

> "...the armed forces have not taken the lead in economic reform, but have become part of a coalition backing the Party on the limited measures it has attempted so far. No military dissent from the Party's reform program has yet appeared in the numerous references to current measures in the military press. Neither has any military leader criticized the Party's reform measures as too limited or too far-reaching, at least not in the open way that Ogarkov criticized the Party's allocation of national resources."
>
> —"The Soviet Military-Industrial Complex and Economic Reform," *Soviet Economy*, July-September 1986

Military opposition to Gorbachev was not provoked by his market-oriented economic policies but rather by the effects of his "new thinking" in foreign policy, i.e., appeasement of the NATO powers, and its domestic repercussions. To prepare the Soviet public for the unilateral pullout from Afghanistan, Gorbachevite propagandists deliberately fostered pacifistic and anti-military sentiments. In 1987 General V. Serebriannikov lashed out at "certain writers and publicists" for expressing "decadent and cowardly thoughts which sow the seeds of pacifism."

The withdrawal of Soviet forces from Afghanistan at the beginning of 1989 enormously emboldened Western imperialism and set the stage for the subsequent collapse of Soviet power in East Europe, reversing the historic effect of the Red Army's victory over Nazi Germany. The final step was when early last year Gorbachev gave the green light to the capitalist reunification of Germany, leading to the establishment of a powerful Fourth Reich dominating Europe.

The abandonment of East Europe also led to material privation for the Soviet troops who had been stationed there. Army chief of staff Mikhail Moiseyev exclaimed last spring: "We will bring the troops home, but no one has clearly thought what it will cost. Families will find themselves without apartments or work, children without schools" (*Time*, 9 April 1990). Some units brought back from East Europe have been forced to live in tent cities. And with the economy in chaos, there are no jobs available for demobilized soldiers or officers.

Gorbachev and Shevardnadze promised that the abandonment of East Europe would mean the end of the Cold War and a new era of peaceful collaboration with Washington, Bonn and the other NATO capitals. Instead, American imperialism, perceiving that the Soviet leadership has lost its will to fight, launched its greatest military power play since Vietnam—the invasion of the Persian Gulf oil fields and war against Iraq. Five years ago Washington would never have risked carpetbombing Iraq, a Soviet client state, for fear of igniting World War III. Patriotic Soviet officers and soldiers are rightly appalled by the catastrophic developments from Central Europe to the Near East.

The military's increasing anger crystallized and came to the surface when the Lithuanian nationalists declared "independence" last March. Here, finally, the military cadre were determined to draw the line against further retreat. Deputy chief of staff General Vladimir Denisov wrote in the trade-union newspaper *Trud* that "the carrying out of the policy of the present Lithuanian leaders for secession is pregnant with danger for the security

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Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky! For a Socialist Union of Soviet Republics!

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 522

15 March 1991

Pumped-Up U.S. Imperialists Threat to World

Bush Gloats Over Desert Massacre

Reboura/AP

Charred remains of U.S. military's slaughter of Iraqi soldiers withdrawing from Kuwait. As planes repeatedly bombed "killing box" for over 12 hours, pilots boasted it was "like shooting fish in a barrel."

U.S. imperialism's easy win in its one-sided, bloody war of devastation against Iraq is a deadly danger to working people and the oppressed everywhere.

The flag-wavers are out in force, with military parades and yellow ribbons everywhere. Congress staged a spectacle for the conquering commander in chief that resembled something between a football pep rally and a Nazi beer hall meeting. Democrats and Republicans alike repeatedly rose to chant "Bush! Bush! Bush!" and wore American flags like armbands. Bush gloats that Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein "walks amidst ruins," while a pumped-up officer in the field trumpets Washington's message to "the rest of the world": "If the U.S. is going to deploy forces, watch out."

U.S. imperialism is "walking tall" over the corpses of tens of thousands of Arab people. It has shown the world what it has in store for anybody who steps out of line: the "highway nf dcath" from Kuwait City to the Iraqi port of Basra, an air raid shelter in Baghdad blown to smithereens, cities devastated hy night after night of carpetbombing. A doctor in Basra, desperately trying to treat wounded children with his medical facilities in tatters, commented bitterly: "Your great American soldiers can go home to their families now. They can tell them they devastated our lives and the lives of our children. Our country is no more."

But having devastated Iraq and destroyed its army, Washington finds it has now opened a Pandora's box. Two weeks after Bush urged Iraqis to overthrow Saddam Hussein, the U.S. seemed to be again tacitly backing its former Iraqi ally, as Iran proclaimed an uprising in Shi'ite-dominated southern Iraq. Meanwhile, Kurdish rebels temporarily allied with the Shi'ites claim to hold sections of the Kurdish-dominated north, where much of Iraq's oil is located. And the Near East seethes with bitterness against the U.S. and the butcher Bush.

"By God, we've kicked this Vietnam syndrome," crows Bush. This bankrupt empire that can't produce a decent car or VCR has registered to the peoples of the world that it still excels in one area: high-tech mass slaughter "Made in U.S.A." Now Washington and Wall Street are out to resurrect the American Century, which was born out of the U.S. victory in World War II and died in America's stinging defeat in Vietnam. But this is not 1945. The threadbare character of the imperialist triumphalism is captured in the simple fact that the center of world finance, New York City, is too broke to pay for its ticker-tape parade. Like the war itself, the victory celebrations will be financed hat in hand.

The world had better watch out. Who's next—Cuba, North Korea? It's not too hard to imagine "Desert Storm" heing turned into "Caribbean Hurricane"—a blockade of Cuha, followed by merciless bombing and, finally, a ground assault. Already they've lined up the UN to investigate "human rights abuses" in this small country whose social revolution still sticks in Washington's craw. But the Cuban people will fight to defend the social gains they wrested from the Mafia-run dictatorship and *yanqui* imperialists.

And at home in the U.S., blacks and working people are under the gun. Just since the beginning of "Desert Shield," 700,000 more workers have been added to the ranks of the jobless at home, while Bush vows to veto legislation which would prevent employers from firing strikers wholesale. And as Bush called to bring "that same sense of urgency" with which the Iraqi people were slaughtered to the "war on crime," the viciously racist LAPD complied, with a sadistic, near-fatal beating of a black motorist (see page 16).

As a factor in bourgeois politics, Bush and his generals did manage to spike the "Vietnam syndrome." The Democrats have heen thoroughly cowed. But amid all the triumphalist hoopla, popular pro-war sentiment in the country remains shallow—it was hardly tested. Much of the black population refused to support the U.S. invasion. Many of the many hundreds of antiwar GIs who now face prosecution for refusing to take part in the slaughter of non-white Muslim peoples are black. The American working class, with its sizable black and Hispanic components, remains the Achilles' heel of U.S imperialism. And it is our task to hring down this bloodthirsty imperialist power before it blows up the world.

Reuters

Victims of American blitzkrieg. Tens of thousands of Iraqi dead were left in the desert. This is about the only photo of corpses we could find. The Pentagon censored the rest.

U.S. War Criminals on the Loose

While the Pentagon preens itself on its high-tech war machine and Bush hoasts that "America in Desert Storm was a first class talent," this was not so much a war

continued on page 15

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

To War, For Empire!

"History," Black militant activist Malcolm X once noted, "is best suited to reward our research."

The fiery leader's axiom leapt to mind recently when I read of the growing anti-war positions taken by Vietnam veterans.

It is a fixture in the public mind that vets from the Vietnam War were somehow "different" from veterans of other wars. For quite a few years the term "Vietnam Vet" became a curse, a coded suggestion that the subject was somehow "off." According to the myth, vets of other, earlier wars were warmly embraced by society upon return.

Such a notion has fueled many a Ramboid fantasy. Like most fantasies, it is false.

Back during the Depression, around 1932, veterans of the First World War converged on Washington, as part of a massive march and demonstration against the U.S. government policy of issuing "bonus certificates" due for cash payments, years in the future. Those at the Bonus Army March on Washington demanded Congress pay the vets off now, when money for survival was desperately needed.

They came, by the thousands, to personally petition their government, on whose behalf they had so recently fought the "Great War," for payment due them, to fight hard times.

Over twenty thousand people, men, wives and children, encamped in the area around the White House, and other federal buildings, to push the demonstration for "Payment now, not later."

The House of Representatives passed the bill, but it was defeated in the Senate, and some vets, discouraged, left.

Most, however, living in tents, lean-tos and cardboard boxes, stayed.

President Hoover issued eviction orders to the Army, and as historian (and present-day anti-war activist) Howard Zinn details in his remarkable *A People's History of the United States* (Harper & Row, N.Y., 1980):

> "Four troops of cavalry, four companies of infantry, a machine gun squadron, and six tanks assembled near the White House. General Douglas MacArthur was in charge of the operation, Major Dwight Eisenhower his aide. George S. Patton was one of the officers. MacArthur led his troops down Pennsylvania Avenue, used tear gas to clear veterans out of the old buildings, and set the buildings on fire. Then the Army moved across the bridge to Anacosta. Thousands of veterans, wives, children began to run as the tear gas spread. The soldiers set fire to some of the huts, and soon the whole encampment was ablaze. When it was all over, two veterans had been shot to death, an eleven-week-old baby had died, an eight-year-old boy was partially blinded by gas, two police had fractured skulls, and a thousand veterans were injured by gas." (p. 382)

The government's martial response to veterans who dared demand prompt payment puts the very real grievances of Vietnam vets into a certain perspective.

Rarely has history provided a better illustration of how soldiers serve government, but commanders of soldiers serve the ruling elite.

After the smoke has settled from the megabombing of Baghdad, and soldiers, their tour of duty ended, return to U.S. cities, they will find urban nightmares even worse than they left, full to the bitter brim of blight, homelessness, joblessness and aching hopelessness.

Who will reconstruct the bombed-out neighborhoods of the South Bronx, of Brownsville, of North Philly, of Harlem?

Once more, a generation returns from war.

Once more, a generation returns, after a war for empire, to emptiness.

1 February 1991

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Mumia faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Mumia, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, Drawer R, Huntingdon, PA 16652.

Women's Liberation and the Family

TROTSKY

LENIN

On the occasion of International Women's Day, March 8, we print below passages from the classic Marxist work on the rise of exploitative class society and the patriarchal family, the central social institution of the oppression of women. The bourgeois family has always served as a bedrock of conservatism to ensure conformity to bourgeois morality, which condemns anything that deviates, from premarital sex to homosexuality. Today as family structures disintegrate under the hammer blows of decaying capitalism, which impoverishes the entire working class and carries out a policy of genocide against ghetto blacks, the answer is not to revive this institution that enslaves woman, but to ensure her full participation in social life and to struggle for women's liberation through socialist revolution.

With the patriarchal family, and still more with the single monogamous family, a change came. Household management lost its public character. It no longer concerned society. It became a *private service*; the wife became the head servant, excluded from all participation in social production. Not until the coming of modern large-scale industry was the road to social production opened to her again—and then only to the proletarian wife. But it was opened in such a manner that, if she carries out her duties in the private service of her family, she remains excluded from public production and unable to earn; and if she wants to take part in public production and earn independently, she cannot carry out family duties. And the wife's position in the factory is the position of women in all branches of business, right up to medicine and the law. The modern individual family is founded on the open or concealed domestic slavery of the wife, and modern society is a mass composed of these individual families as its molecules....

With the transfer of the means of production into common ownership, the single family ceases to be the economic unit of society. Private housekeeping is transformed into a social industry. The care and education of the children becomes a public affair; society looks after all children alike, whether they are legitimate or not.

—Frederick Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (1884)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

DIRECTOR OF PARTY PUBLICATIONS Liz Gordon

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Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-170) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007 Telephone (212) 732-1862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions $7 00/24 issues Second-class postage paid at New York NY POSTMASTER Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 522 **15 March 1991**

Hearst Press Censors Warren Hinckle

When the U.S. began its dirty colonial war of devastation against Iraq in mid-January, the lap dogs of the bourgeois media with their laptop PCs slavishly obeyed their masters' voice. So when maverick liberal journalist Warren Hinckle submitted an antiwar column for the 17 January edition of the *San Francisco Examiner* titled, "If Saddam Hussein Is Hitler, Then George Bush Is Tojo," the article got the kibosh from *Examiner* publisher Hearst and Hinckle landed on "vacation" and "partially paid leave."

For William Randolph Hearst III, scion of *the* Hearst who brought you the Spanish-American War, if you can't say anything *nice* about the terror bombing of Iraq, you shouldn't say anything at all. Hearst, true to his heritage, in a 17 February editorial recommended "retaliating with short-range nuclear missiles," if "justified" by Iraqi attacks. The Hearst papers also led the charge when the U.S. interned Japanese Americans during World War II.

Now Hinckle has started his own paper, *War News*, explaining in the first issue, "Our editorial policy is, simply put, that it is not in America's national interest to kill Arabs and that the entire rationale for this war is a lie." The paper is a real blast from the past, including contributions from Paul Krassner, comix by R. Crumb, and a zany hallucinatory fax from "war correspondent" Hunter S. Thompson. The gonzo journalist warns that the current bombing of Iraq will soon "have dwarfed Guernica, as well as Dresden & Hiroshima," and refers us to the Book of Revelations, particularly Ch. 6:1-17 and Ch. 9:1-21, in re: the end of the world. To date, *War News* lacks a union bug.

Warren Hinckle first attained notoriety as editor of the '60s rad-lib magazine *Ramparts* and has over the years exposed and scandalized deserving targets including the CIA, Margaret Thatcher's Britain, George Bush and his CIA drug trade escapades, Dianne Feinstein and the San Francisco police. He has written movingly in support of imprisoned former Black Panther Geronimo Pratt's fight for freedom and against Pratt's frame-up under COINTELPRO.

It's a real sign of the times that Hinckle—who's certainly no Marxist and hobnobs with the likes of Daniel Ellsberg (a *War News* contributor) who prefers that the U.S. had "merely" stayed with economic sanctions (starve them slowly) against Iraq—gets bounced in favor of more patriotic gore. Still, Warren Hinckle delightfully spits in the eye of bourgeois institutions and authority, reportedly earning the ire of SF mayor Art Agnos (whom he calls "Red Art" to spoof the mayor's "progressive" pretensions). Some Hinckle watchers are speculating his suspension from the *Examiner* has to do with the fact that Agnos and Will Hearst are thick as thieves and Agnos wants Hinckle off his back.

For our part, we condemn Hearst's censorship of one of the few decent voices on the journalistic scene. ■

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Daily News Strike: The Bitter End

MARCH 12—What began as an enormously popular strike with a high national profile almost five months ago ended in an obscene scramble by the bureaucrats of the New York newspaper unions to fork over hundreds of union jobs to the new owner of the New York *Daily News*, the infamous British press lord Robert Maxwell.

The union ranks did all right when it came to militancy. Quite a few scabs and hired "ninja" thugs got a taste of union power. The strikers pretty much kept the scab *News* off the newsstands, something Boss Hoge and his boss Brumhack never figured on. Over 200 unionists were arrested for defending their picket lines from scab assaults. Through their tenacity, the strikers were able to prevent the Chicago Tribune Company's attempt to bust their unions outright. But their leaders had no program to win.

As we go to press, the union chiefs in the Allied Printing Trades Council have agreed to proposed contracts that slash *over one third* of the union jobs at the paper, more than 800 in all. The New York press unions have been fighting a decades-long defensive battle over technology and jobs—if this deal goes down, the labor-hating *New York Times* bosses, with a $450-million ultra-modern printing facility at Edison, NJ ready to roll, are ready to sock it to the unions.

All the talk is about how they've "saved" the *Daily News*. When Maxwell drove off in his limo, he was cheered by people on the street. Pickets in front of the News building on 42nd St. hoisted paper cups of champagne. The union tops patted themselves on the back. They bragged in a *Times* "insider" account of the strike about how "smart" they were in following AFL-CIO advice to do everything to avoid a strike. So they got to take the union-busting Tribune Co. owners to the Labor Board for "unfair labor practices."

And what did they get? An empty NLRB ruling and a new boss who talks about "partnership" while slashing hundreds of jobs. Union adviser (and sometime management adviser) Ted Kheel was looking for a new owner from the start, and now they're billing Maxwell as the "white knight" come along to save the day. But look at past examples of such "saviors." TWA unions brought in raider Carl Icahn, who promptly turned around and forced flight attendants into a devastating strike.

Take it from us, Robert Maxwell is no chivalrous knight. Cap'n Bob the pirate, as he's been dubbed by the British satirical weekly *Private Eye*, has sunk more papers than the Trib Co. ever owned. The union tops with their "Settle or Sell[out]" strategy figure they got the best deal they could cut. But with their no-strike, no-win defeatism, from the very beginning they were only bargaining over *how much they would lose, or rather, give away.*

From Boss Hoge to Captain Bob

Cap'n Bob says workers can starve in "dignity," while he lives it up on bloated profits. Maxwell and Liz Taylor at Malcolm Forbes' multi-million-dollar birthday bash in Morocco.

Ron Galella, Private Eye (cartoon)

The proposed cuts at the *News* will slam the pressmen and drivers unions hardest—unions which were the backbone of the strike. Three hundred out of 750 drivers will go back to the daily shape-up. Minority and women drivers will be almost wiped out. Half the pressmen's jobs in Local 2 are being sacrificed as part of the $70 million in annual givebacks offered to Maxwell. The mostly white-collar Newspaper Guild will be cut by 238 jobs.

The *Daily News* strike could have been won, and should have been. We said how from the outset. To begin with, the printing plants should have been occupied so that no scab edition of the *News* ever hit the streets. The thousands of New York City unionists who came out to repeated rallies should have been mobilized to ring the plants. In this battle which affected all NYC papers, the press unions should have struck all the dailies. And to win solid public support, they should have put out a daily *Workers News*.

The scab *News* could not have printed without the newsprint and ink delivered to it by Teamsters, longshoremen and railroad workers. A fighting union leadership would have called on the transport unions to "hot cargo" this vital material. Instead, the "progressive" labor fakers in charge of strike "support," led by hospital workers Local 1199 president Dennis Rivera, launched a useless "corporate campaign," sending strikers out of town to plead for a consumer boycott of Trib Co. holdings.

The race question was a key issue here. *News* management, who have been convicted of racist discrimination, recruited many black and Hispanic strikebreakers, and then cynically exploited the homeless as hawkers of their scab rag. The unions did nothing to address this, or the history of job-trusting which has historically excluded minorities and women from the crafts. If the press unions had demanded the *News* pay for a program of training and recruitment to redress this history of discrimination, it would have forged a powerful alliance of labor and the ghetto poor.

Cap'n Bob Eats Papers for Breakfast

The new owner of the *News*, also known in Britain as Max Robwell, is an egomaniac who specializes in debt-ridden buyouts of printing and publishing companies. And Cap'n Bob is an expert at slashing jobs (as well as firing editors left and right). When Maxwell took over the printing conglomerate BPC, he cut almost half the firm's 13,000 jobs. Another 2,000 heads rolled at the *Mirror* newspapers in 1985, where the editorial rule is "bottomless taste and topless women." One angry employee remembered: "He made numerous promises. He honored none. He said there would be no redundancies (layoffs), there were bloody thousands."

Recently, Cap'n Bob, wheeler-dealer and spokesman for the right wing of the British Labour Party, led the witchhunt against British National Union of Miners head Arthur Scargill for receiving "Russian gold" during the 1984-85 miners strike. Maxwell's *Daily Mirror* "spent hundreds of thousands of pounds on his vendetta," and he once bragged, "I take delight and some pride in having got rid of the militants out of the labour movement" (*Socialist Worker*, 21 July 1990). This is the "humane" capitalist who will be running the *Daily News* from his yacht on the East River.

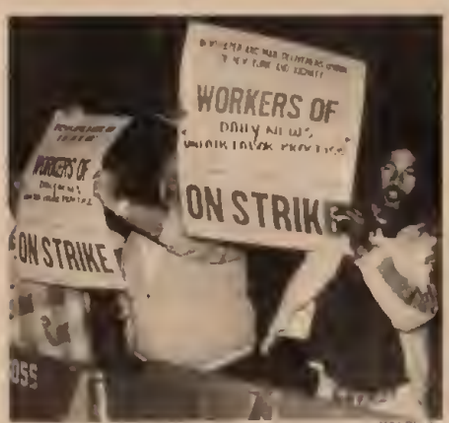
The Sunset Years?

The *Wall Street Journal* (26 February) quotes labor "consultant" Victor Kamber as saying that the unions "are willing to fight to the bitter end—even their own." This is the AFL-CIO tops' idea of a "victory," like the recent Eastern strike which lasted "one day longer" than the now-dead company. A recent study called the "Sunset Years of Collective Bargaining" estimates that the percentage of the private workforce that is unionized will fall to five percent by the end of the decade. That would mean the disappearance of *five million* union jobs! Today, among industrialized countries, only France has a lower percentage of unionization.

The "answer" of the traitors who have run the labor movement into the ground by chaining the unions to the capitalist parties of war and racism is...begging Congress to "outlaw" scabs. Their "replacement workers" legislation is billed as the solution to the string of defeats that began with PATCO, continued with Greyhound, Hormel, Eastern and now the *Daily News*. Aside from the fact that Bush will veto it, no law is going to win even a skirmish in the class war. These hard-fought strikes were stabbed in the back by the labor bureaucracy—and their fake-socialist water boys on the left. Want to get rid of scabs? Play hardball and win a solid strike.

Running to Congress, appealing to the Bush/Reagan labor board, inviting "Cutback" Cuomo and other Democratic Party politicos to don union windbreakers and blow air at their 42nd Street rallies, begging for a new owner—the labor fakers chained the unions to the bosses and their parties. From the beginning of the *Daily News* strike, the Spartacist League told the truth:

> "Around the world, the working class and the oppressed must rely on their own strength to win, shedding any illusions that this racist capitalist state can be 'neutral' when the fundamentally counterposed interests of labor and capital collide on the picket line. The Democratic and Republican parties are just two wings of the capitalists' property party, the 'bipartisan' war party. We need a fighting workers party." ■



WV Photo

Berman/NY Times

Initial militancy and popular support in four and a half month *Daily News* strike was dissipated by union tops' refusal to occupy the printing plant and shut down scab operation.

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Soviet Miners Strike Amid Perestroika Turmoil

On March 1, a long-threatened national strike broke out in the Karaganda coal fields in Soviet Central Asia. While Karaganda miners have since returned to work, the strike has spread to mines in the key Donets (Ukraine) and Kuznetsk (western Siberia) basins, with a hard core in the Pechora mines around Vorkuta. The miners are demanding pay increases of 100 to 150 percent. But these demands are increasingly overshadowed by shrill calls from strike leaders for the resignation of Mikhail Gorbachev and his government.

After six years of Gorbachev's perestroika program of market-oriented "reforms," the Soviet Union is lurching toward full-scale civil war. The economy is spiraling into collapse, the central government is locked in combat with a number of secessionist republican governments. And now the demagogic pro-capitalist Russian Federation president Boris Yeltsin cites the miners' "militant actions" as motivation to "declare war on the leadership of the country." He is not speaking metaphorically.

Union leaders claim 100,000 have downed tools—only about 8 percent of the USSR's more than 1.2 million coal miners, and not all of these are raising political demands. As the government prepares to introduce massive price hikes on essential goods, Soviet working people have good reason to protest the assault on their living standards. However, in the superheated atmosphere of Soviet society today workers must beware of those political and "labor" leaders who would use them as pawns in a dangerous and reckless power play for counterrevolutionary aims.

In the Kuzbass, strike leaders echo Yeltsin in demanding that the central government dissolve itself and hand power over to the various republics, essentially a call for capitalist dismemberment of the USSR. A leader of the Karaganda strikers, Pyotr Schlegel, rants: "Hell yes, I'm for capitalism. The first thing I did when I took over at the union was take Lenin's picture down from the office wall." And miners union leader Pavel Shushpanov calls for a law establishing private ownership including of the mines.

These people are bitter enemies of the Soviet working class. They seek to turn the powerful Soviet miners into a battering ram for openly pro-capitalist forces whose victory would mean the destruction of every remaining social gain—the right to work, cheap housing and low food prices, free medical care—which the Soviet workers have as a result of the collectivized economy.

The answer to the woefully mismanaged Stalinist "command economy" is not the capitalist "free market" of unemployment and homelessness but a struggle to revive and revitalize the collectivized economy through genuine soviet democracy. The Soviet working people must once again become the political masters of society.

"AFL-CIA" Crows Over "Free" Miners Union

Concerted working-class struggle against the ravages of Gorbachev's market reforms can be the key to reversing the drive toward full-scale capitalist restoration and the disintegration of the multinational Soviet state. As we wrote two years ago:

> "With the miners strikes of July 1989, the Soviet workers dramatically returned to the political scene with a display of proletarian power that shook the Kremlin bureaucrats of all factions and cliques as well as the imperialist bourgeoisies. Under revolutionary leadership, this is the decisive force which will determine the fate of the Soviet Union, together with the struggles of their class brothers and sisters throughout the world."
>
> —"Soviet Workers Challenge Perestroika," *WV* No. 483, 4 August 1989

But a revolutionary leadership is precisely what is lacking in the Soviet Union today. In its absence, all sorts of sinister political forces have moved to capitalize on the discontent and desperation of Soviet workers.

The newly formed Independent Union of Miners (NPG), which called the current strikes, claims a membership of only 80,000. The NPG was formed last October in Donetsk at a congress of delegates from various mining regions. Its aim, according to its draft programmatic declaration, is "to defend the rights and interests of the workers...under the conditions of a market economy" and to fight for higher pay "in accordance with the market price of labor power." In other words, they accept the return of capitalist exploitation and condemn the workers in advance to whatever wages the capitalist market dictates.

Reuters

Coal miners in the Kuzbass during the 1989 strike by half million miners that shook the USSR.

One resolution submitted to the congress called for an "international conference on trade-union rights and freedoms," specifically inviting the AFL-CIO, Polish Solidarność and other "democratic trade unions" while excluding the official Soviet trade unions. Lech Walesa's Solidarność is now imposing brutal capitalist austerity on Polish workers in the service of the International Monetary Fund. What such "free unions" bring is not prosperity but soup kitchens.

When the NPG was proclaimed, the American AFL-CIO Department of International Affairs' *Bulletin* (November 1990) crowed: "USSR Miners Union—Free At Last." When this mouthpiece for CIA intervention into the international labor movement cheers, Soviet workers had better watch out. From breaking up Communist-led unions in West Europe after World War II to engineering coups against leftist governments in Latin America to propping up state-run company unions in South Korea and other dictatorships, this outfit has rightly earned the sinister title "AFL-CIA."

In fact, the creation of the NPG was essentially the result of a coup by a small minority of delegates in the last hours of the four-day congress, as a grouping of 130 of the 900 delegates present unilaterally "declared itself a founding conference" (*Pravda*, 27 October 1990). Hailing this "bold maneuver," the *Bulletin* gloated, "Many of those leading the successful push for a free union...are well-known to the AFL-CIO." As the *Bulletin* pointed out, some of them had been on a tour of the U.S. earlier last year. What it didn't say was that the tour was paid for by the Bush government through the U.S. Information Agency.

The congress was addressed by United Mine Workers of America secretary-treasurer John Banovic, who offered "solidarity" on "their road to an independent union." What the AFL-CIO tops mean by "independent" is independent from working-class struggle. With the election campaign of Arnold Miller for union president in the early 1970s, the UMW bureaucracy shoved this once powerful union into the hip pocket of the capitalist government. In the last decade, UMW membership has been cut in half, while two-thirds of all coal mined in the U.S. is now non-union.

By no means do all the miners who look to the NPG favor restoring capitalism in the Soviet Union. Many are simply defeatist about stopping the onrush of market forces being pushed by sections of the bureaucracy from Gorbachev on down, and seek to defend their own sectional interests as best they can. Others entertain illusions that the capitalist market can somehow be "controlled" by the working class. And many more miners are staying away from the NPG because of its acceptance of the market. Interviewing miners in nearby Donbass pits during its coverage of the congress, *Komsomolskaya Pravda* (6 November 1990) reported: "In the miners' collectives, dissatisfaction with their leaders and disappointment in the movement in general are coming to a head.... If there is any interest in the congress, it is a kind of detached interest." Miners told them: "We aren't ready for privatization or a market right now...."

At the congress, many delegates showed themselves to be open to the authentic communism of Trotskyism, as representatives of the International Communist League argued that the restorationist drive could be stopped through proletarian political revolution to restore genuine *soviet* democracy. A bundle of 200 of the Russian-language *Spartacist Bulletin* ("What Is Trotskyism?") was sold out in 20 minutes; another shipment of 400 was snapped up in an hour, and many more miners ordered prepaid copies to be sent to them in their regions.

Not everything went the way the imperialists' lackeys wanted at the congress. A campaign to enlist the Soviet miners in an international anti-Communist witchhunt against the British National Union of Mineworkers and its leader Arthur Scargill was stymied, in large measure as

continued on page 14

At miners congress in Donetsk last October (below), hundreds of copies were sold of Russian-language *Spartacist Bulletin* calling for defense of collectivized property against capitalist restoration.

Spartacist Photos

Where Is the Soviet Union Going?

Part 3: Working Class Must Fight for Genuine Soviet Power

After six and a half decades of Stalinist rule, the Soviet Union is lurching toward catastrophe. As the economy collapses, the forces driving toward capitalist counterrevolution and bloody nationalist strife have grown apace and the contending elements of the disintegrating bureaucracy are threatening each other with civil war.

President of the Russian republic Boris Yeltsin, who now leads the pro-Western forces of open capitalist restoration (the so-called "democrats"), has demanded that Gorbachev resign and surrender political power to the governments of the various republics. Gorbachev, now leaning for support on old-line apparatchiks and military men, responded that this will lead "to the path of confrontation, right up to civil war." And now Yeltsin has issued an open declaration of war against the Kremlin, vowing that the outcome will be decided by the end of March.

Meanwhile, the country is careening into chaos. Three-quarters of the meat shops in Moscow are empty as other republics have cut off supplies. Police in Tomsk use tear gas to "calm down" women shoppers waiting in line. While the bourgeois mafias and many intellectuals have stocked provisions, Kazakhstan miners and their children live from hand to mouth on rations.

In the non-Russian republics, the rise of anti-Soviet nationalism threatens to rip apart the USSR, with the remnants becoming neocolonies of Wall Street, Frankfurt and Tokyo. The secessionist governments of the Baltic republics are intent on joining the capitalist "free world," while the large and heavily proletarian Russian-speaking population in this region faces national oppression and expulsion. In Georgia, the rabidly nationalist Tbilisi regime has launched a murderous pogrom against the Ossetian minority. Gorbachev's March 17 referendum on preserving the Union will resolve nothing. Only the multinational Soviet working class can prevent the bloody dismemberment of their country which would accompany the restoration of capitalism.

Der Spiegel

Giant Uralmash mechinery plant in Sverdlovsk. Soviet working class has the power to defeat forces of capitalist restoretion and reectionary nationalism. Key is revolutionary leadership.

The advocates of outright capitalist restoration, from Russia's Yeltsin to Lithuania's Landsbergis, claim that the "free market" is the road to economic renewal and prosperity. In reality, it will mean closing down thousands of enterprises, throwing millions of workers into the streets, runaway inflation and the total dismantling of medical care, childcare and other social programs. Look at the gutting of the livelihoods and wholesale impoverishment of the working people in Poland and eastern Germany following the triumph of pro-Western "democrats"!

Opposed to the "democrats" are the self-styled "patriots," especially strong in the armed forces, who call for a return to law, order and discipline. Their law and order, despite its appeal to many, is aimed at making the working class restore and perpetuate the privileges of the bureaucratic elite. Many of the "patriotic" apparatchiks and military men will support using the army to suppress workers strikes and protests against the sharp consumer price increases announced by the Gorbachev regime.

Soyuz, the Russian Communist Party, the United Front of Toilers (OFT) and allied "patriotic" currents claim to stand above all for the unity and preservation of the multinational USSR. Yet these "patriotic" organizations embrace Great Russian chauvinists, tsarists and vile anti-Semites, whose program can only fuel nationalist and communalist bloodletting. Genuine Soviet patriotism demands a return to the proletarian internationalism of the Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky.

The Soviet working class has to date been trapped within the political framework set by the contending factions of the bureaucracy and intelligentsia. Thus coal miners in the eastern Ukraine and Siberia are now striking in a desperate defense of their plummeting living standards. At the same time, leaders of the recently formed Independent Union of Miners—who have direct ties to American imperialism—are supporting Yeltsin's demand for Gorbachev's resignation and the transfer of effective economic power to the (pro-capitalist) republican governments.

Gorbachev accuses Yeltsin of using "neo-Bolshevist" methods, but in reality Yeltsin is a White Guardist. What the Soviet Union urgently needs today are real Bolsheviks. In 1991 an impending catastrophe threatens the working people, and no less than in 1917 a revolutionary program is needed to fight it. Soviet working people must cut through the false division between "democrats" and "patriots," both products of the terminal degeneration of the reactionary and parasitic Stalinist bureaucracy. Both are enemies and oppressors of the working class in the interests of world capitalism. The working class must take political power into its own hands and reconstruct society in its own interests.

For Centralized Economic Planning Under Workers Democracy

The stagnation of the Soviet economy during the last Brezhnev years has given way under Gorbachev to bureaucratized chaos. Both the central and republican governments have flooded the country with increasingly worthless rubles while state shops stand empty. The chemical industry is operating at a fraction of its capacity. Steel mills cannot get coking coal. Plants producing machinery cannot get steel. At the largest truck plant in the world, in Volgograd, the main production line stands idle for lack of inputs. And now the United States is auctioning off lucrative oil concessions in the Bering Sea which were signed over by ex-foreign minister Shevardnadze.

The same apparatchiks who for years have run the collectivized economy into the ground are now *looting* state enterprises in order to buy their way into a new bourgeoisie as junior partners of Wall Street and Frankfurt. Independent workers committees must be formed in factories, mines, railroad yards and other enterprises to prevent bureaucratic sabotage as well as attempts at privatization.

continued on page 6

Wide World

Christian Rakovsky (left) with Leon Trotsky in 1927: leaders of the Left Opposition to Stalinist bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet Union. They fought for return to Leninist internationelism.

Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!
For a Socialist Union of Soviet Republics!

Soviet Union...

(continued from page 5)

Such workers committees can be the basis of *soviets*, drawing into their ranks collective farmers, oppressed minorities, working women, Red Army soldiers and officers, old-age pensioners, those at all levels of society who would be communists and those few members of the intelligentsia who overcome their corrupt appetites and embrace the cause of the working class. There must be no place in these soviets for the new parasites and exploiters, nor for those within the bureaucracy who are their ideologues and sponsors. The workers and their allies will themselves, by their free vote, indicate which parties they recognize as soviet parties. We stand for a government based on soviet democracy such as was established by the October Revolution of 1917. These will not be talk shops such as the present legislative hodies, for which the Soviet people have developed a healthy revulsion, but organs to directly carry out the will of the working people.

The "democratic" agents of capitalist counterrevolution exploit popular revulsion against Stalinist bureaucratic rule to argue for a parliamentary system of government as in the West. In the economically privileged capitalist countries of West Europe, North America and Japan, whose rulers brutally exploit hundreds of millions of impoverished toilers in the so-called Third World, parliamentarism serves as a "democratic" cover for the class rule of the bourgeoisie. However, the real basis of bourgeois rule in even the wealthiest capitalist societies is fear on the part of the workers that if their labor ceases to be of value to those who own the means of production, they and their families could be sleeping on sidewalks and eating out of garbage cans.

Denunciations of the Stalinist "administrative and command" system of the economy have become the main ideological cover for advocates of capitalist restoration. Many working people identify centralized planning and management as such with bureaucratic commandism, arbitrariness and parasitism. This is false. The central direction of the economy by a government of soviets is the *only way* that the working class can *democratically* determine the allocation of society's resources in order to ensure social equality at the highest level of productivity —more and better.

We oppose competition between atomized enterprises, which necessarily fosters greater inequality and undermines the social solidarity of the working class. For the same reason, we reject the syndicalist program of workers self-management of enterprises (which is cynically promoted by pro-capitalist forces to introduce a market economy), calling instead for centralized management by a workers government. At the enterprise level, democratically elected factory committees should control working conditions. They could debate the plan in conjunction with fellow workers in other plants. They could dismiss incompetent and corrupt managers, and achieve real labor discipline based on socialist consciousness and the standards set hy and enfnrced by workers collectives.

At a broader level, genuine soviets could make sovereign decisions on what to subsidize. Market forces will never provide adequate childcare, for example. The Soviet Union could easily have the best medical system in the world, far surpassing the class-determined care available (to some) in capitalist countries. By getting rid of the criminal chaos in distribution of agricultural products with an iron hand, a government of soviets could easily supply all its own wheat and have plenty of foreign exchange left over to provide the entire Soviet population with Japanese VCRs and quality pantyhose. And such a revolutinnary regime would *increase* aid to countries like Vietnam and Cuba facing the economic strangulation of imperialism.

As Trotsky wrote in 1932: "Only through the interreaction of these three elements, state planning, the market, and Soviet democracy, can the correct direction of the economy of the transitional epoch be attained." The highest soviet body should decide on a plan determining the hasic direction of the economy: the level and structure of investment in the means of production, military spending, construction of new housing, schools, hospitals and the like. The production of consumer goods should take into account market calculation, so that the output of specific goods and services is continuously adjusted to meet demand. Democratically organized consumer cooperatives should oversee the price and quality of products.

Reuters

Right-wing Lithuanian secessionists screaming at pro-Soviet demonstration in Vilnius last January. Anti-Soviet nationalism threatens to rip apart USSR amid bloody counterrevolution.

TASS

Demonstration last September in coal mining center of Donetsk against anti-Communist attempt to remove Lenin statue. Center sign says: "Hands Off Lenin!"

For Proletarian Internationalism!

Among the prominent ideological opponents of Western-type capitalism are Stalin apologists such as Nina Andreyeva and Slavophile reactionaries such as Valentin Rasputin. Our intransigent opposition to capitalist restoration has *nothing in common* with "barracks socialism" or longing for traditional patriarchal Russian society. The Trotskyists insist that only socialization of the means of production can provide the material basis for genuine national and sexual equality, and for maximizing individual freedom, i.e., the freedom to develop one's capacities to the fullest.

We fight for the political, economic and social equality of all Soviet peoples. In particular, we must combat all expressions of anti-Semitism, which in Russia today truly serves as "the socialism of fools," the diversion of class hatred from its rightful targets onto the backs of scapegoats. The new Black Hundreds of Pamyat and the rest of the fascist filth must be smashed through working-class action. If not, these pogromists will spread their bloody terrorism far and wide.

The young Soviet republic opened the door of liberation for Jews and national minorities and they repaid by enlisting in the revolutionary effort to lay the basis for building a just society. From Soviet literature to science to military technology and the Red Army, the contribution of Jewish citizens has been inestimable. For years, the imperialists and Zionists have sought to rob the Soviet Union of its educated Jewish population. Now Gorbachev and Russian-nationalist anti-Semites are cooperating in this criminal attempt to stampede Jews out of the Soviet Union and into the Zionist deathtrap of Israel, crippling the creative forces of Soviet society. In the struggle to restore Bolshevism in the Soviet Union, it's important to recall that the Bolshevik Central Committee which carried out the first successful workers revolution in history was disproportionately composed of Jews and other ethnic minorities.

We stand for the social equality of women, which requires the right to free, safe abortions and free, quality childcare, and for the greater participation of women in the leadership of society. Fighting against Solzhenitsynite medievalism, we defend the right of individual freedom in sexual life (e.g., homosexuality, pornography). The early Soviet state abolished laws against homosexuality. Likewise, we oppose political and artistic censorship and other expressions of petty police tyranny.

The October Revolution and formation of the Soviet Union was possihle because the Bolsheviks *united* the workers and peasants of all nationalities against their common enemy: the tsarist autocracy, landlords, capitalists, foreign imperialists and petty-bourgeois nationalists of all stripes. Bolshevik internationalism was exemplified hy such individuals as the Armenian Stepan Shaumyan, who led the Baku Commune based on Azerbaijani, Armenian and Russian oil workers, and hy Christian Rakovsky, the Romanian-born veteran revolutionary who headed the first Bolshevik government in the Ukraine and later became a leader of the Left Opposition.

To prevent the disintegration of the USSR amid fratricidal nationalism, it is necessary to recapture the proletarian internationalism which animated the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky. We stand for the democratic reorganization of the Soviet Union and for the right of any nationality with a leadership that *opposes* counterrevolution to withdraw to any extent it sees fit. We resolutely combat capitalist counterrevolution even where it attempts to cover itself with the fig leaf of "national independence," as in the Baltic republics today.

It is necessary to politically arm the workers against Gorhachev & Co.'s lies that the capitalists of the world, from Washington to the rulers of the new Fourth Reich, have become friends and saviors of the Soviet people. The outbreak of the first imperialist world war in 1914 signaled that the forces of production had outgrown the bounds of both the capitalist system and the nation-state. In the imperialist epoch, capitalism is inseparable from militarism and from wars for the division and redivision of world markets and spheres of exploitation.

The October Revolution broke the chain of world imperialism at its weakest link, Russia. No less than 14 imperialist armed forces invaded the fledgling Soviet state, allying with and supporting the White armies. Lenin recognized that the Bolshevik victory in the Civil War was but a temporary respite. He ceaselessly told the truth that only the *world proletarian revolution* could save the Soviet workers state. For this reason, Lenin, together with Trotsky and other internationalists, formed the Communist International, which attracted to its banner the most revolutionary-minded workers and idealistic leftist intellectuals from North America to the Far East.

Stalin perverted and then liquidated the Communist International in the name of building "socialism in one country," a reactionary and utopian program for the *defeat* of revolutions abroad and ultimately of the Soviet Union itself. Stalin's global class collaboration in the 1930s —first the attempt at a "people's front" against Nazi Germany with the "democratic" imperialist powers of Britain and France, then the non-aggression pact with Germany—laid the hasis for Hitler's Operation Barbarossa. Twenty million Soviet citizens were killed defending their country and liherating all of Europe from the nightmare of Nazism. On the basis of the Red Army's destruction of the Third Reich, subsequent threats to the USSR by nuclear-armed American imperialism led the Kremlin to undertake bureaucratically deformed social, i.e., anti-capitalist, revolutions in East Europe as a defensive measure.

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Guneyev/Novosti

Openly pro-capitalist demagogue Boris Yeltsin faces off with former ally Mikhail Gorbachev.

Young Spartacus

"New World Order" Means Racist Terror

AP

Der Spiegel

Top Cops of the "free world": U.S. Army takes aim at Iraqi soldier after he surrenders (left). The Empire strikes back at home too: blacks targeted with cop terror in racist "war on drugs" (right).

Blacks and the War at Home

As America's rulers whip up flag-waving hoopla for the empire's big kill of the Iraqi people, there's one section of American society that's not cheering. Blacks in racist America know their war is here at home against a government that gives them first crack only at death. We print below a Black History Month forum given by comrade Don Andrews on "Blacks in the Jim Crow Military" at UC Berkeley on February 23. Don's remarks have been excerpted for publication.

What nerve the racist war criminals have in appealing to blacks to die for their profits and their so-called right to ruthlessly exploit and oppress the working people throughout the world. With each passing day in this country black rights are going the way of the buffalo nickel. It is no accident that large sections of the black population look at the American flag as a worthless rag.

Black people have fought and died in most of this country's wars this century, and what have they got for it? More segregation, more racist police and Klan terror and murder, more unemployment, more brutal enforced ghettoization—these are the things that are heartily provided by this lying, vicious, hypocritical and criminal ruling class that loves to talk about "democracy."

Why in the hell would young black and Hispanic men and women and working-class youth be enthusiastic about dying for the filthy rich monarchies of Kuwait and Saudi Arabia, or for George Bush and the Dixiecrat Democratic Party, when right here at home hundreds of thousands are homeless, when AIDS victims in the ghettos and barrios are criminally neglected while the profit-gouging pharmaceutical companies withhold drugs that can combat AIDS, when there are four times as many blacks in prison here in the United States than there are in South Africa, when the Supreme Court of racist injustice speeds up executions in a country in which black men in Harlem die earlier than males in Bangladesh, which is a very poor country indeed.

Black History Month Forum

Why would or should black women want to die for the feudalist swine in Kuwait and Saudi Arabia who hold women in virtual slavery, knowing that here in the USA, this racist capitalist government is starving black mothers and their babies by gutting welfare and pushing the genocidal "workfare" schemes

WV Photo

SL spokesman Don Andrews

which guarantee starvation. California's Republican governor Wilson and his state legislature now want to take a scalpel to the welfare program again because too many people—*blacks*—are "abusing" it by buying six-packs of beer. Many pregnant black women are being jailed for using drugs and their babies are being taken away from them.

Capitalist Government Is Not Neutral

So much for the so-called "peace dividend" that the liberals and the reformists have crowed on and on about. As if ruling classes have ever voluntarily handed over the wealth created by the working class which gives *them* the good life while they provide for working people and oppressed minorities only lives of indescribable horror, suffering and oppression. Throughout history the conflict between antagonistic classes for the social surplus produced in the course of human labor is what we call the *class struggle*. This is the motor force of history, and this class struggle assumes different forms, according to the level of development of the productive forces attained in any given society.

In racist imperialist America, the bourgeoisie possesses state power to defend its class rule, to defend the rule of capital. The exploiters have an apparatus of coercion to keep the working class down: the cops, the courts, the press, the capitalist political parties, the church, the army. The petty-bourgeois pro-capitalist misleaders of blacks and working people—from Jesse Jackson to Lane Kirkland to the reformist Communist Party—lie, deceive, and betray the masses when they tell us that this most vicious, terrorist ruling class and this system can be reformed and made to work in our interest.

We Trotskyists tell the masses the truth: only with the overthrow of the bourgeoisie and the expropriation of the capitalist class, culminating in a workers government and a socialist America, can we live like human beings. Our struggle is for workers revolution and workers power. The compromisers, the conciliators, the fake leftists advocate a more "humane, peace-loving" capitalism.

We say the only way we can put an end to this monstrous and nightmarish system is to struggle for a socialist, planned economy. The utter rottenness of the capitalist class and the decay of this system is acutely felt especially here in the United States but also in other capitalist countries. The system is obsolete. The bosses have destroyed basic industry, and large sections of the working class—which is the most important component of the productive forces—have been thrown out onto the streets by the thousands.

Black Workers Key to Socialist Revolution

In racist capitalist America, the doubly and triply oppressed black workers have registered the strongest opposition to this racist, imperialist war. There's nothing innate about this, instinctual about this or new about this. When you are on the bottom looking up, your eyes might open a little wider and you tend to be a little bit more alert when it's a matter of fending off the daily blows of a very sick racist system whose ruling class wants to maintain the most rigid segregation and oppression to keep the working class divided and down.

Black opposition to the American empire is nothing new. Black opposition to U.S. imperialist wars goes back to the Spanish-American War of 1898. In an 1898 editorial in the *Richmond Planet*, an influential black newspaper, the point was made: "The American Negro cannot become an ally of imperialism without enslaving his own race."

Black workers today can be the spark to mobilize the entire working class to challenge and defeat this arrogant ruling class. But it's not simply a matter of being repelled by the nauseating, racist hypocrisy of the modern-day capitalist slaveholders, who claim to stand for democracy and various eternal truths while lynching and beating down blacks and working people in every possible way.

The illusions still linger that the American ruling class and its capitalist state can be pressured into defending the interests of the oppressed. We hear this in the common refrain that goes like this: "Why doesn't the U.S. defend black South Africans against apartheid?" We live in a class-divided society, a capitalist

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War at Home...

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society. The capitalist state is not *neutral*. It is an instrument of class oppression. It is an instrument to maintain the domination of the capitalist class over the working class and to maintain this whole system of exploitation. That's why they don't move against their apartheid allies.

In 1967, at the height of the Vietnam War, we published "Black and Red—Class Struggle Road to Negro Freedom." (This is contained in the *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9, a basic document of the Spartacist League.) This document contains our Marxist analysis of the roots of black oppression in the U.S. and puts forward a revolutionary working-class program and perspective to eradicate the special oppression of blacks. History provides the opportunity for this potentially vanguard layer of the working class to play a powerful and prominent role in the liberation of humanity from the shackles of racial oppression and the chains of capitalist exploitation. In this document we point to the fact that the struggle for black freedom in this country is linked to the struggle for world revolution:

> "The struggle for Negro freedom takes place not only within the national arena, but within an international context. U.S. capitalism, which doubly exploits black workers, is the cornerstone of world imperialism. The abandonment of a perspective which looks to the *working class* to lead the struggle for the liberation of mankind from oppression is the hallmark of all revisionism....
>
> "The U.S. working class now has 'the most revolutionary of all revolutionary tasks,' the destruction of the bastion of world imperialism, the U.S. capitalist system. To the extent that the black workers, the most militant in the U.S. working class, become infused with a revolutionary socialist perspective and thereby become able to provide leadership to the class as a whole, they play a vital role in the success of the world revolution."

WV Photo

New York's Lower East Side: black and Hispanic neighborhoods have been turned into human wastelands by decaying capitalism.

Working People Need a Revolutionary Party

To unleash the power of the integrated working class requires a struggle to break labor, blacks and all oppressed minorities from their illusions in the Democratic Party. The Democrats are the main party of war and racism. They are the party that dropped atomic weapons on the Japanese, that tried to smash the Cuban Revolution during the Bay of Pigs fiasco, that killed two million Vietnamese, that propped up the bloody death squad dictatorship in El Salvador which has already slaughtered over 70,000 people. The Democrats backed the brutal imperialist rape of tiny black Grenada, the bombing of Libya which killed Qaddafi's baby daughter, the downing of an airplane that killed over 200 Iranians, and they supported Bush's bloody invasion of Panama that killed thousands of dark-skinned Panamanians and left over 100,000 people homeless. And now they're talking about rebuilding Iraq!

This bipartisan support for the drive for U.S. world domination underscores the fact that imperialism is not a matter of misguided policies but a *system* of exploitation, organized and set up for the defense of the profits of the exploiters and for the permanent enslavement of the working class. It is only by the actions of class-conscious workers that the labor movement can break through the straitjacket of class collaboration and class peace, and fling aside the labor traitors who have repeatedly stabbed the working class in the back (recently, for instance, in the Eastern Airlines workers strike).

Only by fighting for a class-struggle leadership in the unions can the American working class carry out its internationalist duties in defense of Iraq and in defense of working people throughout the world. The "labor lieutenants of capital"—and by that of course we're talking about the pro-capitalist misleadership of labor—are a very brittle layer and tied to the private property system and the twin parties of capitalism. Only with the destruction of the fatal alliance between the unions and the capitalist parties will class-conscious American workers be able to build their own class-struggle workers party that fights for socialism and a workers government. The key task today is to build an integrated revolutionary party that can lead the working class to the successful seizure of state power.

WV Photo

Support rally for Greyhound strikers, New York City, 1983.

Leon Trotsky, the co-leader with Lenin of the Bolshevik 1917 workers revolution, pointed out in the Transitional Program that under capitalism the only serious right we have left is the right to a job. Today, in the black ghettos and barrios and the white working-class neighborhoods across this country there are millions who are jobless and who have never had a job. There are millions who can't afford decent health care—over 37 million people in this country don't have medical care. Now they're talking about *rationing* health care, so that if you have AIDS and you're going to die, then it's, "Screw you. You can die."

The American bourgeoisie can't come up with an ideology to justify the defense of the Saudi and Kuwaiti monarchies, so after a while we heard from the Texas oil millionaire Baker that the war was really about jobs! Now everybody knows that's a cruel hoax and these war criminals know it. Look at what Colin Powell said about his job and the fact that blacks and minorities are disproportionately on the front lines of Saudi Arabia. Powell said, "I ain't done so bad!" What a job! He gets to help orchestrate the mass murder of Arabs. The class question is easy to see here, just as it is in the case of Michael Williams, the black Republican in the education department who floated the proposal to eliminate minority scholarships. These people are on the side of the bourgeoisie and they are conscious, implacable enemies of the oppressed and exploited.

Black Front Men for Racist Reaction

In the course of this racist colonialist war against Iraq, the black liberal capitalist Democratic establishment has given backhanded support to the intervention of U.S. imperialism in the Persian Gulf. Jesse Jackson initially supported the deployment of troops, but under increasing black opposition, he backed off in favor of sanctions which are *acts of war*—it's another way of saying "let the Iraqi masses slowly starve." Dellums also came out for sanctions and went to court to have Congress vote on war. Coleman Young threatened to call in the National Guard in Detroit to combat "terrorism," which means targeting Arab Americans who are being viciously witchhunted and whom we defend.

Farrakhan invoked "Islamic solidarity" in telling King Fahd to break off his ties with the Bush government! Of course Farrakhan can go on about how Bush wouldn't send his son Neil to Saudi Arabia but he carefully refrains from calling for the defense of Iraq. In a recent article in the *Nation*, Adolph Reed Jr., a perceptive black critic of Farrakhan's dead-end, pseudo-nationalist and pro-black-capitalist program, pointed out:

> "Farrakhan has been successful in filling auditoriums and titillating rallies, but he has neither won mass adherence to the Nation of Islam nor ever demonstrated a capacity to galvanize popular action toward any end. Thus on the gulf he has opted for a characteristic Nation of Islam stance: a militant rhetorical posture that preserves an aversion to real political mobilization."

It is critical to understand the class role of the Uncle Tom black capitalist politicians and the black nationalist demagogues like Farrakhan and Sharpton. They are the ones who police the decaying ghettos for the white ruling class in this country. They target Korean and

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Harvard University: Tara on the Charles?

Down With the Confederate Flag!

A couple of smug and privileged racists at Harvard University have raised the Confederate flag—the putrid banner of slavery and Klan terror—to wave in the face of black and other minority students on this campus. This flag means *racist murder*. It's the flag which rallied the slaveholders to keep blacks in chains in the South; it's the flag waved by racist lynch mobs in the North, from Bensonhurst to South Boston. At a white ruling-class bastion like Harvard, raising this flag is a deliberate incitement to racist violence against the few black students who make it through the ivy gates. It's time for some spring cleaning at filthy Harvard—*those flags had better come down!*

Bridget Kerrigan, an ultra-conservative creep with a cause, hoisted the Confederate flag from her window to challenge the "tyranny" of the "politically correct" at Harvard she likes to mouth off about. Soon other racists crawled out from the rocks to join her—Timothy McCormick raised a Confederate flag from his room in explicit solidarity with Kerrigan. When black, Jewish and Asian students demanded the removal of these flags, Kerrigan and McCormick snidely claimed that their flags were only symbols of Southern "honor and grace and dignity." Who the hell do they think they are? Crimson "Gone with the Wind" clones of Scarlet O'Hara and Rhett Butler bedecking a Tara plantation on the Charles?

As Mecca Nelson, president of the Black Student Association (BSA), stated at a protest on March 8, the Confederate flag is "the battle flag" that "stands for slavery, white supremacy, lynchings, oppression, torture, and all the African people who died on the way over." Harvard is a monument to white ruling-class privilege and is one nasty place for anyone who breaks the mold. Black students are routinely carded for IDs and challenged that "you don't look like you belong here." Jewish students report a rise in anti-Semitism and have found the Star of David carved into doors around Harvard.

Young Spartacus

Rally against Confederate flag at Harvard University, March 8.

Attacks on minorities on campuses across the country have surged in direct proportion to the racist policies emanating from the White House: the rollback of civil rights, threats to gut minority scholarships, union-busting, malign neglect of the homeless, the AIDS crisis, and unbridled cop terror in the ghetto. The American empire's racist massacre of the Iraqi people will only embolden outright fascists like the KKK and the Nazis and their effete apologists at the likes of Harvard. Bush's "new world order" means racist terror at home and abroad.

For anti-racist students, the question of how to fight these attacks is directly posed. One black student at Harvard, in attempting to throw a spotlight on the murderous message of the Confederate flag and encourage the university administration to ban all hate symbols, stupidly posted a swastika in her dorm window with the message, "Racism, No?" The BSA is similarly calling for university regulations against "hate speech" and emblems on campus.

This strategy is as dangerous as it is misguided. As the guardians of a premier think tank for U.S. imperialism, the Harvard administration is an *enemy* of the oppressed. The Harvard administration and trustees blatantly raised the Confederate flag at the university's 350th birthday bash—a filthy fête whose guest list read like a "who's who" of imperialist war criminals. From the development of napalm which burned the flesh off thousands of Vietnamese victims of U.S. imperialism, to writing the fight song for Hitler's brownshirts, to authoring "academic" papers (the infamous Klitgaard report) suggesting blacks be segregated and dumped at "lesser" institutions than Harvard—the position of the men who rule Harvard is clear. To appropriate to them the right to determine what speech or emblems are "acceptable" is to invite more repression against the left and minorities.

The Confederate flag is a clarion call to racist attack—no different than hurling the racist epithet "n - - - - r." Anyone waving that flag or uttering that word ought to get them shoved back down their throats. Anti-racist students at Harvard could learn a thing or two from militant Kentucky coal miners who teach would-be strikebreakers that "scabbing is dangerous to your health." Teaching that lesson would doubtless "raise consciousness" at Harvard too.

Racist attacks and violence are everywhere around the country today, and to fight them, students must mobilize alongside the social power of the integrated labor movement to stop the race-haters in their tracks. In bringing students out to join big battalions from labor, and all intended victims of racist attacks, the Spartacus Youth Club has been successful in helping rout the KKK and Nazis, stopping them from goose-stepping with swastikas and Confederate flags in cities coast to coast—including here in Boston. In 1984 our comrades tore down the flag of slavery from San Francisco's Civic Center—an elementary act of decency hailed by working people and minorities throughout that city.

We in the Spartacus Youth Club celebrate a different Harvard tradition—that of John Reed, who broke from the ruling elite and became a communist fighter for human liberation and an active participant in the Russian Revolution of 1917. We honor the memory of Robert Gould Shaw, a former Harvard student who became the commanding officer of the Massachusetts 54th, the heroic black regiment which led the assault against the slavocracy at Fort Wagner. We honor the memory of Thomas Wentworth Higginson, another former Harvard student, who commanded the black First South Carolina Volunteers and dedicated his life to fighting continuing racist oppression after the Civil War.

If Higginson and Shaw were around today, they'd form an integrated force and tear down the flags of slavery flying outside of Kirkland and Cabot houses quicker than Harvard's racists could whistle "Dixie." Anti-racist students, alongside members of the heavily minority Local 26 union of campus workers, could do the same in an elementary act of self-defense and self-respect against the racist ruling-class brats that threaten them today. *Down with the Confederate flag of racist terror! Finish the Civil War!* ■

Arab grocery store owners while ignoring the Klan, all the while assisting in the impoverishment and deepening misery of many black people who mistakenly consider these demagogues brothers and sisters because of their skin color and their largely humble origins. As "people of color" (and Papa Doc of Haiti was a "person of color," likewise Idi Amin) their "empowerment" is our disembowelment.

For Class Struggle Against Bush's "New World Order"!

During this period of heightened war hysteria, the Ku Klux Klan and the skinheads have stepped up their murderous racist assaults. Arab Americans are now targeted by racists in white sheets and blue uniforms and the FBI is increasingly widening its sinister witchhunt. For the racists in the White House and Congress this is nothing new: in World War II over 100,000 Japanese Americans were seized, interned and had their property taken away. It was the Trotskyists then who defended the Japanese Americans—and they too, leaders of the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party, were imprisoned by the Democratic Roosevelt government for their revolutionary opposition to the second imperialist world war. The bourgeoisie is actively grooming their potential shock troops and that's why the fascist David Duke is all in our faces these days.

WV Photo

"We stopped the Klan!" November 1982 labor/black mobilization, initiated by SL, takes the streets of Washington, D.C. in victory march.

The Spartacist League bases its program on the class struggle, the independent mobilization of the working class and its allies to fight for our own class interests. We are proud of our history and our record. Concrete examples are the successful labor/black mobilizations initiated by the Spartacist League that have stopped the fascists from marching in many big cities over the past decade. From Detroit in 1979 to Washington, D.C. in 1982 and Philadelphia in 1988—we have mobilized the tremendous power of the integrated labor movement and stopped the racist terrorists from murdering and maiming black, minority and working people.

In conclusion, our party faces the challenge today of winning new recruits from among those layers we've intersected in the fight against this racist imperialist war. We urge young people to learn more about the Spartacist League, our political work past and present, about history and Marxism as the means for understanding the world in order to change it. We are building a revolutionary party to intervene in the explosive political battles ahead.

This country is a gigantic pressure cooker. There is a lot of social tinder in this country and the working class will explode one day. We look to the international working class to show the way forward out of the poverty, racism and war that are the only future that capitalism holds out for the young people of today. The real enemy of the working people is right here at home. Only if you join in and help in building that party that's integrated, Marxist, that has blacks, whites, men and women in it, can we actually succeed in overthrowing this very arrogant bourgeoisie that has outlived its usefulness. ■

U.S. War Crimes

George Bush threatened to bring war crimes charges against Saddam Hussein. This comes from the Fuhrer of the "New World Order" whose war machine just massacred tens of thousands of Iraqis. Under both Democrats and Republicans, the U.S. ruling class has incinerated Japanese civilians in World War II, napalmed and bombed the Vietnamese people, armed and orchestrated death squad terror in El Salvador, and bombed black people in its own cities. The enemy of humanity is right here at home: U.S. imperialism. We neither forgive nor forget. The working people of America, united with our class brothers and sisters around the world, will avenge the victims of the bloody imperialists through proletarian revolution!

Young Spartacus

Trotsky on the Sino-Japanese War

Letter from Japan

The following notes were contributed from Tokyo by comrade Price of the Spartacist Group Japan.

Not surprisingly, and in every country, we are engaged in a political struggle with our opponents over our line on the Persian Gulf War. Our Marxist position on revolutionary defensism on behalf of Iraq against U.S. imperialism is causing problems for our reformist, centrist and possibly ultraleft opponents. As usual, they are caving in to the pressures of

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Leon Trotsky in exile in Mexico, 1940.

their own bourgeoisie, and criticisms of the butcher Hussein and his "invasion" of "poor little Kuwait" are the usual excuses offered for not defending Iraq. We have cited a number of times Lenin's basic position of defending oppressed, dependent and unequal states against predatory Great Powers. Morocco, Persia and China are good examples that Lenin used at the time he wrote "Socialism and War" in 1915.

In recent discussions in Tokyo we have been thinking about additional examples that would have a strong impact on the left here, and the Sino-Japanese War that broke out in 1937. Rereading Trotsky's articles on this war fits our needs quite well and I think some of these polemics could be used against our opponents everywhere. They complement Lenin's points in "Socialism and War" very well. I've included here some of Trotsky's responses to Hugo Oehler and Paul Eiffel, who refused to militarily support the Republican side in the Spanish Civil War and Chiang Kai-shek in the Sino-Japanese War because of the "reactionary" and "bourgeois" character of these regimes!

Excerpts from the following writings by Trotsky are compiled in *Leon Trotsky on China*, Pathfinder Press, 1976.

* * *

Trotsky wrote in "On the Sino-Japanese War" (23 September 1937):

"In my declaration to the bourgeois press, I said that the duty of all the workers' organizations of China was to participate actively and in the front lines of the present war against Japan, without abandoning, for a single moment, their own program and independent activity....

"We do not and never have put all wars on the same plane. Marx and Engels supported the revolutinnary struggle of the Irish against Great Britain, of the Poles against the tsar, even though in these two nationalist wars the leaders were, for the most part, members of the bourgeoisie and even at times of the feudal aristocracy...at all events, Catholic reactionaries. When Abd-el-Krim rose up against France, the democrats and Social Democrats spoke with hate of the struggle of a 'savage tyrant' against the 'democracy.' The party of Léon Blum supported this point of view. But we, Marxists and Bolsheviks, considered the struggle of the Riffians* against imperialist domination as a progressive war.... To speak of 'revolutionary defeatism' in general, without distinguishing between exploiter and exploited countries, is to make a miserable caricature of Bolshevism and to put that caricature at the service of the imperialists....

"But Chiang Kai-shek? We need have no illusions about Chiang Kai-shek, his party, or the whole ruling class of China, just as Marx and Engels had no illusions about the ruling classes of Ireland and Poland. Chiang Kai-shek is the executioner of the Chinese workers and peasants. But today he is forced, despite himself, to struggle against Japan for the remainder of the independence of China. Tomorrow he may again betray. It is possible. It is probable. It is even inevitable. But today he is struggling. Only cowards, scoundrels, or complete imbeciles can refuse to participate in that struggle.

"Let us use the example of a strike to clarify the question. We do not support all strikes. If, for example, a strike is called for the exclusion of Negro, Chinese or Japanese workers from a factory, we are opposed to that strike. But if a strike aims at bettering—insofar as it can—the conditions of the workers, we are the first to participate in it, whatever the leadership. In the vast majority of strikes, the leaders are reformists, traitors by profession, agents of capital. They oppose every strike. But from time to time the pressure of the masses or of the objective situation forces them into the path of struggle....

"The case of the Sino-Japanese War, is from this point of view, entirely analogous. If Japan is an imperialist country and if China is the victim of imperialism, we favor China. Japanese patriotism is the hideous mask of worldwide robbery. Chinese patriotism is legitimate and progressive. To place the two on the same plane and to speak of 'social patriotism' can be done only by those who have read nothing of Lenin, who have understood nothing of the attitude of the Bolsheviks during the imperialist war, and who can but compromise and prostitute the teachings of Marxism."

* * *

Two days later, Trotsky wrote in "Pacifism and China" (25 September 1937):

"At the same time we must carefully distinguish between the imperialist countries and the backward countries, colonial and semicolonial. The attitude of the working class organizations in and toward these two groupings cannot be the same. The present war between China and Japan is a classic example. It is absolutely indisputable that, on the part of Japan, it is a war of rapine and that, on the part of China, it is a war of national defense. Only conscious or unconscious agents of Japanese imperialism can put the two countries on the same plane.... The working class movement in China, Japan, and in the entire world must oppose with all its strength the Japanese imperialist bandits and support the people of China and their army.

"This does not at all suppose a blind confidence in the Chinese government and in Chiang Kai-shek.... In participating in the legitimate and progressive national war against Japanese invasion, the working class organizations must preserve their entire *political independence* of the Chiang Kai-shek government....

"A pacifist who has the same attitude toward China as toward Japan in this terrible conflict is like one who would identify a lockout with a strike."

* * *

A month later Trotsky wrote to the I.S. to again underline the fight against the "ultralefts" who refused to take the side of China because of the crimes of Chiang Kai-shek. I've also included a quote from Trotsky's insistence that our Chinese comrades' slogan, "Prepare the war against Japan," was correct and useful. While the situation is quite different from 1937 there is a certain parallel to our demand, "Break the Blockade of Iraq!", the position we fought for before the shooting war started, which cut a sharp line of demarcation from the pro-imperialist "sanctions" crowd and their leftist apologists:

Edgar Snow Collection

The 1937 rape of Nanking: Japanese imperial army slaughtered over 40,000 Chinese.

In "Concerning the Resolution on the War" (27 October 1937), Trotsky wrote:

"We have a war. The first question is, should our Chinese comrades and with them all the others accept this war as *their* war or reject it as a war imposed upon them by the ruling class? The ultraleftists try to avoid the answering of this fundamental question. They begin by denouncing Chiang Kai-shek with his former and future crimes. This is a totally doctrinaire approach which is possible in New York (Oehlerites) or in Brussels, but not in China and especially not in Shanghai. We know Chiang Kai-shek well enough as the hangman of workers. But this same Chiang Kai-shek is now obliged to lead a war which is *our* war. In this war our comrades should be the best fighters....

"Our comrades in different countries scarcely know that the most important slogan of our Chinese section in the previous period was: 'prepare the war against Japan.' And this was correct. Now our Chinese comrades have the great advantage of having been the strongest protagonists for anti-Japanese war and military preparedness. They must continue their political activity on the same plane. I believe that we cannot make in this respect any concessions to the ultraleftists who are...yes, yes,—potential social patriots....

"The Japanese worker must say: 'My exploiters imposed this dishonest war upon me.' The Chinese worker must say: 'The Japanese robbers imposed this war of defense upon my people. It is my war. But unfortunately the leadership of the war is in bad hands. We must survey its direction severely, and we must prepare to replace it.' This is the only real plan for agitation and propaganda."

* * *

What prompted this last letter was objections raised to Trotsky's position on the Sino-Japanese War by leading Belgian Trotskyists. I'm not familiar with the prewar Belgian Trotskyists, but will dig deeper soon. Trotsky's original statement to the bourgeois press is entitled "Japan and China," dated 30 July 1937, and its most salient point is a clear statement: "But if there exists in the world a *just war*, it is the war of the Chinese people against its oppressors. All workers' organizations, all progressive forces in China, without abandoning their programs or their political independence, will carry out to the end their duty in the war of liberation, regardless of their attitude toward the government of Chiang Kai-shek." It was this statement—that prompted the external and internal criticisms of Trotsky's position on the Sino-Japanese War—that certainly has relevance for us today.

Price
27 January 1991

Der Spiegel

The Chinese army of Chiang Kai-shek in the trenches during Japanese siege of Peking, 1937.

* The Berber tribes of the Rif region of Morocco revolted against Spanish colonial rule in 1921 under the leadership of Abd-el-Krim. Defeating the Spanish forces in 1924, the Riffians attacked the French sector the following year but were defeated in 1926 by a combined Spanish and French army.

"Anti-Imperialists" Who Denounced Defense of Iraq

MLP: "Ex"-Stalinists Adrift

Demonstrators at antiwar marches in January were handed an odd leaflet denouncing "Bush's war" and declaring "No more blood for imperialism," while ending with a polemic against the slogan "Defend Iraq." Published by the Marxist-Leninist Party (MLP), this tract is a case study in political schizophrenia. Filled with anti-imperialist phrases, the polemic appears to be directed at the most left-wing antiwar protesters. But what the

PART ONE OF TWO

MLP tells them is that they should *oppose* calls to defend the country which has been devastated by the Pentagon's murder machine.

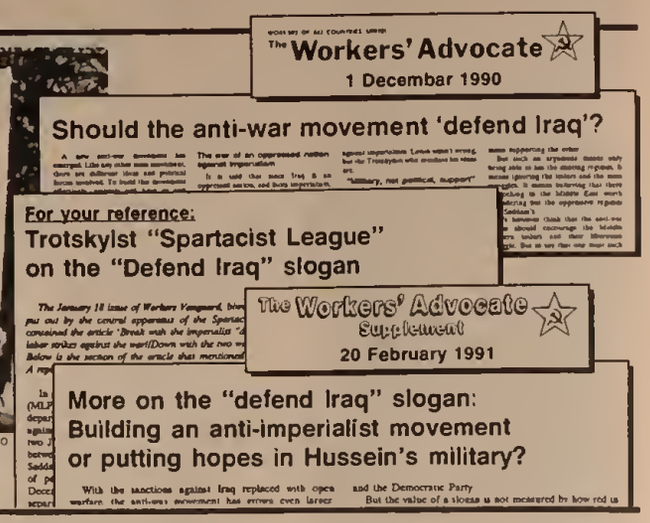
In contrast, the Spartacist League called to "Defeat U.S. Imperialism—Defend Iraq!" We Trotskyists say that the working people of the world had a side in this war, to stand with the people of Iraq, an oppressed semicolonial nation, against the bloody onslaught of the imperialist powers and their cohorts and flunkeys. While denouncing the tyrant Saddam Hussein and calling for the working people of Iraq to work for the overthrow of the bloody Ba'athist regime, we drew a sharp *class* line against imperialism. As one SL sign put it, "Down With Washington's New War—A Defeat for 'Our' Rulers Is a Victory for Us!"

Why are the MLP "Marxist-Leninists" so exercised to denounce those who sided with Iraq against the U.S. government? First off, this reflects a not-so-veiled effort to ingratiate themselves with the social-patriotic organizers of the "antiwar movement." The MLP's constant practice is to offer left criticisms while being careful not to overstep the bounds of what is acceptable to the organizers of such "popular-front" protests which tie the left to the Democratic Party of U.S. imperialism. The MLP wants to carve out a niche as the left tail of the pop front. But the price of admission to climb on board the bandwagon of the red-white-and-blue "peace" movement is to swear a loyalty oath. And the MLP's opposition to "defend Iraq" did that.

Its tailism was captured in one headline of its leaflet that declared, "Defy the Liberals, Don't Split the Movement." Oh sure, the MLP criticized those who called for "UN sanctions" and who declare they "support our troops." No problem, so did the SWP, FIT, RWL and a host of housebroken leftists. But the Democratic Party liberals drew the line at defense of Iraq. They even split from the January 19 D.C. demo organized by the rotten reformist Workers World Party and held an even more right-wing peace crawl the next week because the WWP didn't condemn Iraq. But the MLP did, with gusto.

WV Photo

MLP talks "anti-imperialism," refuses to defend Iraq.


The Workers' Advocate
1 Decembar 1990

Should the anti-war movement 'defend Iraq'?

For your reference:
Trotskyist "Spartacist League" on the "Defend Iraq" slogan

The Workers' Advocate Supplement
20 February 1991

More on the "defend Iraq" slogan: Building an anti-imperialist movement or putting hopes in Hussein's military?

Far from "defying the liberals," it went further, declaring that those guilty of "cheerleading for the Iraqi side" represent a "current of opinion which...is also a problem for the anti-war movement," and which "undermines building a serious anti-war movement." The "serious anti-war movement" that the MLP was building had as its main slogan "bring the/our troops home now." It was emphatically social-patriotic, talking only of American casualties and waving the stars and stripes all over the place. It also disappeared the minute it was clear that Bush could get the oil without spilling hardly any *American* blood, while making the Tigris and Euphrates run red with *Iraqi* blood. Obviously communists siding with "the enemy" would be considered "a problem" for such a movement which agreed with Bush's goals and only begged to differ with his methods.

The MLP's broadside against defense of Iraq was based on an article "Should the Anti-War Movement 'Defend Iraq'?" in their newspaper, *Workers' Advocate* (1 December 1990). Therein they criticized the WWP, ISO, Socialist Action and other nameless groups who are falsely equated with Trotskyism and who semi-, hemi-, demi-, sort-of sided with Iraq, usually in the fine print on the inside pages of their papers (since they are congenitally loath to take a stand that would be unpopular with the popular front). The unnamed chief culprit was the genuinely Trotskyist Spartacist League which uniquely and forthrightly defended Iraq against imperialist attack. We took the MLP (and other left groups who flinched at defense of Iraq) to task in our article "Down With the Two War Parties!" in *WV* No. 518 (18 January). Now the MLP has come back with a lengthy (seven-page) response in their *Workers' Advocate Supplement* (20 February).

Before responding to their specific arguments, we'd like to say a word about why we are making the effort. In the first place, unlike the general practice on the left, the MLP didn't try to duck the issues but took them on directly, even reprinting the section of our article dealing with their group. As we noted in our article, in contrast to consummate cynics like the ISO or WWP who hide their supposed socialist politics whenever they become inconvenient, the MLP is noteworthy more for its confusionism. And secondly, these "Marxist-Leninists" have been put up against the wall politically by the terminal crisis of Stalinism. After having been some of the zaniest "The East Is Red" Maoists around, then following the lead of the helmsman of the Adriatic, Albania's Enver Hoxha, the MLP is now adrift on a sea of contradictions.

Leninism vs. Liberal Pacifism

So what arguments does the MLP use to justify its refusal to stand with Iraq against the onslaught of the most powerful imperialist military juggernaut in history? First and foremost, they try to paint calls for military defense of Iraq as "support for the tyranny of the Iraqi regime." This willful equating of military defense and political support is at the heart of the MLP's rationale. But they know full well that the Spartacist League doesn't "cheerlead" for Hussein. In fact, in their *Supplement* article they say the SL carries "hypocrisy to new heights" by being "among the most loudmouthed in demanding support for Hussein's military efforts, while at the same time it also shouts against Hussein."

But, they claim in order to cover their blatant distortion of our position, "this stand is impossible in practice," and accuse the SL of using "verbal tricks" to cover this up. So what are these "Spart tricks"? Well, that "when it talks about support for Hussein's army, it talks of 'defending Iraq' or 'defending Iraq against American imperialism,' but when it talks of overthrowing the Iraqi regime, it is 'overthrow Hussein'." Some trick! In fact, the MLP is forced to admit that this stance might be appealing to would-be anti-imperialists: "To overthrow Hussein while defending Iraq might sound reasonable, if one forget[s] that what is meant by defending Iraq is lauding Hussein's military efforts."

What they're referring to is the "military effort" against the 500,000-plus U.S. troops and the warplanes that flew over 100,000 sorties against Iraq in the most concentrated bombing campaign in history. Any Iraqi worker or peasant, soldier, mother, father or youth who burns with anger against the mass murderers who turned their country into a killing field could only despise those leftists who refuse to support a war against the imperialist oppressors.

So why would professed Marxist-Leninists take such a position? The article in the December *Workers' Advocate* lets the cat out of the bag when it says that "the working people and youth instinctively feel" that since the "Iraqi regime is a despicable tyranny," Iraq "has no noble or progressive goals in the war" —and therefore should not be defended. Obviously they are not referring to the workers and youth of the Near East, who demonstrated in the hundreds of thousands in defense of Iraq and for the defeat of U.S. imperialism. Rather they are responding to opinion in the U.S., where the population has had Bush's "Saddam equals Hitler" war propaganda relentlessly pushed down their throats.

When it came down to the duty of revolutionaries in the belly of the imperialist beast to stand for the defeat of their "own" rulers' bloody aggression, as the White House whipped up patriotic war frenzy at home, the MLP shamefully took a dive, bleating like any good pacifist liberal that "this is a criminal war on both sides." This is exactly the kind of thing Lenin was talking about when he insisted:

> "There must be no toleration of the verbal condemnation of imperialism while no real revolutionary struggle is waged for the liberation of the colonies (and dependent nations) from one's *own* imperialist bourgeoisie."
>
> —"The Tasks of the Third International" (July 1919)

And what does the MLP say to the Iraqi masses? Well, "to the working people of Iraq and the Middle East, we say they are right to oppose the U.S. imperialist buildup...." But, pray tell, how are they supposed to do that without defending Iraq? And if this is an "unjust war on both sides," does this mean they call upon Iraqi soldiers to turn their guns around? This would have been quite pleasing to Washington, which hoped that its terror bombing would provoke a rebellion of officers in Iraq who would then fire in the same direction as Washington's troops. In other words, an organization that sought to put the MLP's line into practice in Iraq could only play a

CAFOTO

Military defense vs. political support: Spartacists backed Nicaraguan army against Reagan's contra terrorists, while giving no confidence to petty-bourgeois nationalist Sandinista regime.

quisling role as U.S. puppets in the face of imperialist attack.

Defense of Oppressed Countries Against Imperialism

Evidently feeling pressure to defend its neutrality in Washington's bloody war on Iraq, the MLP's polemics have grown increasingly tortured in attempting to square this shameful position with Leninism. Last fall the Spartacist League, in going after pseudo-socialists who refused to defend Iraq ("The Left and the Persian Gulf: Desperately Seeking Imperialist Doves," *WV* No. 510, 21 September 1990), cited a classic quotation from the 1915 pamphlet by Lenin and Zinoviev, *Socialism and War*:

> "For example, if tomorrow, Morocco were to declare war on France, or India on Britain, or Persia or China on Russia, and so on, these would be 'just' and 'defensive' wars, *irrespective* of who would be the first to attack; any socialist would wish the oppressed, dependent and unequal states victory over the oppressor, slave-holding and predatory 'Great' Powers."

In its December article, the MLP claimed that there was no parallel between the "hypothetical wars Lenin was discussing" and Iraq today, because India was a colony, and besides, Hussein wasn't seeking a confrontation with imperialism. After we pointed out that at the time Morocco was ruled by a sultan, Persia by a military dictator, and China hy a warlord—all of them reactionaries every bit as bloody as Saddam Hussein—the MLP now comes back with pages of a thoroughly scholastic attempt to prove that Lenin's 1915 position on China, India, Morocco "and so on" was not a *general* position on wars between imperialist countries and countries oppressed by imperialism.

They accuse us of quoting out of context in the service of the SL's "view... that since the U.S. is an imperialist power and Iraq is a Near Eastern country, the war is automatically a just war on the part of Iraq." What the MLP derisively calls a "little set of stereotyped dogmas" is in fact the body of political principles of Bolshevism. They can twist and turn as much as they want, but we can cite any number of other quotes from Lenin making the same point. For example:

> "A war *against* imperialist, i.e., oppressing, powers by oppressed (for example, colonial) nations is a genuine national war.... 'Defence of the fatherland' in a war waged hy an oppressed nation against a foreign oppressor is not a deception. Socialists are *not* opposed to 'defence of the fatherland' in *such* a war."
>
> —"A Caricature of Marxism and Imperialist Economism" (October 1916)

The MLP wants to claim that in *Socialism and War*, Lenin was not speaking of a war against imperialism by the bourgeois rulers hut rather a "revival of the revolutionary movement." Not so. Lenin stated explicitly: "*To the extent* that the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nation struggles against the oppressing one, *to that extent*, we are always, in every case, and more resolutely than anyone else, *for* it, because we are the staunchest and the most consistent enemies of oppression" ("On the Right of Nations to Self-Determination" [February-May 1914]).

The MLP also implies that Iraq is not an oppressed country. It quotes Lenin's reference to "semi-colonies, as, for example, Persia, Turkey and China," and then concludes: "This meant that their situation was quite different from present-day Iraq." Under Hussein, they say, Iraq seeks "to become a regional bully." Would the MLP like to claim that Turkey was not then acting as a bully toward the subject peoples of the collapsed Ottoman Empire? In his famous "Report of the Commission on the National and Colonial Questions" at the Second Congress of the Comintern (1920), Lenin stated:

> "The characteristic feature of imperialism is that the whole world...is now divided into a large number of oppressed nations and an insignificant number of oppressor nations, which command colossal wealth and powerful armed forces.... The oppressed nations...are either in a state of direct colonial dependence or are semi-colonies such as Persia, Turkey and China, or else, having been defeated by the armies of a big imperialist power, have become greatly dependent on that power by virtue of peace treaties. This idea of distinction, of dividing the nations into oppressor and oppressed, runs through all the theses."

Not relevant to Iraq today, comrades?

Does this mean that the SL "has lost sight of the toiling masses and the revolutionary movements," that we engage in Maoist-style "cheerleading" for "Third World" bourgeois governments as the MLP claims? On the contrary, the Trotskyists have always fought against any political alliance with the bourgeoisie, both in imperialist and in backward capitalist countries. Trotsky's program of permanent revolution, which was confirmed by the Bolshevik Revolution in Russia, explains that the "national" hourgeoisie in nations of belated capitalist development is tied by a thousand threads to the imperialist order, and is therefore *incapable* of carrying through the tasks of bourgeois-democratic revolution. These can only be achieved through the dictatorship of the proletariat, resting on an alliance with the poor peasants, and extension of the revolution to the imperialist metropoles. Part of this perspective is uncompromising struggle against imperialist attacks on colonial and semicolonial countries (see page 11).

It was *Stalin* who used the Menshevik theory of alliance with a "progressive" bourgeoisie in a "two-stage revolution" to subordinate the Chinese Communist Party to Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang, leading to the beheading of the Chinese workers revolution in 1927. Ever since, the Stalinists have pushed the program of class collaboration with the "anti-imperialist, progressive bourgeoisie," from Indonesia to South Africa to Chile, etc., with similarly disastrous results.

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Viktor Bulla

In August 1917 the Bolsheviks called on workers to block coup against liberal government of Keransky (left) by right-wing general Kornilov. Armed workers mobiliza against Kornilov attack (right).

Military Defense vs. Political Support

That the MLP attempts to pass off its capitulatinnist line as rip-roaring "Marxist-Leninist" politics testifies to the fact that, despite all its "study campaigns," it keeps its members in the dark about some very basic Marxist conceptions. Thus *Workers' Advocate* claims that "in fact the formula of 'military, not political, support' isn't Lenin's. And it isn't Leninist or Marxist or materialist." No doubt most MLPers believe this distinction between military defense and political support is really a "Trotskyist deviation."

Yet Lenin himself insisted on the distinction between military defense and political support. In August 1917, the Bolsheviks blocked militarily with Kerensky's Provisional Government in Russia against the right-wing revolt led by General Kornilov. Lenin wrote at the time:

> "We shall fight, we are fighting against Kornilov, *just as* Kerensky's *troops do*, but we do not support Kerensky. *On the contrary*, we expose his weakness. There is the difference. It is a rather subtle difference, but it is highly essential and must not be forgotten."
>
> —"To the Central Committee of the RSDLP" (30 August 1917)

Lenin castigated as petty-hourgeois moralists those who sought to take "'revenge' on the SRs and Mensheviks" by refusing to defend them against Kornilov. Far from giving political support to Kerensky, the Bolsheviks' intervention to defeat the Kornilov revolt prepared the overthrow of the tottering bourgeois Provisional Government a few weeks later.

This issue of military defense vs. political support is closely related to the broader question of the united front. When this tactic was adopted by the Communist International in late 1921, the watchword was "march separately, strike together." In fighting against the common enemy, there must be no mixing of political banners. This was perverted by Stalin into the program of the "popular front" (codified at the Comintern's Seventh Congress in 1935) which, far from preserving the political independence of the proletarian vanguard, instead subordinated it to the bourgeoisie. This is very relevant today, for example to the anti-war protest "movement" which the MLP vows not to "split."

In its polemic against the SL in the *Workers' Advocate Supplement*, the MLP chastises us for being too charitable about its attitude toward the January peace demos (we said it denounced them as reformist), and their point is well taken. Notwithstanding some criticisms of reformist leaders, the MLP insists it "supported the Washington demonstrations" called by the pro-Democratic Party social-pacifists on the basis of liberal slogans. After emphasizing that it "supported" the peace crawls despite their social-patriotic program and leadership, the MLP underlines that it refused to defend Iraq since that would mean "support for Hussein's army." An interesting counterposition, wouldn't you say?

In line with the opportunist view that only those struggles are desirable that are possible, and those that are possible are the ones going on at the given moment, the MLP sneeringly dismisses the SL's call for labor strikes against the war as pie in the sky. "The problem...is that such strikes, even small ones, aren't going to take place at the present time." Not thanks to the MLP, they won't. The MLP's tailism meant that when one of their supporters in the NYC Transport Workers Union was faced with the choice of standing with the bureaucrats when they called on everyone to "support our troops in Saudi Arabia," or sitting down in protest as did supporters of the Committee for a Fighting TWU, he remained standing with the bureaucrats (see "TWU Bureaucrats and Wannabees Stand Up for War," *WV* No. 521, 1 March).

At the most fundamental level, these "Marxist-Leninists" have no conception of the class line. And the MLP is so insistent on refusing to defend Iraq and denounces those who do, because it senses, rightly, that if it admits that one can militarily defend Iraq without politically supporting Hussein, this would call into question its justifications for refusing to defend the Soviet Union against imperialism.

Because we Trotskyists recognize that the Soviet Union, despite the bureaucratic degeneration of the revolution under Stalin and his successors, remains a workers state, we therefore defend it against the forces of internal and external counterrevolution. In contrast, the MLP, like other Maoist-derived "M-Ls," claims that the USSR is "state capitalist" in order *not* to defend the Soviet peoples against the looming threat of bloody capitalist restoration. It all comes back to the Russian question.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Raul Ojeda Photos

Military defense vs. political support: In June 1973, leftist-led Chilean farm workers rallied in Santiago to stop attempted military coup against Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular government. SL called for arming the workers, no confidence in popular front.

Soviet Union...

(continued from page 6)

Now Gorbachev's abject capitulation before imperialist military and diplomatic pressure, beginning with the pullout from Afghanistan, has unraveled the post-World War II order. The Afghanistan intervention, although undertaken by Brezhnev for narrow defensive military reasons, opened the possibility to extend the social gains of October to the peoples of hideously backward Afghanistan. We supported the Red Army intervention and condemn the withdrawal as a deadly danger to the Afghan masses, first and foremost to unveiled women, and to the USSR itself.

Far from appeasing imperialism, the withdrawal from Afghanistan signaled to the NATO capitals that the Soviet government had lost its will to fight. Far better to have fought imperialism in Afghanistan than to have to now fight it within the borders of the Soviet Union! With the Soviet leadership's withdrawal from Afghanistan and acceptance of German reunification, U.S. imperialism invaded the Persian Gulf to assert control over world oil supplies and used the Pentagon's arsenal of megadeath to batter Iraq, a former Moscow client state. This has further emboldened the imperialists, for whom the USSR remains the main target. The Trotskyists stand for the unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union—weakened and betrayed for decades by Stalin and his heirs in the Kremlin—against the forces of capitalist imperialism.

The defense and regeneration of the Soviet Union must be linked to the perspective of socialist revolution worldwide. Capitalist development itself has brought into being an international division of labor. Thus the struggle to secure for the Soviet masses the good things of life—both material and cultural—presupposes participation in the world economy. And this means the replacement of the imperialist-dominated world market by an internationally planned socialist economy. A planned economy, implemented on the scale of the world productive forces and under the control of democratic workers soviets, would have spared mankind the wars, Holocaust, misery, hunger and threat of nuclear annihilation of the last half century.

Spartacist

The red banner of Trotskyism is raised in Palace Square, Leningrad on 7 November 1990, anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

For decades, the oppressive, corrupt and parasitic Kremlin oligarchy falsely claimed the historic mantle of Lenin's Bolshevik Party. In reality, it was the Trotskyist Left Opposition which preserved and carried forward the revolutionary program of Red October. Stalin was the gravedigger of the Bolshevik Party, whose surviving cadre he murdered in the Great Purges of the 1930s. It is urgently necessary to build a new Bolshevik party in the Soviet Union, uniting the most militant, class-conscious workers with the most committed Marxist intellectuals. Only under the leadership of such an authentic communist party, section of a reforged Fourth International, can the Soviet working class and its allies sweep away the remnants of the degenerate Stalinist bureaucracy and defeat the forces of capitalist restoration, laying the basis for a socialist future. ■

Soviet Miners Strike...

(continued from page 4)

a result of the active intervention of the ICL representatives. Particularly since the heroic 1984-85 NUM strike, the capitalists have incessantly howled for Scargill's blood because he refused to bow to them.

Among the cabal of CIA types present at the congress was a delegation from the scab "Union of Democratic Miners" in Britain as well as representatives of the Russian fascist "National Union of Toilers." Spokesmen for the UDM purveyed an internationally orchestrated Big Lie campaign that Scargill had "mishandled" funds donated by the Soviet miners union. Having at the time denounced Scargill and the NUM for accepting "Russian gold," the UDM scabs now called on Soviet miners to demand that Soviet contributions being used to support other miners struggles internationally be handed over *to the UDM!* Unaware of what the UDM represented, the delegates gave a hearing to the shrill attacks on Scargill.

Our comrades engaged numerous delegates in corridor discussions, explaining the aims of the UDM and how it was a creature of the Thatcher government and the British mine bosses set up to scab on the 1984-85 coal strike with the aim of destroying the real miners union. Articles from the Spartacist press exposing the anti-Scargill witchhunt for what it was were distributed to members of the congress presidium and to a commission set up to investigate the matter further. Many Soviet workers still remember the British miners strike as a heroic struggle by workers in the West who refused to kowtow to Reagan/Thatcher's Cold War crusade against the Soviet Union.

Stalinist Hardliners Appeal to Chauvinism

What allows the Yeltsinites and other pro-imperialist forces to gain influence over sections of the miners and other Soviet workers is the utter bankruptcy of any existing alternative committed to defense of the planned economy. The official Soviet trade-union federation all but pronounced its own obituary last October, as the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions voted to dissolve in favor of a looser General Confederation of Trade Unions. The chairman of the confederation, Vladimir Shcherbakov, "described his main task as defending workers' interests in the transition to a market economy" (*Guardian* [London], 29 October 1990).

One organization which claims to speak on behalf of Soviet workers and is explicitly opposed to the imposition of a market economy is the United Front of Toilers (OFT). The OFT is aligned with anti-Gorbachev Stalinist hardliners in the Communist Party and is allied to the Interfront movements, composed overwhelmingly of Russian, Polish and Ukrainian workers in the Baltic republics who oppose the pro-capitalist secessionist governments.

In its charter, the OFT "sets as its goal the carrying out in practice of Lenin's Declaration of the Rights of the Toilers and Exploited People," denounces "'socialist' millionaires" and "speculation and exploitation under the guise of cooperatives," and calls for the "development of soviets of deputies of workers of industrial enterprises as the primary cells of Soviet power." Yet a Novgorod OFT official criticized Stalin, the liquidator of the soviets which issued out of the Bolshevik Revolution, only for not leaving behind "a system flexible enough to be run by lesser people than him"!

The OFT is fond of professing proletarian internationalism—when denouncing the nationalist leaders of the minority republics. But there is not a word in its charter against the most insidious nationalism, Great Russian chauvinism. Instead the charter rails against "soullessness" and "amoralism," calls for struggle against "the dissemination of pornography" and repeatedly insists on defending "the *united* socialist Motherland." This harkens back to the tsarists' "Russia, one and indivisible."

When Spartacist representatives met with the OFT in Moscow, these Stalinist bureaucrats fumed against "Zionism" as the main danger facing the Soviet working people. Our comrades retorted: what was the OFT doing to combat anti-Semitism and the Great Russian fascists of Pamyat? In response, the OFT officials defended the Pamyat blackshirts as largely well-meaning "Soviet patriots" who sought only to fight corruption in Soviet society. Were they to denounce Pamyat openly, one of them admitted, the OFT would lose a large part of its "patriotic" supporters!

Reforge the Bolshevik Party!

The hardliners' calls for a return to the order and stability which marked the pre-Gorbachev period strike a chord among many Soviet workers. One older miner in Karaganda, complaining that he cannot afford to retire, exclaimed: "Look, 10 years ago at least there was something to buy....I remember World War II and life even then was better than it is now." But there can be no return to the Stalin and Brezhnev days—Gorbachev's perestroika is the culmination of more than six decades of Stalinist misrule.

Nor can Soviet workers defend even their sectional interests through purely economic demands. Prime Minister Pavlov may well have been speaking truthfully when he said: "I would like to raise everyone's pay tomorrow as high as the miners wish. There's only one question: Where will we get the money?"

Where indeed? The Soviet economy is grinding to a halt. Demagogues like Yeltsin claim that if each region and republic is allowed to go its own way, there will be a pot of imperialist gold at the end of the rainbow. One look at Poland or the former DDR should dispel that illusion. But with the collapse of the centralized economy, there has been increasing sentiment for regional and enterprise autonomy as a measure of self-defense.

This is a dead end. Fully half of all Soviet mines operate at a loss. If they are subjected to enterprise or regional self-management, the workers will simply be thrown on the slag heap. Indeed, one reason for the relative quiescence of Donbass miners in the current strikes is that all the mines there were put under the administration of the Ukrainian republican government in January—and it has no money. When, two years ago, the Kuzbass miners demanded "independence" from the bloated coal industry bureaucracy in Moscow, we warned:

> "This will only benefit the strongest, most profitable enterprises, producing harmful disparities—*including unemployment*—even among the Kuzbass miners. What is urgently needed in the interests of *all* the Soviet working class is *central planning based on soviet democracy*."
> —*WV* No. 482, 21 July 1989

Particularly in the present conditions of economic chaos, the disintegration of the Stalinist bureaucracy and looming civil war, workers unions cannot limit themselves to defending the wages and conditions of their members. If these unions do not fight to defend and regenerate the collectivized economy, they will inexorably fall into the hands of pro-imperialist elements.

The only road out of the catastrophe facing the Soviet proletariat today is the struggle for genuine workers soviets, democratically elected, centered on the workplace and subject to immediate recall. To regain political power, the deeply interpenetrated multinational Soviet working class must fight for an internationalist program and be led by an internationalist Bolshevik party. That was the key to victory in October 1917, and it is the key to victory today. ■

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Massacre...

(continued from page 1)

as a one-sided, ruthless massacre. London *Guardian* columnist Martin Woollacott observed: "The essence of the war was that a military machine that had been built to confront the Soviet Union in Central Europe was relocated in Saudi Arabia to deal with an enemy that had not a twentieth of Soviet capacity or offensive power." Indeed this one-sided slaughter would have been inconceivable even a couple of years ago, when Iraq was Moscow's client and Washington still had to take Soviet military might into account.

The whole war was a display of the capacity of the U.S. to kill. For all the hype about "precision bombing," insofar as one can tell from the lying coverage in the Pentagon-controlled press, it was overwhelmingly the same old Vietnam-style terror bombing by B-52s dropping their multi-ton bomb loads at high altitude (and missing most targets). "Smart bombs" worked, but Apache helicopters ran out of gas, laser range finders were screwed up by sandstorms, and a big chunk of the reported "Allied" casualties came from "friendly fire." But that made little difference, as Hussein ordered his troops to withdraw from Kuwait after the second day of the ground offensive. Only a handful of the thousands of Iraqi military casualties were sustained in combat; most were apparently shot in the back.

New York Times (2 March) correspondent R.W. Apple described the "scene of terrifying destruction" along the road from Kuwait City to Basra: "Burned-out, bombed-out vehicles of every description littered the highway, with charred Iraqi bodies everywhere." As retreating Iraqi units were bottled up by U.S. forces, "F-15, F-16 and F-111 fighter-bombers, unslowed by anti-aircraft fire, swept overhead again and again." Like the A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki *after* Japan was prepared to surrender, the grisly massacre along the "highway of death" was coldbloodedly aimed at showing the world the full extent of American bloodthirstiness against any who dare to challenge U.S. imperialism.

As part of its "New World Order," the U.S. is intent on establishing a "regional security pact" in the Near East similar to the short-lived Baghdad Pact (CENTO) after World War II. But while America's new-found Arab allies are more than willing, Zionist Israel refuses even to pay lip service to Washington's appeals to trade "land for peace" in order to mollify the Arabs, confident that the endless flow of foreign aid dollars will continue no matter what. The entry of the Moledet party, committed to the expulsion of all Palestinians from the Occupied Territories, into the Israeli cabinet is a signal of the government's determination to carry through a genocidal "final solution."

As anti-government fighting broke out in Iraq, Washington began to talk like Saddam Hussein was once again a semi-client of the U.S. This was the import of American warnings to Baghdad not to use poison gas against the rebels. In Riyadh, American military briefers praised Iraqi treatment of POWs. One American official was quoted as saying, "it's far easier to deal with a tame Saddam than with an unknown quantity" (*New York Times*, 10 March). The prospect of an Iraqi Shi'ite regime linked to Iran was particularly unsettling. And were the Kurds in Iraq able to finally carve out an independent state, it would be a nightmare for NATO Turkey, where more than ten million Kurds chafe under an oppressive dictatorship.

The imperialist invasion created turmoil throughout North Africa, conjuring up images of a new wave of Western crusaders intent on gang-raping the Arab peoples. The *Wall Street Journal* (4 March) writes, "The gruesome pictures of the slaughter of Iraqi troops retreating from Kuwait and the allied onslaught in the closing hours of the war are likely to exacerbate anger among radical and anti-Western Arabs." Washington planners are particularly worried that Egypt, with its sizable proletariat, could blow.

And the behavior of the oil-bloated rulers of Kuwait since the war ended will only inflame the impoverished Arab masses. Over the years Kuwaitis have amassed personal fortunes ranging into the high billions while imported laborers —mainly Palestinians, but also other Arabs as well as Bangladeshis and Filipinos—did all the work. The returning slavemasters are now haughtily taking out their wrath against their defenseless slaves. As soon as Kuwait was "liberated," a bloodbath was launched against the resident Palestinian population and all others deemed "collaborators."

WV Photo

Spartacists at Wall Street student demo on anniversary of assassination of Malcolm X, February 21, protesting Gulf War and cutbacks in education.

While the Western media trumpeted reams of manufactured "Iraqi atrocities" against Kuwaitis—such as Bush's favorite tale of yanking newborn babes out of incubators, which turned out to be a flat lie—the Kuwaitis have been carrying out gruesome torture and systematic assassination of Iraqis and Palestinians who fall into their hands. Kuwait City's predominantly Palestinian Hawali district was surrounded and ransacked by self-styled "resistance fighters" who rounded up hundreds and indiscriminately shot scores, while U.S. officers kept Western journalists away.

It has been the hapless fate of the Palestinian people, who serviced the technical and social infrastructure of the Gulf states and many other Arab regimes, to be the first victims of every conflagration in the Near East. Driven from their homes by Zionist mass terror in 1947-48, they now face persecution and terror in every corner of their diaspora. Yet the petty-bourgeois nationalist PLO, devoid of any perspective other than pressuring (begging) the Arab bourgeoisies and the imperialists, latches onto one after another despot as hoped-for "savior" of the Palestinian people, from Egypt's Nasser to Saddam Hussein.

National justice for the Palestinians, Kurds and myriad other oppressed minorities requires that the working class throughout the Near East determine the fate of the region, instead of being subordinated to various national/religious movements which only lead to endless cycles of fratricide and perpetuate the power of imperialism. The key is forging a revolutionary internationalist leadership which can unite the toilers of the region in common struggle to assure the national rights of all the peoples of the region. For a federation of workers republics in the Near East!

Defeat U.S. Imperialism Through Workers Revolution!

Hoping to cash in on a replay of the Vietnam antiwar movement, various reformists tailored their numerous "antiwar" coalitions to whatever would be acceptable to a hoped-for defeatist wing of the bourgeoisie. In the name of "unity," they either rejected or buried the call for *defeat* of U.S. imperialism. From the Communist Party to the International Socialist Organization, they pleaded "No Blood for Oil!" "Out Now!" said Socialist Action. "Stop the War Now 'By Any Means Necessary'," echoed Workers World, trying to sound militant like Malcolm X. And those—like the Revolutionary Workers League and British Workers Power—who nominally called for defense of Iraq were more than willing to bargain it away for a seat on one or another coalition steering committee.

Socialist Action, schooled in the Vietnam antiwar popular front, spoke for the lot of them when it claimed: "The criminal war on the Arab people can be brought to a halt, just as the assault on the Vietnamese people was halted—by millions marching in the streets of America." What stopped U.S. imperialism's dirty war in Indochina was not "peaceful, legal" peace crawls but a Vietnamese victory on the battlefield, as even liberal journalist Murray Kempton noted: "Vietnam inspired peace marchers, including myself, in hundreds of thousands from 1965 to 1973; and the war still went on to be lost not to the home front but to General Giap" (*Newsday*, 3 February). The Vietnamese people were spurred on to victory because they were fighting for a social revolution, while the Iraqi people had nothing more inspiring to look to than the despot Hussein, who was more adept at waging war against his own people than against the imperialists.

So this time around the U.S. won, and the imperialist "doves" were revealed to be imperialist chickens. When the imperialist bullies went in and carried out their slaughter, the liberals joined in the cheering, and their "socialist" cheerleaders were left empty-handed. Now Bush has "stopped" the war, by *his* means. U.S. troops, most of them, will soon be "home." Precious little *American* blood has been shed for oil. The social-patriotic "peace" movement got what they called for, and the result was a bloody disaster that spells more wars, because U.S. imperialism was not *defeated*.

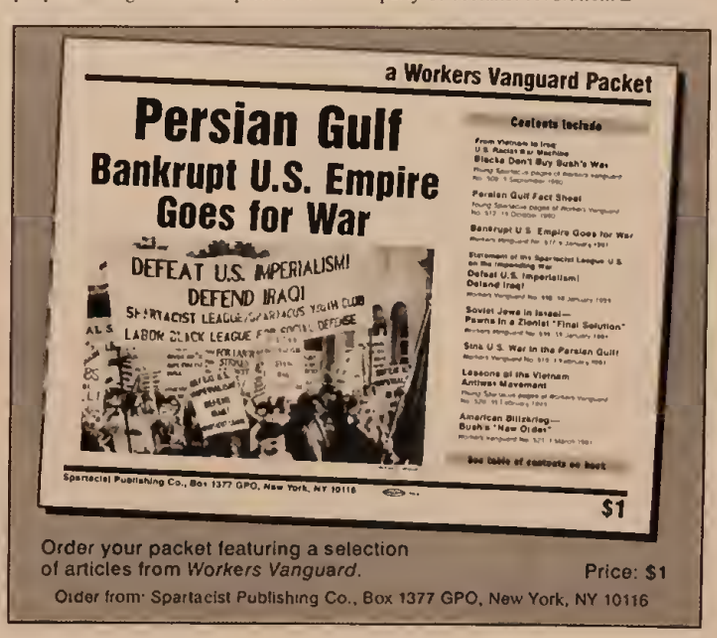
We of the Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League, took a clear, principled stand, for *defeat of U.S. imperialism and defense of Iraq*. We have the right to voice our outrage over the tens of thousands of Iraqis who lie dead under the rubble of Basra and Baghdad or in the desert slaughter fields. As for the so-called "antiwar left" patriots, we hope you gag on your goddamn yellow ribbons!

Bush said the Gulf War was not a "war to end all wars." Indeed, it represented the opening shots of the *next* world war, marking the intensification of interimperialist rivalry. U.S. imperialism sought to demonstrate in the Gulf War that it has the capacity and the stomach to brutally police the world. But Japan and Germany—who were Washington's indirect targets in this war—are far more economically viable than America, whose industry has been turned into a giant rust bowl. The United States is the world's biggest debtor nation, and despite rosy economic forecasts the recession is deepening.

The U.S. also has the accumulated social tinder which can blow up this rapacious imperialist system from within. Among the doubly oppressed black population it is widely understood that "our war is at home"—against racism, unemployment, homelessness and all the other social evils of this truly evil empire.

Bush may be high on his transient 89 percent poll ratings, but the class struggle is the decisive motor force of history. To take but one recent example: following her successful Falklands/Malvinas adventure in 1982, British prime minister Margaret Thatcher's popularity rose as high as Bush's is now, while returning British troops threatened striking railway workers: "Call off the rail strike, or we'll call an air strike." But a year later, Britain was hit by the most explosive and deep-going class struggle it has seen this century, as the yearlong miners strike galvanized wide layers of British society, especially minorities and other working people, against the Thatcher government.

Sharp struggles lie ahead. Key to victory in the coming class battles against the American ruling class, and indeed in determining the fate of all humanity, is the timely forging of an internationalist party of socialist revolution. ■



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WORKERS VANGUARD

Sadistic Beating by Racist Cops

"New World Order" LAPD-Style

LOS ANGELES—The scene of a gang of sadistic cops, wielding their nightsticks like baseball bats, ferociously clubbing, stomping and kicking a defenseless black man who lay at their feet, has shocked the country with a chilling example of what Bush's "New World Order" means for minorities at home. As footage of the beating was played on nationwide TV, millions watched in horror at the racist torture of Rodney King. In the two minutes of the beating that was videotaped by an amateur cameraman, the 25-year-old Altadena man received 53 to 56 vicious blows from billy clubs and seven kicks. King also got at least two jolts from a 50,000-volt Taser stun gun.

You couldn't miss the connection to Bush's "New Order." Just before its coverage of the L.A. atrocity, ABC News (5 March) showed the U.S. president grandstanding for his "crime bill" before a cop convention: "The kind of moral force and national will that freed Kuwait City from abuse can free America's cities from crime," Bush vowed. But the kind of kill-crazy sadism and thug mentality that uses non-white people for target practice with high-tech weaponry is nothing new for the LAPD. This paramilitary force acts as a law unto itself with its "Blue Thunder" helicopters and the search-and-destroy "anti-gang" sweeps of Operation Hammer that target the ghettos and barrios.

On Sunday, March 3, around 1 a.m., George Holliday was in his Lake View Terrace apartment when he was awakened by the whir of the police chopper and saw about ten squad cars pull over a white Hyundai. When Holliday began videotaping the incident from his balcony, the beating had already begun. King is seen on his knees, desperately trying to cover his head, then rolling

WV Photo

Spartacist League at March 9 Los Angeles demo protesting racist cop beating of Rodney King.

around on the ground as the cops methodically club him on his legs, on his back, on his kidneys, as they kick him in the head, the throat, the groin. At least 15 cops, all of them white, stand around watching, jostling each other to step into the inner circle and deliver a blow. According to a witness, they "were all laughing and chuckling, like they just had a party."

"Before they started hitting him, he was pretty much cooperative," said Holliday. "It was a weird feeling. I was trying to think what could he have done to deserve that?" Rodney King's "crime" was speeding, for which the charges were eventually dropped. A laid-off construction worker and former maintenance man at Dodger Stadium, King was targeted by the California Highway Patrol on the Foothill Freeway—CHP radioed the LAPD when he started down the off-ramp and they were waiting when he came to a stop. An eyewitness told the *Los Angeles Times*, "He looked up at the helicopter lights and began to laugh." Then King stepped out and put his hands on the roof of his car.

"He never moved his hands," said Josie Morales, a resident of the apartment complex and Water Department worker. She said a voice yelled out, then she saw King lie down and ten cops surrounded him. King later explained, "I was scared for my life. So I laid down real calmly and took it like a man." He was cut up so bad he needed antibiotics and 20 stitches, five inside his mouth, where he lost several teeth. Dr. Edmund Chien stated that King could have easily died from his injuries, the most serious of which are a fractured right eye socket, brain damage and a broken ankle.

The videotaped beating sparked outrage across the country. When he saw it on TV, an antique dealer in Rhode Island said, "It was the most disgusting thing I ever saw. When I saw those pictures I kept thinking that the only thing those police were lacking were the white robes." In Los Angeles, some 300 people turned out for a March 9 protest organized by the NAACP and Urban League outside the Police Department's downtown headquarters. One woman's sign read, "The Enemy Is Not in Kuwait—The Enemy Is Here! LAPD/KKK!" Demonstrators from the Spartacist League carried signs saying, "Bush and the Democrats: Terror Bombing in Baghdad, Cop Terror in L.A." and "'New World Order'—War on Blacks and Labor."

The night before in the Westwood area near UCLA, up to 1,500 black youth, most of whom had been turned away from an over-sold performance of the movie *New Jack City*, used the occasion to express their bitterness and outrage at the LAPD by taking over the streets for close to three hours, stomping on American flags in spite of the presence of at least 100 riot cops. "Some youths shouted 'Black power!' and 'Fight the power!' as they roamed the streets and made angry references to the videotaped beating," reported the *Los Angeles Times* (10 March).

The LAPD is a notorious violence cult with state power, from ex-cop mayor Tom Bradley to police chief Daryl Gates who stated that blacks die from the police choke hold more often than whites because "the veins or arteries do not open up as fast as they do in normal people." Now with the heat on, Gates claims the King incident was an "aberration," and he may even sacrifice a few cops to civil prosecution. But anyone familiar with the Los Angeles police knows that this is their standard *modus operandi*.

Racist terror by Los Angeles area cops is so rampant that videotape documentation of the cops' brutality is itself becoming S.O.P. In 1989, black ex-cop Don Jackson was filmed driving an old car down Pacific Coast Highway in Long Beach when he was stopped for no apparent reason. The two cops who slammed him against the hood and then shoved his head through a plate-glass window are due to go on trial this week. That same year 80 cops raided a bridal shower of a Samoan family in Cerritos. The hosts who were videotaping the party ended up with footage of the indiscriminate clubbing of their friends and relatives.

There are many more incidents that never made it on videotape, like ex-Cincinnati Reds baseball star Joe Morgan being beaten up at L.A. airport for being a "suspected drug-runner" (read: well-dressed black man), and this past December ex-Laker Jamal Wilkes being pulled over and handcuffed for a registration that was "about to expire." In another 1989 case, scores of cops ransacked two well-kept apartment buildings on Dalton Avenue in a black neighborhood, using sledgehammers, heaving furniture out the window, dragging residents out naked and making the place unlivable. Scrawled on the walls was the warning, "LAPD rules."

George Holliday Video

Video by amateur photographer showed vicious L.A. cops repeatedly beating and kicking defenseless black man.

The terror of the LAPD is felt in communities throughout the city. Remember the score of striking janitors, largely Central Americans, who were viciously clubbed by waves of riot cops during a peaceful labor demonstration in June 1990. Now, autopsy reports show two Samoan brothers killed by Compton cops on February 12 were shot *20 times*, many of those in the back!

Across the country in America's big cities, the cops cut a swath of racist terror, as they seek to intimidate, jail, and ultimately eliminate whole sections of the oppressed black and Hispanic populations, who are unwanted as anything but cannon fodder for the wars against other non-white peoples waged by this racist capitalist system. New York *Newsday* has begun a series of articles, "When Cops Kill," noting that NYPD killings (overwhelmingly of blacks and Hispanics) are at "the highest level since the mid-1970s—most cases...have not resulted in an indictment."

The scourge of racist cop violence cannot be solved by the resignation of particularly vicious representatives like Daryl ("Choke Hold") Gates, or impotent schemes for civilian review boards. The police are a clear and present danger to the general population, and oppressed minorities most of all. The situation cries out for a thousands-strong mass mobilization of trade unions, with their combative black and Hispanic components, at the head of the ghetto and barrio masses in a show of social power to beat back the racist attacks. And it will take a workers revolution to permanently remove the racist hired thugs of the capitalist class from the streets that they terrorize today. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 523

29 March 1991

After U.S. Bombing Lays Waste to Iraq

"Liberated" Kuwait Tortures Palestinians

George Bush is building his "new world order" on mountains of corpses. We warned insistently that a Pax Americana in the Near East would mean brutal neocolonial oppression. It began with the wanton murder of tens of thousands of Iraqis. Now U.S forces in the Near East are overseeing a vicious reign of terror and torture, particularly against the dispossessed Palestinian workers of the region.

From the outset, Bush was intent on *devastating* Iraq as a bloody reassertion of U.S. imperialism's self-anointed role as top cop of the world. Last week a United Nations commission sent to investigate conditions in Iraq reported that the country has "been relegated to a preindustrial age," as the bombing "wrought near-apocalyptic results upon the infrastructure of what had been until January 1991 a rather highly urbanized and mechanized society."

A visiting doctor adds: "Since the beginning of the war, thousands of babies and adults have died from starvation and shortage of medicine" (*Guardian* [London], 23 March). This is the result of the months-long blockade of Iraq, carried out under a UN fig leaf and cheered on by Democrats and

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AP

Thousands of Palestinians and Iraqis have been rounded up, many tortured and murdered by Kuwaiti soldiers under U.S. supervision.

Videotape Shows...What Happens All the Time

Racist Cop Terror U.S.A.

The public fury generated by the sadistic racist beating of Rodney King by L.A. police has brought the issue of police brutality into sharp national focus. Nobody but the most rabid cop sympathizer believes it is an "aberration," as LAPD chief Daryl Gates called it. Blacks and Hispanics have always known the truth about it, and many have directly experienced it—the only new thing is people have camcorders to videotape it. Now TV viewers from coast to coast wince at each swing of the police batons, each kick to the head, each blow to the kidneys—deeply angered, with compassion and empathy for the black man as he lay helpless before the taunting, torturing cops. And from New York to Atlanta and Chicago, the media has suddenly unearthed a mountain of similar cases, which they had buried until now.

After 15 days, transcripts of the L.A. patrol car computer messages from the night of the beating were finally made public. LAPD thugs Laurence Powell and Timothy Wind, under indictment as two of King's principal attackers, bragged: "I haven't beaten anyone this bad in a long time." The voice on the other end responded, "Oh, not again...I thought you agreed to chill out for a while." Powell and Wind described their previous call, involving a black family, as being "right out of Gorillas in the Mist." Foot patrol officers responded, "Ha ha ha ha...let me guess who be the parties." Straight from the racist pigs' mouths—to say the least, this undercut Gates' absurd claims that the beating was not racially motivated.

Racist police terror an "aberration"? We're reminded of the study by eminent Canadian biologist Farley Mowat, who investigated trappers' claims that wolves were devastating the herds of caribou. Mowat found the wolves were getting a bum rap. After thousands of years, wasn't it curious that wolves' insatiable appetite for killing increased so dramatically in the presence of...trappers? In this case, is one to believe that the cops' thirst to beat up people is somehow stimulated by the presence of a video camera to record it? We rather think it's the opposite.

Pizac/AP

George Holliday Video

Bush hails LAPD chief Gates as "American hero," vows to take "handcuffs off police." Right: L.A. police sadistically club and stomp defenseless black man, Rodney King.

In fact, racist cop atrocities occur all the time. But now with video cameras everywhere, you get to see it for yourself. The cops see home videos as a threat to their control of the streets (like guns in the hands of the people). But it's fundamental to the criminal "justice" system to pretend that cops' testimony is implicitly to be believed. So...the victim fell down the steps, banged his head against the pavement, was shot trying to escape. Possibly the police will figure a way to ban videos, at least as evidence in court, the way the Pentagon kept reporters in the Persian Gulf from showing the carnage left by its murderous blitzkrieg.

Cop terror is enormously, but not exclusively racially biased. It is of great assistance in becoming a victim if you are black or Hispanic, but don't rely on that too heavily. New York police abused a white woman editor who objected to them berating her taxi driver, ran down an elderly doctor on Park Avenue (one of only two cases in which an NYC cop was ever indicted for murder). The cops have this macho creed of cowardice: they're not like soldiers, they don't expect to be shot at. Which is why they have those elaborate funerals, bringing out thousands every time one of them is on the receiving end. *They're* supposed to do the killing.

"Desert Storm" Comes Home

In our last issue we pointed to the direct connection between Bush's war of annihilation against Iraq and the war against blacks and Hispanics at home. On the same day the videotape was first aired, Bush was at a nationwide cop convention, sitting next to "Choke Hold" Gates and singling out the L.A. top cop as an "All American hero." Appealing for the kind of "moral force" and "national will" shown in "Desert Storm," Bush described his draconian crime bill as "taking the handcuffs off police." That's like when he said that the army would "not be asked to fight with one hand tied behind their back" on the day that the terror bombing of Baghdad began. The beating of Rodney King symbolizes what Bush's talk about unleashing the police is all about. Blacks and other minorities are to be used for cannon fodder in war, and target practice at home.

Now embarrassed over his endorsement of Gates, Bush scrambled to distance himself. Attorney General Richard Thornburgh ordered the FBI to "review" complaints of police brutality received by the feds in the past six years—some

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From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

A Lesson From "Lalaland"

As the psychic ripples from the Gulf "War" recede from the shores of memory, other visions arrest the nation's attention.

From the country's Southwest came the gripping imagery of a continuing urban war, the videotaped vicious street beating of an African-American motorist, as he lay prone, dazed, utterly unresisting, in a Los Angeles gutter.

Witnesses counted at least 50 bone-snapping blows by police billy clubs, plus assorted kickings and zappings by an electric stun gun.

The motorist's crime?

Running (allegedly) a stop light, and daring to flee a uniformed crew of malcontents.

The initial police reports, predictably, charged Rodney King with resisting arrest, but the existence of videotape of the arrest relegated such charges to irrelevance.

For there, *in living color*, stood the obvious—a Black man, suspected of an offense, is publicly beaten in a spasm of racist insensate rage, for no reason other than the lamentable fact that it has long been American custom to do so, when the doers are armed with the power of the state.

In that blinding, naked moment, the fears of generations of Black men leapt to the fore, for by such customs are marked our common reality.

For who knew, among his vicious pursuers, who this young man was? Who among them cared?

He could've been a white-collar professional, like insurance man Arthur McDuffie, whose murder by cops in Miami evoked paroxysms of rebellion; he could've been a cop, driving in plainclothes; he could've been the son of California's Congressman, Ron Dellums... In short, he could've been any Black man, of any social strata, and the beating would've been just as brutal, just as harrowing, and just as disbelieved, had not a camera captured this cacophony of cruelty.

To his armed, uniformed assailants, the driver was just a "nigger," hence, fair game.

He might've been a returned warrior from Desert Storm; or a blood relative of Martin Luther King, Jr., but would it've mattered?

Hardly.

Prepare for the official obfuscation, i.e., the old "bad apple" theory, to be unleashed upon the public.

"There's always a few bad apples in every bunch," the cops will say, adding, "Don't blame the bunch!"

One wonders—where, pray tell, are the "good apples," who treat people with human decency?

McDuffie, Eleanor Bumpurs, MOVE, on & on & on & on?

To now cry "bad apples" is to insult Black intelligence.

It is not "bad apples," but a *bad system* that relegates Black life to the psychic underworld of terror.

For what did Black youth cross the seas of Saudi sand?

For what did their fathers wage war in Viet Nam?

For what did their grandfathers fight a fascist Hitler?

To be beaten in the streets like dogs?

That is today's ugly reality.

What reality will our sons face?

10 March 1991

Mumia Abu-Jamal, a Philadelphia black journalist, is on death row at Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison. Framed up because of his political views, Mumia faces death for his defiance of the racist, capitalist order. His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

To get involved in the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal and abolish the death penalty, contact the Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. If you wish to correspond with Mumia, you can write to: Mumia Abu-Jamal, AM8335, Drawer R, Huntingdon, PA 16652.

Genocide Is Not Debatable

TROTSKY

LENIN

Every time we seek to mount an anti-fascist united front, "civil libertarians" such as the ACLU and the Zionist ADL leap to defend the fascist terrorists' "right to free speech." But KKKers like David Duke stand for mass murder *against minorities and other workers—genocide is not debatable. When the then-Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party organized a mammoth demonstration to stop a fascist rally in New York's Madison Square Garden in 1939, they took on these suicidal arguments.*

It seems that the only point of importance that the Professional Liberals and Democrats could see in the big mobilization of the Nazis at Madison Square Garden last week, was their "right of free speech and assembly"....

The American Civil Liberties Union, apparently exhausted by its noble efforts in behalf of the Nazis, didn't utter a peep about the democratic rights of free speech, assembly and picketing being denied the 50,000 anti-Fascists who came to protest the Nazi rally. Ditto for the Jewish committee....

The workers who spend all their time and energy in the abstract discussion of the Nazis' "democratic rights"—to say nothing of working themselves into a lather in defense of these "rights"—will end their discussion under a Fascist club in a concentration camp.

The workers who delude themselves and waste their time begging the capitalist Democrats in office to "act" against the Fascists, will end up in the same place, just as the workers of Italy, Germany and Austria did.

The workers have more vital concerns. They are and should be interested in defending and expanding their democratic rights. But not in any abstract sense. These rights are the concrete rights of free speech, assembly, press, the right to organize, strike and picket, without which an independent working class simply cannot exist.

A decaying capitalism—of which Fascism is only a natural product—seeks constantly to restrict and destroy these rights, which are not truly genuine even in "normal" times. These rights can only be defended from the assaults of capitalism and its ugly offspring, Fascism, in the same way in which they were first acquired: by the tireless, aggressive, unbending, independent struggle of the working class....

The self-preservation of the working class demands that it cut through all abstract chatter and smash the Fascist gangs by decisive and relentless action.

—"Should Fascists Be Allowed the Right of Free Speech?"
(*Socialist Appeal*, 3 March 1939)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions $7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 523 **29 March 1991**

Letters

Tie a Yellow Ribbon 'Round Socialist Action

Boston
3 March 1991

Dear Editor,

The recent article on Socialist Action ("Socialist Action: Untrue in Small Things and Big," *WV* No. 521, 1 March) was right on target. Indeed, theirs is the politics of duplicitous maneuver as opposed to principle, the politics of opportunist tailism as opposed to leadership.

But lest *Workers Vanguard* readers think that our characterization that "Socialist Action is after the yellow ribbon 'patriots for peace' crowd" is some kind of polemical exaggeration, we should point out that Socialist Action has shamelessly, publicly and explicitly endorsed the yellow ribbon movement. At a forum in Boston on 21 October 1990, longtime SA supporter Roger Sheppard said how happy he was that his next-door neighbor had tied a yellow ribbon around the tree in his driveway and what an appropriate symbol this was for the anti-war movement. As if to say this was no individual aberration, the November issue of *Socialist Action* reprinted Sheppard's revolting social-chauvinism verbatim. "We're building a movement to reach out to everyone: the vets, the Marines, everybody. Those yellow ribbons that are all around this country mean 'we want all *our* [my emphasis] troops home NOW!'"

Socialist Action can have its reactionary pro-imperialist yellow ribbon movement. The color scheme matches perfectly with the rest of their politics.

Communist greetings,
Kevin G.

ISO Calls Cops on Leftists

Chicago
19 March 1991

Dear Comrades,

As stated in the article, "ISO in the Antiwar Movement" (*WV* No. 520, 15 February), the International Socialist Organization has a record of suppressing open political debate and excluding its political opponents on the left. On March 2 here in Chicago the ISO *called the cops to oust Spartacist supporters and other leftists from a public antiwar conference*.

This disgusting attack took place at Loyola University, where the ISO-organized National Network of Campuses Against the War (NNCAW) held a conference over the March 1 weekend. With a few hundred people attending the morning session, a supporter of the Spartacus Youth Club kicked off the floor discussion by counterposing the need for labor political strikes against the war to the NNCAW's dead-end strategy of chaining student opposition to the war to the capitalist Democratic Party. Among other speakers, who on instructions from the chair had lined up to speak at the microphone, were two supporters from the centrist Revolutionary Workers League (RWL), who tried to put a left face on the NNCAW by asking it to adopt a list of radical-sounding demands.

The ISO quickly decided that political discussion was *verboten*. When a third RWL supporter took her turn at the mike, the chair shouted her down while a phalanx of ISO goons converged around her. SYC members and RWL supporters moved to defend this woman but the chair abruptly ended the discussion period. As the session broke up, SYCers heard that the ISO was expelling the RWL from the conference for "disruption" and at that very moment was attempting to take down the RWL's literature table by force. I went to the podium to inform those still in the room about this undemocratic attack and to announce that if this censorship stood the SYC would walk out in protest. The

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Northite Blood Money

"Lenin received German gold." "Leon Trotsky was an agent of the Mikado." "Spartacist—Finger Man for the FBI." The first slander was supplied by self-proclaimed "socialists" and other elements in 1917 Russia who wanted to continue the imperialist carnage of World War I, the second by J.V. Stalin and the last by David North's Workers League. In the 8 February issue of the Workers League's press the *Bulletin* we read: "As American bombs are dropping on Baghdad, Workers Vanguard uses rhetoric indistinguishable from that of the Bush administration.... It willingly places itself on the 'left' flank of the bourgeois media propaganda blitz which seeks to demonize Saddam Hussein and whip up hatred for the Iraqi people."

At least when the pro-war forces in imperial Russia lyingly accused Lenin of being a German agent they attempted to give a political façade to this slander by pointing to Lenin's opposition to Russian imperialism and to the war. But for the Workers League to accuse the Spartacist League of trying to undermine the defense of Iraq while U.S. imperialism was raining down death on Baghdad is such a shameless lie that it would make the tsarist writers of the "Protocols of the Elders of Zion" blush.

In our banners at antiwar demonstrations, in the headlines of *Workers Vanguard*, in our speeches to protesters—the Spartacist League forthrightly fought for the defeat of U.S. imperialism and military defense of Iraq (without failing to note the crimes of Hussein's regime against the Iraqi toiling masses). We sought to mobilize the social power of the working class in labor political strikes against the war. And what of the Workers League? As American bombs rained down on Baghdad, North's outht campaigned...for a "democratic" referendum on the war!

At the red-white-and-hlue "antiwar" demonstration in Washington, D.C. on January 26, the Northites marched under a banner reading: "Stop War Against Iraq—Let the People Vote on War." This is worse than the most abject social-pacifism, appealing to the imperialist butchers to give a more "democratic" cover to their genocidal war against the Iraqi people. At the time, the American "people," in their overwhelming majority, *supported* Bush's war!

Crime and Dividends

What really has the Workers League frothing at the mouth is the one subject truly close to their hearts—lucre, as filthy as it comes. Earlier this year we ran a short article entitled "Healyites Got Blood Money" (*WV* No. 517, 4 January), which detailed how the late Gerry Healy's "International Committee" was on the take from a number of Near East despotic regimes, including Saddam Hussein's Iraq. And we pointed to the Healyites' criminal *cheering* for the 1978 execution of Iraqi Communist Party members.

The Workers League headed by David North—the current representative of unadulterated Healyism here on earth—is squealing like stuck pigs. The *Bulletin* decries our exposure of their direct and immediate ancestors for being on the payroll of virtually every sheik and military bonapartist in the region as an attempt "to provide the FBI with a pretext to frame up the Workers League."

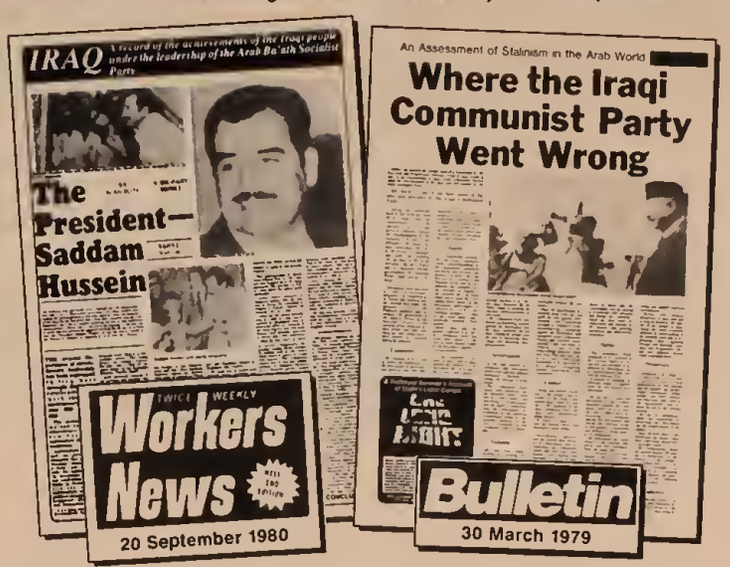
Workers News

Nick Beams

Workers Press

David North

Partners in crime: Beams and North were PR agents for Iraqi dictator Saddam Hussein when he was killing Communists as an *ally* of U.S. Imperialism.



The Northites certainly have an elastic view of their own history—similar to their relation to any question of Marxist principle or proletarian morality. We nailed the Workers League as "shameless apologists for white terror in Iraq" more than a decade ago. At the time Hussein was a *client* of U.S. imperialism, which was providing him with military aid and intelligence. (As we have reported, the first anti-Communist bloodbath carried out hy the Ba'ath used hit lists supplied *by the CIA.*) In our most recent article we also noted that at the same time Healy et al. were raking in thousands from those other clients of American imperialism, *the Kuwaiti emirs!*

The Workers League probably has plenty to fear for the crimes they have committed, but getting in trouble with the FBI is at the bottom of the list (if they are on any FBI list at all). After all, the Healyites were working the same side of the street as U.S. intelligence! In 1979, North's *Bulletin* reprinted articles from Healy's *News Line* hailing the execution of 21 Iraqi Communist Party members by Hussein's government. The *Bulletin* (30 March 1979) even reprinted from *News Line* an Iraqi communiqué, under the grotesque headline, "Where the Iraqi Communist Party Went Wrong."

According to the 1985 International Committee Control Commission report —which the *Bulletin* tries to hide behind as proof of their "innocence"—the Healyites got close to £20,000 from Iraq in the late 1970s. And this hgure can only be the tip of the iceberg, given that the IC "investigation" into their organization's financial dealings in the Near East was carried out by the guilty themselves.

The *Bulletin* doesn't deny that it cheered the murder of Communist worker militants in Iraq. It simply whines that the Workers League didn't know Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party got paid for this and other crimes. This, it is claimed, was done "without the agreement or knowledge of the International Committee." For the Northites to claim that they didn't know is about as believahle as Bush and Reagan's protests that they were "out of the loop" while another criminal hy the name of North, hirst name Oliver, was running the Contragate arms-and-drugs scam out of the White House basement.

Healy's hnancial ties to Arab regimes were a notorious scandal on the left. From the time the WRP started up its daily *News Line* in May 1976, it was clear that Healy's organization was on the take from Muammar Qaddafi's Libyan regime. Less than three months earlier, the WRP had folded its previous paper *Workers Press* following months of publicity pleading for funds for a press "Crisis Fund." Then amidst great fanfare out comes a hashy new four-color daily full of articles extolling the Libyan dictator and "special reports" from Tripoli. Where did the money come from in this rags-to-riches story?

As early as May 1977, we ran an article entitled "Healyites, Messengers of Qaddafi," which concluded that "even a cursory look at *News Line*'s yearlong pandering to the oil-rich Qaddafi forces the observation that there is indeed something very rotten in the state of Denmark." Two years later we picketed Workers League meetings with signs reading "Workers League—Press Agents for Libyan Dictatorship!" and "Healyites: From Political Bandits on the Left to Pimps for Qaddafi."

Then in 1980, Sean Matgamna, editor of the British *Socialist Organiser*, observed that the WRP must have been subsidized by "one or more Arab governments." In a vengeful attempt to destroy Matgamna's organization, the WRP (under the aegis of jet-setting actress Vanessa Redgrave) filed a libel suit against Matgamna for his scathing and eminently truthful exposé of these unprincipled political bandits, gangsters and cultists. Interestingly, the one statement in Matgamna's article which the suit did not take up was the *central* charge that the Healyites were heing funded by bourgeois Arab regimes.

Now, the *Bulletin* writes that following the Control Commission investigation "the International Committee, with the support of the Workers League... denounced the WRP's 'pursuit of unprincipled relations with sections of the colonial bourgeoisie in return for money'." But what did the Workers League find "unprincipled"? Ohviously not acting as press agents for Qaddafi (celebrating the "Tenth Anniversary of the Libyan Revolution," the WL sent a telegram to Qaddafi praising his "progressive socialist policies") or cheering the execution of Iraqi Communists. North's "defense" is that Healy did it for money, while the Workers League did it for free! But did they?

Who Got the Money?

After the IC Control Commission had delivered its report, in 1986 Cliff Slaughter, another of Healy's former lieutenants, wrote a letter to all WRP members asking:

> "Is it only the WRP which received financial assistance from one or other Middle Eastern bourgeois national governments? Which other sections did so?
> "Is it not a tact that the Australian section did receive a sum of (tens of thousand [sic] of dollars) in 1983?...
> "Is it not true that Cde Beams failed to report the matter to the IC or to the WRP

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The International Communist League Makes Available the Polemics of Its Opponents on the Left

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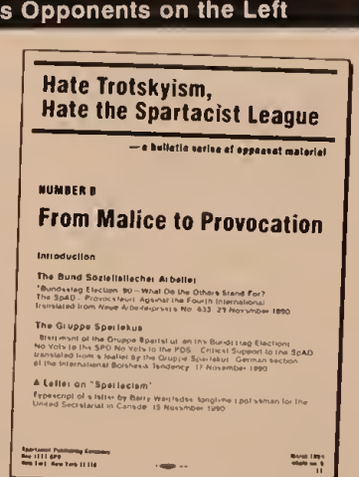
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Northites...

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> delegates, but that he *did* report it to at least some of the delegates who supported the WRP suspension and certainly to Comrade North? That is what happened. "Finally: is it not true that Comrade North and Beams agreed the matter should not be raised at the IC because they considered it did not constitute a 'class betrayal'? How did they differentiate between the class betrayal of the WRP in this matter—on which was based the argument for suspending the WRP from the IC without charges and without a hearing—and the actions taken on behalf of the SLL (Australia)?"

Slaughter's accusations against North's cover-up for his colleague Nick Beams, leader of the Australian Socialist Lahour League, have the ring of (self-serving) truth. A month after Slaughter's letter was circulated, the Central Committee of the SLL seems to have felt constrained to censure Beams for failure to report receipt of money from Arab regimes to the IC. Further information came from former SLL leader Phil Sandford, who revealed how another leading Australian Healyite was slapped down by Healy for attempting to poach on his Iraqi preserve to get $100,000 for a printing press (see "Some Political Bandits at the End," *Spartacist* No. 43-44, Summer 1989). Sandford reports that their relations with Libya were much more lucrative.

Only the Tip of the Iceberg...

Libya	£542,267
Kuwait	156,500
Qatar	50,000
Abu Dhabi	25,000
PLO	19,997
Iraq	19,697
Unidentified or other sources	261,702
Total	£1,075,163

(Reprinted in *Workers News*, April 1988)

Account of monies from Near East paymasters received by Healy's WRP as reported by 1985 IC Control Commission—an "investigation" carried out by the guilty.

But was North's only role in this sordid affair to alibi for Beams? Not according to a letter from Healy lieutenant Tony Banda to the American Workers League Central Committee nf 23 January 1986. Responding to accusations that leading members of the WRP, following the ouster of Healy, were refusing to make IC documents available to WRP members, Banda writes:

> "This I find extremely interesting coming from you, who through your minions, have suppressed virtually the entire discussion on Healyism.... This is like the thief in the crowded hazaar crying, 'Stop, thief' to distract attention from his own misdeeds. Up north Mr. Holier-Than-Thou makes his getaway with 90 grand, while his apprentice/accomplice makes off with another 25 grand down south. Is this your revolutionary morality? Is this your kind of internationalism?"
>
> —printed in *Fourth International*, Autumn 1986

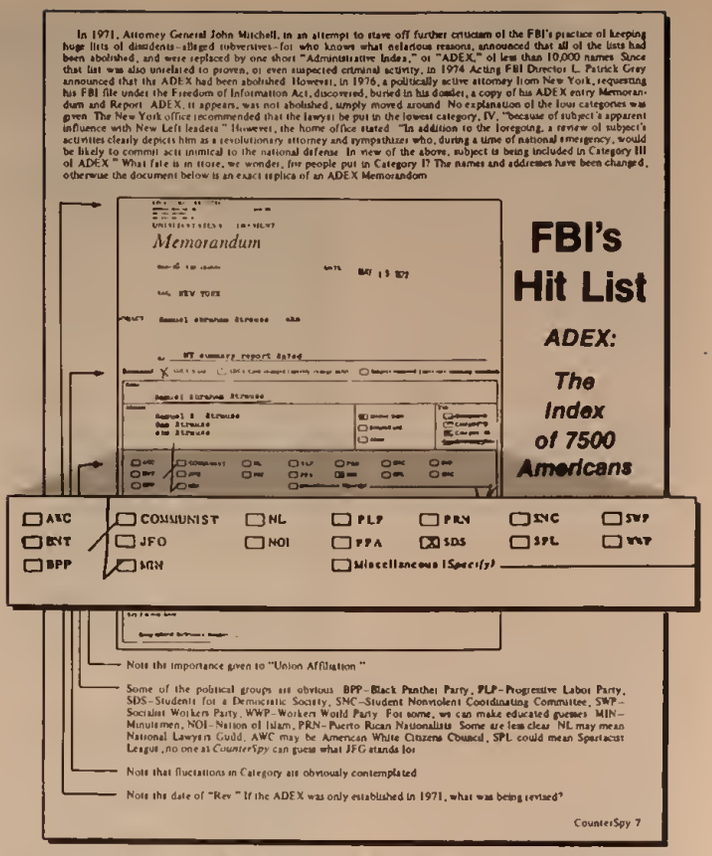
Tony Banda's "we were all crooks" indictment of "Mr. Holier-Than-Thou" North captures the cynical quality of this falling-out among thieves.

It seems evident that when it looked like Healy was collecting all of the big payoffs from the Near East, the rest of his mob were driven into a shark-like feeding frenzy to get their share of the blood money. As we have noted many times, none of Healy's epigones protested the vicious betrayals that were perpetrated by their organization in order to get money from Near East bourgeois governments. It was only when this revenue dried up that they moved in to depose Healy.

According to a financial report by Corin Redgrave, dated 8 October 1985, in 1984-85 "scarcely a single rent or rates demand was paid on time. Bailiffs took walking possession of the contents of the party's printshop in Runcorn, the party bookshops, and on one occasion at least, the party headquarters at Clapham." At first the WRP tried to blame the whole mess on their financial apparatus. But by the summer of 1985 it became clear that the whole stinking house that Healy had built was about to come crumbling down. Well-trained by their "founder-leader," Healy's longtime henchmen went, like sharks, for the kill.

North desperately wanted to declare himself as the new leader and wielded the IC Control Commission for his own cynical power play. Today, the *Bulletin* claims that the Workers League's participation in this commission clears them of all crimes. Yet, curiously, they have chosen never to print the results of even this heavily censored and self-serving "investigation" into the IC's sordid financial wheeling and dealing.

The Commission's report was completed in a big hurry, and this was not simply because Healy & Co. had allegedly spirited away the WRP's financial records. No attempt was made to investigate allegations that other IC sections had been on the take. The names of implicated senior WRP members who had not left with Healy were deleted from the report. North used the "findings" to get the leftovers from Healy's WRP out of his way. Slaughter's rump WRP was suspended from membership and North anointed himself king nf the remaining Healyite dung heap.



How come the WL never appeared on the FBI's "ADEX" list, which singled out 16 groups including the SWP and the Spartacist League (SPL)? Above, sample page of this target list was printed in *CounterSpy* magazine.

The Workers League tries to palm themselves off as Trotskyists and from time to time, when it suits their purposes, they can sound quite orthodox. We recognized them for what they were twenty years ago when we publicly exposed the Healyites as "political bandits" whose positions were tailored to their own opportunistic and unsavory advantage. In their further degeneration they became outright bandits, and far worse.

Talk about fingermen: for a fistful of petrodollars, the Healyites took pictures of protesters at an anti-Hussein demo in London and turned them over to the Iraqi embassy! For cash they cheered the murder of Iraqi CP members. One of Healy's main bagmen in Baghdad was none other than Alex Mitchell, who together with North co-authored "Security and the Fourth International"—the sinister campaign to smear the leadership of the American Socialist Workers Party as agents of the FBI and the GPU!

While Mitchell today plies his pen for the capitalist press in Australia, North continues to use his for new installments of "Security." After spending a fortune trying to get the capitalist courts to rule that the SWP was being run by FBI agents in the notorious case of WL provocateur Alan Gelfand, the Northites waged an international campaign as fingermen for the American imperialist state's prosecution of a young SWPer, Mark Curtis—who is now behind bars, sentenced to *25 years in jail* on trumped-up rape charges. But why would the cops jail one of their own agents?

And why does the Workers League profess to be worried about the FBI going after them? On the face of it, the U.S. government ought to be satisfied with their work. As for the Arab dictators, sheiks and colonels that the Healyites shook down for cash—doubtless on the claim that the IC was an organization with "mass" influence which could help them out—they might rightly feel duped, not to mention vindictive. ■

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Letters...

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words were barely out of my mouth when a conference organizer, Nick DeGenova, yanked the cord right out of the microphone!

Out in the hallway, the RWL's lit table was surrounded by a large goon squad of ISOers. SYC members moved in to defend the RWL and led chants of "ISO—Back Off!" and "ISO—Thought Police!" The face-off went on for about 15 minutes until Bill Stant, an ISOer and the conference convener, pulled back the goons—explaining that he had called the campus cops to expel the RWL and "anyone who defends them"! Immediately, six cops turned up to eject the RWL and the SYC.

Cops are hired guns for the profit system. From L.A.'s brutal "centurions" to campus security guards, the police "serve and protect" nothing but the capitalist, racist status quo and the institutions that prop it up. For Marxists, it's an elementary principle: *cops out of the workers movement!*

Seeing the vehemently anti-Soviet ISO unite with the armed fist of the bourgeois state against communists tells you more than a thousand issues of *Socialist Worker*. Like the Menshevik Andrei Vyshinsky, who in July 1917 signed the arrest warrant for V.I. Lenin, the ISO gladly calls the cops on reds to prove their own loyalty to the bourgeoisie as brokers of popular-frontist coalitions. That Vyshinsky was to become Stalin's chief prosecutor in the Moscow Trials 20 years later might give some ISO supporters pause.

Comradely,
Keith A.

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Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

NYC Transit Worker Killed on the Tracks

Francesco Giordano, a 62-year-old track worker and a member of Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100, was struck and killed by a subway train shortly before 3 a.m. on March 15. He was crossing the tracks in a Queens station where he was part of a crew installing metal tie plates. Giordano worked for the Transit Authority (TA) for over 20 years. He was three short months away from a June retirement. Giordano would have been out of the NYC subway system deathtrap already, but the TA made him make up "lost time" from an earlier illness.

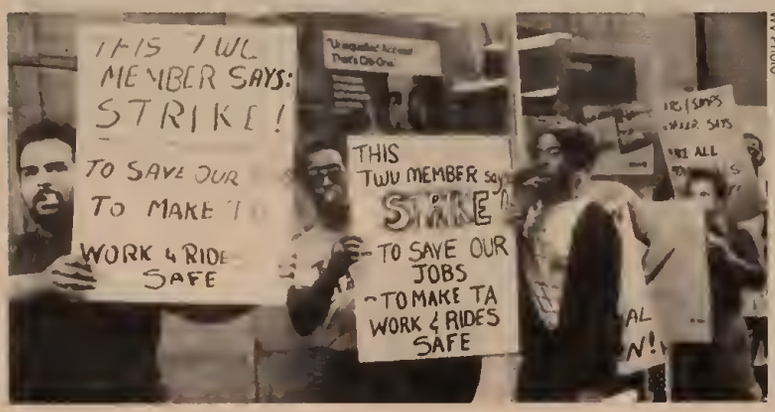
When the Brooklyn-bound G train killed Giordano, the daily press of NYC barely took notice. But a stray dog run over on the tracks two days before has become a *cause célèbre*, as the *New York Post* tried to crucify the motorman in the unfortunate incident. It was a front-page story with an inside column under the huge headline "Subway Workers Kill Dog to End Tie-Up." Buried in the article is the fact that the train was stopped for a half-hour during rush hour while transit cops searched for the German shepherd. It was the cops who ordered the train to move again!

The dog got more ink than Francesco Giordano, or the six other transit workers killed on the job in the last two years. Giordano is another victim of the TA's policy that workers' and riders' lives are cheaper than capital investment and adequate, safe working conditions. We do not forget Robert Nicholson, Daniel Walsh, Stewart Melsinker, David Davis, James Byrne and Frank Davila—all run down on the tracks because the TA did not provide flagmen or didn't inform the other workers that men were working on the tracks. After each of these deaths, the TA sought to scapegoat transit workers with drug tests, and the carnage goes on.

The TA gets away with this murder on tracks because the sellout leaders of the TWU are willing accomplices. While the TA spitefully denied the Giordano family's request for his personal effects, the cruelest blow comes from TWU Local 100 president Sonny Hall. This miserable traitor to the transit workers immediately blamed Giordano for his own death! Hall and his "safety department" routinely denounce TWU members for getting injured or killed on the job, for not following the "rules." Giordano's widow Ann bitterly noted that her husband spoke often about dangers on the job and the need for precautions. "My husband was a 21-year man, an oldtimer. He knows the rules and he knows better than to break them."

Of course the TA's "rules" have little to do with providing for decent, safe working conditions. Management imposes union-busting drug tests to terrorize the workforce, orders track crews to keep the power on while working inches away from the third rail, and then scapegoats union workers when the inevitable accidents occur. And the TWU bureaucrats are right behind them. Yet when newly nominated TA chairman Peter Stangl let a few friends play Casey-at-the-throttle of a Metro-North commuter train at 80 miles an hour, that was OK. Imagine how long a motorman would keep his job if he allowed a friend to take a joyride on the A train!

The Committee for a Fighting TWU, a class-struggle opposition group in TWU Local 100, has been fighting for the basic workers' right that "no safety means no work." After David Davis and Stewart Melsinker were killed at Astor Place last May, the Committee put forward motions at union meetings demanding "elected union safety representatives, backed by the entire union, with the power to shut down any unsafe working conditions on the spot." The motion passed at a Track Division meeting, but Hall and his fellow bureaucrats buried it along with the workers who have since died. This time, the family bitterly told transit workers, Hall didn't even bother to go to the funeral.



WV Photo

TA headquarters, Brooklyn: transit workers denounce dangerous working conditions at protest against layoffs of 300 track workers last September.

Feds Mug Teamsters

The International Brotherhood of Teamsters is facing a tough fight to defend the National Master Freight Agreement (NMFA), the hard-won national agreement in the trucking industry. Riding high after ten years of deregulation, and salivating after the paltry UPS contract last summer, trucking bosses are hacking away at the union. And with the contract expiring on April 1, government agents are crawling all over the union in preparation for the upcoming June convention and December election of international officers.

In the last ten years alone, the number of workers covered by the NMFA has been slashed from half a million to only 170,000. Since the Reagan/Kennedy deregulation gift to the industry, the IBT has lost 800,000 members in all. The practices of "two-tier" wage scales and "double breasting" (the opening of non-union subsidiaries by union firms) have exploded across the country. Outfits like Yellow Freight have refused to bargain as part of the employers' council, Trucking Management Inc., instead demanding substandard contracts. The TMI bosses jealously eye UPS, where extensive use of part-timers has divided and weakened the union.

Meanwhile, with current president William McCarthy retiring, the Teamsters bureaucracy has disintegrated into turf warfare, as the various political barons in the union fire each other's supporters and drag each other into the capitalist courts. The "reformers" of the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU), who openly collaborated with Reagan's Justice Department to put the union under the government's heel, are also running a candidate, New York City UPS Local 804 president Ron Carey.

Carey, playing to the Teamster members' hatred of the feds' intervention, has the nerve to complain that the union is "under the thumb of both management and the federal government." He should know—Carey and his TDU buddies are the ones who invited the feds in. The program of the TDU/Carey slate is empty nickel-and-dime promises, with a heavy dose of reliance on the capitalist courts and political parties.

The TDU jumped into the Carey campaign with both feet—here at last these court suit reformists saw "the opportunity of not only going along for the ride, but of being in the front seat" (TDU head Ken Paff, quoted in Dan La Botz, *Rank and File Rebellion* [1990]). After years of first begging the feds to RICO the union, then drafting detailed proposals for government "monitors," the TDU thinks it's in the driver's seat. And it is Teamster members who will pay for these "reformers" putting the union under the government's thumb.

The bosses' government has been waging a vendetta against the Teamsters ever since the liberal Kennedy brothers went after Dave Beck and particularly Jimmy Hoffa, whose organization of over-the-road drivers gave the union the power to shut down freight traffic coast to coast. Any fight to defend the union from the bosses' offensive must *start* with unconditional opposition to government intervention in the labor movement. The working class must clean its own house! A class-struggle leadership must be built in the Teamsters union—counterposed both to the gangsterism and corruption of the IBT tops and to the junior G-men of the TDU.

Bye Bye Bieber

Owen Bieber gets a pink slip from Chrysler? You won't find hardly a one of the hundreds of thousands of auto workers who were thrown out of their jobs with the help of this chief company cop in Solidarity House crying in their beer over this one.

It seems Bieber is being "retired" from his seat on the Chrysler board of directors. Bieber inherited his spot from his predecessor, former UAW chief Doug Fraser, who was rewarded with the seat in 1980 in exchange for billions in union givebacks and his role in the Chrysler "bailout" scam.

Bieber was unceremoniously informed at a recent board meeting that he would be dumped at the upcoming shareholders meeting as Chrysler "downsizes" its board in a "cost-cutting effort." But other board members have been saying privately that they are concerned "Brother" Bieber's loyalties "might be divided."

Now we admit that Doug Fraser was a tough act to follow—he coined the lie that "concessions save jobs," giving the Big 3 over a decade of unsurpassed exploitation. But how can anyone seriously question Owen Bieber's loyalty to the auto bosses and the capitalist system? He helped wipe out 500,000 auto jobs in the last decade. Dozens of plants have locked their gates under his "leadership." With the closing of Jefferson Assembly, not a single Chrysler plant is left in heavily black Detroit.

The UAW chief offers sweetheart deals as the wave of the future—like the Saturn plant in Tennessee—because "Director Bieber" and his "Sacrifice House" gang have been unable to organize Nissan, Honda or *anything* else. Non-union plants are sprouting up all over the country. The 1987 contract and the one signed last fall heralding "job security" are a cruel hoax, bartering away another 100,000 jobs for a few extra months of "retraining." All the while, Bieber & Co. cover their craven sellouts with flag-waving, racist, Japanese-bashing protectionism.

But now with a full-blown recession in auto, the bosses want even more. GM is reportedly demanding that the current contract be reopened, in order to strip away even its meager layoff benefits. And Chrysler isn't even bothering to keep Bieber on the board for the next round of takebacks—why pay chump change to the labor lieutenants of capital when they're quite willing to hand over the jobs of auto workers for free?

For Doug Fraser, Owen Bieber and the reformist, social-democratic left, the bailout of Chrysler and their prize—the seat on the board—was the crown jewel of class collaboration. "Socialist" welfare for the bosses and button-down labor "statesmen" in the boardrooms! Ten years and billions in givebacks later, Chrysler is still a basket case. Detroit and especially the black masses are ravaged by a capitalist crisis.

In 1979, as Chrysler prepared to close Dodge Main, the Spartacist League campaigned for plant occupations and factory seizures to fight layoffs and plant closings. In opposition to all the schemes to bail out the capitalists, we called on workers to seize Chrysler's assets and distribute them to the workers, with no compensation to the bosses, banks or stockholders.

AP

1984: Union president Bieber (right) hand in hand with Chrysler chairman Iacocca. UAW tops got seat on board of directors, workers got the shaft.

As for Owen Bieber and his precious board seat, it's too bad he was dumped...by his capitalist masters. We'd like to see it done by militant black, white, Hispanic and Arab auto workers when they take back the union from these company cops who have run the UAW into the ground. ■

Protests Sweep East Germany

German Workers Fight Ravages of Reunification

East Germany is seething. In recent days there has been a dramatic shift in the mood of the working class. A month ago 100,000 workers demonstrated in various cities of the former DDR (East Germany) against mass unemployment. Since then, every Monday there have been protests in Leipzig, which have grown from 10,000 at first to over 80,000 on March 25. But instead of the black-red-gold banners which dominated the increasingly virulent German-nationalist Monday demos 12 to 15 months ago, today national flags are virtually absent (except for the occasional DDR emblem), replaced by red banners of the metal workers and public employees unions. The intoxication with the promise of prosperity to be brought by a "quick D-mark," the driving force in the DDR elections a year ago which led to the victory of capitalist counter-revolution, has clearly worn off. East Germany is having its morning after.

Winkler/Neues Deutschland

Harbor workers in Rostock take to the streets to protest threatened shutdown of East German shipbuilding industry.

Opinion first turned against Christian Democratic (CDU) federal chancellor Helmut Kohl, whose ratings have dropped precipitously in the East. People angrily recall his election promises that under reunification "no one will be worse off than before." Now there are numerous signs charging the CDU and Kohl with lying and election fraud. One banner in Leipzig demanded "Jobs Instead of Being Burned to a Cinder" (*Verkohlung*). The Treuhandanstalt (Trusteeship Agency), responsible for selling off or shutting down the former state-owned companies, has become a particular object of hatred as mass layoffs are announced. A year ago, unemployment in the DDR was less than 50,000; today it is already well over three million (when you include those on "short work" with no work, those forced into "early retirement" and public employees on a "waiting list" for layoffs) and climbing toward four million by summer, or nearly *half* the entire workforce.

Last week, Bundesbank president Pöhl called the currency union—which went into effect last July 1, marking the economic takeover of the former East German workers state by imperialist West Germany—a "disaster." For this judgment, he would find widespread support between the Elbe and Oder rivers, where even CDU prime ministers of the "new federal states" complain that Bonn's policies are laying waste to the economy. The Lutheran bishop of Berlin-Brandenburg, Forck, complains that many East Germans feel "betrayed as human beings and deeply injured," while "many West Germans act here like victors in a vanquished land." *Der Spiegel* (18 March) reported that half of all East Germans feel their own jobs are at risk and 85 percent consider themselves to be "second-class citizens."

There are still nationalist appeals for "no second-class Germans" and signs calling for "unity in the pay envelope as well." But opinion is turning sharply against reunification itself. The same opinion survey reported that 57 percent of East Germans think that "quite a few" or "most" East Germans now think it would have been better not to unite with West Germany. And when at the latest Monday demo the Social Democratic (SPD) mayor of Leipzig tried to pin the economic mess on the former Stalinist SED (Socialist Unity Party) rulers, he was booed down.

For now, the demos have largely been called by the SPD-led unions. But DGB (German Labor Federation) officials sent into the East are often seen as colonialist interlopers who have no interest whatever in defending the working people of the ex-DDR. When a miners union leader spoke in Mansfeld, where massive shutdowns are threatened, talking about how the Ruhr was now a blooming region, the workers have a right to a job, and "you have a rich brother in the West," the workers responded with laughter and finally a chorus of "stuff it!" (*Der Spiegel*, 11 March). The mood is one of rage and frustration. The workers are willing to fight—what's lacking is a clear goal and leadership.

The despairing mood expresses itself in indices of social pathology. The birth rate has fallen by half since reunification, while abortions are way up. Suicides are double the number a year ago. The Labor Offices are the site of dramatic scenes. In Jena, a woman begs for her unemployment payment, pulling out her last 95 pfennigs. The next day, a jobless worker comes in with a revolver, demanding "*Alu her* (hand over the aluminum—a reference to the old DDR coins) or I'll

Border Guards Seize Women "Suspects"

Fourth Reich Anti-Abortion Outrage

The following article is translated from Spartakist *No. 84, March 1991*

Not only must thousands of women from West Germany each year travel to the Netherlands in order to have abortions. If upon their return they awaken suspicions at the border (for example, by carrying towels and underwear, or if a woman is driving), they are subjected to a *forced gynecological examination* and possibly dragged into court. *Der Spiegel* (4 March) reported about Kathrin K., who was forcibly dragged from the border crossing point at Gronau to the nearby Catholic St. Antonius Hospital, where a "doctor" searched her vagina and uterus for "evidence"—these are the Dr. Mengeles of the Fourth Reich in action.

This grisly witchhunt took place in the state of Nordrhein-Westfalen, governed by the Social Democrats. SPD justice minister Krumsiek denounced the charges as the "fart of the week." According to the Max Planck Institute, half of all prosecutions for abortion originate at the border. With all the vehemence of the Inquisition, women are persecuted, publicly denounced and judged. In West Germany, the personal data of women who have had abortions is stored in the state's computers. The workers movement must fight against the shameful Paragraphs 218 and 219 [of the German criminal code], which outlaw abortion and make both doctor and patient into criminals.

In the former DDR [East Germany], the Christian Democrats are going on the warpath with their dirty campaign for "unborn life," while the SPD wants to force women into humiliating forced "consultations." All over East Europe, the counterrevolution is targeting the basic right of women to abortion. It's part of the capitalists' campaign to smash working-class resistance and to force the working people into religious, sexual and social regimentation.

The right to abortion and free contraceptives, just like the right to a job, were gains we defend of the former workers state of the DDR. The reactionary campaign against these rights is supposed to strengthen the family, the root of the special oppression of women, as a basic pillar of capitalist society. Now hundreds of thousands of women in East Germany are being driven from their jobs under sinister laws for the "protection" of women. Childcare facilities are being shut down, as women are supposed to go back to "*Kinder, Küche, Kirche*" [the Nazis' trinity of children, kitchen and the church].

Despite the fundamental gains which laid the basis for the material independence of women, the Stalinist bureaucracy with its worship of the "family as the basic unit of socialism" did not eliminate the oppression of women. Now Bundestag deputies of the PDS [Party of Democratic Socialism, successor to the former Stalinist ruling party of the DDR] are debating whether to come out for straight elimination of Paragraph 218 or only for the obscene trimester "solution" which leaves the last word to the state and makes criminals of women.

Communists fight for women to be able to voluntarily transfer the burden of housekeeping and raising children to qualified social institutions. Only socialist revolution can lay the basis for a society of equality and abundance and win the liberation of women.

shoot." There has also been an increase in the number of attacks on immigrant workers and refugees seeking asylum, as "foreigners" become the scapegoats for economic frustrations. Right-wing bands have attacked Turks in Rostock, Vietnamese in Cottbus and dormitories for Africans in the state of Sachsen-Anhalt.

The unemployment level in Berlin, reports *Spiegel*, is approaching that in the German capital in 1932, i.e., one year before Hitler came to power. There have been fascist attacks against Soviet Army soldiers and installations, as at Neuruppin in the north, and the danger of a dramatic growth of the Nazi bands is very real. The Republikaner and various neo-Nazi paramilitary groups are aggressively recruiting in the East. But so far the potential for the fascists' growth is mainly unrealized. And that is largely due to widespread, low-level social struggle. Last week there were demonstrations of more than 10,000 steel workers in Eisenhüttenstadt, 20,000 chemical workers in Leuna, 60,000 in Erfurt, and then 50,000 supporters of the PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism, successor to the SED) at a demo in Berlin against the Treuhand. The first plant occupations have begun at some microchip factories around Erfurt.

Women have been among the hardest hit by the escalating economic collapse in the East. Along with immigrants, they have been particular targets of layoffs. Many managers treat women workers as "second wage earners," to be preferentially fired before a man is put on the street. And mothers are forced to quit as a result of closings of day-care centers (not "profitable" in the new capitalist market economy). This has had a catastrophic effect on the large number of single mothers, who have been forced into a welfare existence after having had considerable independence due to subsidized housing, childcare and secure jobs. Women in the former DDR had the highest rate of labor force participation in the world (91 percent of those of working age), and overwhelmingly they don't want to be sent back to household drudgery.

In short, the East German population has had a rude awakening to the realities of capitalism. The *Frankfurter Allgemeine* (20 March) reports of the new Leipzig demonstrators that "They now seem to be experiencing a West that they never thought possible: a rabid society in which they feel subjugated, and which seems to come straight out of the pattern for the class enemy." East German workers feel cheated, are full of anger over the lies and what they see as betrayal. It is more than "a little late." With the capitalist annexation of East Germany, announced by the heavy vote for the Christian Democrats and other pro-reunification parties in the DDR elections last March and formally sealed on October 3, the counterrevolution won. This was a heavy blow against the working class worldwide. Henceforth, class struggles take place in the framework of an expanded German empire. But now as realization of the consequences sinks in, there are important opportunities for revolutionary Trotskyists.

For Workers Resistance Against the Fourth Reich!

The Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD), section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), was the one and only party which said "no!" to capitalist reunification. The SED/PDS and its satellites (such as the United Left and KPD) said "*jein*" (yes and no) to *Anschluss* (annexation), selling out the gains of the DDR which had been built up by the workers. Stalin's thug Ulbricht and his successor Honecker pretended they could build "socialism in half a country" if only you surrounded it with a high enough wall and controlled it with a big enough police force. When that broke down in the face of the superior economic power of the West's most prosperous imperialism, the SED bureaucrats simply handed over the store to the Western bosses. And now the capitalists of the Fourth Reich are completing the job of destruction.

Spartakist

Demonstration in Leipzig, February 27, against mass unemployment. The black-red-gold German flags have been replaced by trade-union banners. For workers resistance against the Fourth Reich!

What is to be done now in the face of the economic catastrophe? In Leipzig, metal workers union leader Steinkühler called for the resignation of Kohl and economics minister Waigel. At Leuna, chemical union chief Rappe put forward a 14-point program, whose key was to rewrite the unification treaty so that the Treuhand would give preference to compensating former owners rather than returning "their" plants. The supposed purpose was to speed up new investments in the East. The SPD wants to use the "new federal states" as a springboard to extend German capital further East. And "compensation" means demanding payment of billions to the former forced-labor bosses of the Nazi-era IG Farben trust which used to own the Buna and Leuna works. But even though the federal government is already pumping in 100 billion DM to the former DDR this year, the capitalists aren't investing. For the bosses, despite all the nationalist talk it's still profits *über alles*.

The PDS, meanwhile, is calling for "democratization" of the Treuhand. This is a call for a political bloc with the SPD and CDU state governments in the East, by giving them a say in administering the agency for capitalist dissolution of the former VEBs ("people's enterprises"). It's hard to imagine a more grotesque reformist proposal. But the same theme, with a transparent veil of "left" rhetoric, was raised by the Arbeitermacht group (Workers Power) and the Kommunistische Plattform in the PDS, who issued a joint call for the March 23 PDS demo in Berlin demanding "The Treuhand must be placed under the control of the working people." No matter who sits on its board, the Treuhand is the agency representing the interests of the Deutsche Bank, Daimler-Benz, Siemens and Volkswagen! But this doesn't bother these popular-front ideologists of the second mobilization.

In contrast to this class-collaborationist daydreaming, the Spartakist Workers Party has called repeatedly for united, militant workers resistance against the

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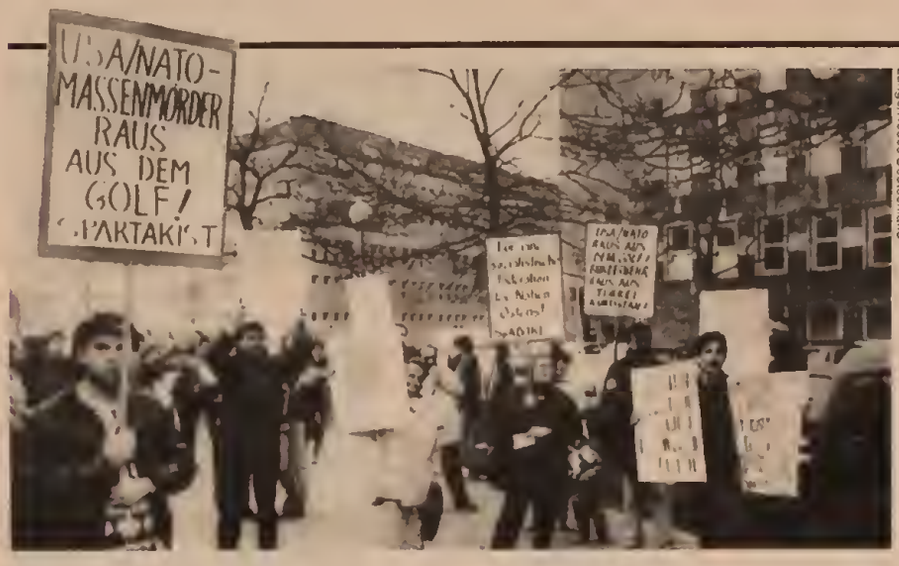

Lange/Neues Deutschland

Berlin, March 7: Leftists, unionists and immigrant workers rally in defense of Arabs, Kurds.

Berlin United-Front Protest:

Down With Gag Order Against Arabs and Kurds!

The following article is abridged from Spartakist *No. 84, March 1991.*

"Down with the gag order, no deportations!" chanted more than 100 demonstrators on March 7, among them many Arabs, Kurds and Turks, at a protest action in front of the Berlin interior (police) department. Initiated by the Committee for Social Defense (KfsV), a broad united front called the demonstration, including the plant councils of Interflug (the former East German airline) and Pan Am, IG Metall union secretary Necati Gürbaca, as well as the Turkish Kurdish organization Kurtulus semp Berlin, the International League for Human Rights, the Arab Solidarity Committee, the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD), the Immigrant and Refugee Branch of the Alternative Slate, Arbeitermacht and the KPD(ML). Solidarity messages were read from the Partisan Defense Committees (fraternal organizations of the KfsV) in the U.S. and Britain.

With Christian Democratic interior minister Schäuble's gag order, immigrants were subjected to a brutal campaign of police spying and threatened with deportation. While the U.S./NATO imperialists rained their terror bombs on Iraq, Bonn muzzled Arab and other immigrants from the Near East and forbade them to take part in protests and express their outrage over the mass murder of their peoples. On January 16 alone, during a citywide raid more than 50 apartments of Berliners of Arab origin were searched, among them members of a mosque association and an imam; at least nine Iraqi immigrants were arrested. Many of the more than 25,000 Arab immigrants living in Berlin have been hit by the police terror which is accompanied by racist calls for denunciations and snooping.

Sa'id Dudin, spokesman for the Arab Solidarity Committee, stated at the demonstration: "We must prevent this gag law from turning into the beginning of a campaign of isolation, discrimination against foreign-born fellow citizens, and for the further elimination of democratic rights in this city. The real terrorists sit in the NATO general staffs, in the Pentagon."

At the same time as the imperialists lay waste to Iraq and carry out racist attacks here, the bourgeoisie is carrying out an economic war against the workers of the former DDR (East Germany), who have been thrown out of their jobs by the millions, and there are massive attacks on the living standards of all

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Cop Terror...

(continued from page 1)

15,000 cases. The "review" is to find out if there is a "pattern" of abuse. Asking Thornburgh and the FBI to "investigate" patterns of racism is like asking Himmler and the Gestapo to find out if there's a pattern of discrimination against Jews! Thornburgh was governor of Pennsylvania when the Philly cops dropped a bomb on the black MOVE commune in May 1985, killing eleven people. And every civil rights worker knows how the FBI worked hand in hand with the Klan.

Nowhere was the sudden "discovery" of racist police brutality more grotesque than in New York City. Feeling the heat over the L.A. videotape, NYC prosecutors announced the indictment on murder charges of five cops in the beating and choking death of Federico Pereira in Queens on November 5. But the police have counterattacked, attempting to intimidate and trash the teenagers who witnessed the murder, and now the killer cops have been reinstated. The likelihood of getting convictions is remote, if history is any precedent. *Newsday* (21 March) reported that before this week, only two on-duty cops had ever been indicted for murder, in 1985 and 1924! Both were acquitted. In 1990, of 41 deaths in police custody, there were only two indictments. This is on a par with El Salvador, where only a couple of military officers have ever been indicted for death squad killings, and none ever convicted.

El Diario-La Prensa (24 March) complained hitterly:

> "Blacks and Hispanics have known about police brutality for a long time. In most of the Inner City, the Police behave like an occupation army in enemy country. They don't look upon our people as citizens to be protected. To them, we are the enemy."

On March 20, families of murdered victims and survivors of police terror gathered in a demonstration outside NY police headquarters. The protest was called by the Congress of Puerto Rican Rights, and joined by supporters of ACT UP and the Spartacist League. In poignant testimony, some carried photographs mounted on posterboard of their dead loved ones, others had photos of themselves after experiencing police brutality in NYC. Federico Pereira's mother Laura came with her husband, Tito Nieves, a top Latin band leader and singer. Only because they had the tireless will and resources to challenge the cops' lying story about their son's death ("assaulting five cops") was the case reopened.

David Cotto's sister Lizette cried out, "My brother was killed like a dog!" David had been depressed and threatening to kill himself with a knife, so the family called the cops, who came into their Sheepshead Bay apartment and fired eleven shots into the distraught youth. Arnaldo Deliz, 16, carried his own picture, his eye blackened, his face swollen. Arnaldo is deaf and mute. He and a friend, Juan Vergara, both students at the Lexington School for the Deaf, were waiting for a bus near the school when the cops questioned them about a stolen car. When they didn't answer, the cops beat them with flashlights on their faces, punched and kicked them in the chest, stomach and groin. They were kept in police custody for two days without their parents being allowed to see them.

The Gang in Blue Uniforms

Chief Daryl Gates remains in hot water in L.A., as angry demonstrators pack hearings of the police commission and city council. On March 12 some 400, mainly Samoan Americans, gathered in Compton to demand that killer cop Alfred Skiles be brought to justice for the murder of two brothers on February 12. Called to the house in a domestic dispute, the cops ordered Pouvi and Italia Taulaulelei to kneel, then hit them with 20 bullets, mostly in the back, calmly stopping to reload. Seven-year-old Niles, son of one of the murdered brothers, carried a sign that read: "My Daddy Knelt. Why 12 Bullets?"

The ACLU had a full-page ad in the *Los Angeles Times* asking, "Who Do You Call When the Gang Wears Blue Uniforms?" They are demanding Gates' resignation—now that he's become an embarrassment, the bourgeoisie, anxious to restore police "credibility," finds him expendable. Others call for civilian review boards or special commissions. More militant activists want to imitate the Black Panthers citizens' patrols, tracking the cops with use of videotape this time around.

None of these schemes will do much good. In August 1988, over 400 New York police staged a full-scale cop riot in Tompkins Square. There were 121 complaints of cop brutality, but although there was plenty of videotape evidence, the cops stonewalled and there was never a single indictment, let alone a conviction.

The "pattern" of racist cop terror is that any black or Latino can be singled out for "stepping out of line." Ghetto youth get the brunt, but a memher of the Harlem Globetrotters shopping on glitzy Rodeo Drive in Beverly Hills can get it, or a group of black Santa Monica high school students having a picnic at a park in Pacific Palisades, which the ruling class thinks is "for whites only." It happened to five-year-old Patrick Mason, blown away by an Orange County cop as he was sitting at home watching TV.

The "pattern" is seen in the number of black men in jail—four times the rate of imprisonment of black men in South Africa! Or the "workfare" scheme which has thrown thousands of black single

Defend Antiwar GIs!

Amid the orgy of flag-waving rallies around the returning troops from the U.S.' bloody massacre of Iraq, hundreds of antiwar soldiers—National Guardsmen, reservists and regular army—are imprisoned in military brigs and jails across the country. As Bush and pumped-up yahoos gloat over their "win," these courageous men and women are in big trouble. They face secret courts-martial by panels of vindictive officers who would like to vicariously get in on the carnage in the Gulf and get back for the U.S.' humiliating loss in Vietnam by throwing antiwar soldiers into military stockades *for years*.

Largely hidden from the public by the pliant bourgeois press which "did its duty" for the Pentagon war machine, there are perhaps thousands of soldiers—ranging from traditional pacifists to black Muslims—who refused to participate in the slaughter of tens of thousands of Iraqis in the name of Bush's imperial "new world order." In addition to many individual refusals, AWOLs and applicants for conscientious objector status, the ferment in the troops extended to entire units angry at racism and unwilling to die in what they saw as a war to enrich the American oil companies and feudal sheikdoms (see "Gulf War Racist Hell for Harlem Regiment," *WV* No. 521, 1 March).

Recently there have been a handful of articles in the press revealing the extent of opposition within the military. The *Los Angeles Times* (24 February) estimated that since August there have been 1,700 CO applicants. When the Persian Gulf invasion began in earnest, incidents mushroomed:

- At Fort Riley, Kansas, over 130 soldiers went AWOL rather than ship out with their units to Saudi Arabia.
- At least eight regular army soldiers who filed for CO status were dragged in leg irons from Rhein-Main AFB in Germany to the Persian Gulf, under a new Pentagon regulation to send CO applicants to the combat zone while their cases were being "considered" (which can take up to a year). One of these soldiers, Sgt. Derrick Jones of the 3rd Airborne, who refused to kill on religious grounds, was told by an army chaplain, "Don't worry, none of them will be Christians" (*Nation*, 18 February)!
- A recruit at Camp Pendleton, California put down his rifle during gunnery practice, explaining to his sergeant that he was opposed to the war. In an incident in November which must have given Marine Corps brass nightmares of Vietnam, the *Nation* article describes what followed:

> "The angry sergeant paraded the recruit before his entire company, dressing him down and ridiculing him as a coward. When the sergeant was done, he turned to the company and sardonically asked if anyone else would refuse to fight. Much to his astonishment, nine other Marine recruits stepped out of the ranks."

Seven of the men, now called the "Magnificent Seven," face court-martial.

- One class of war resisters has particularly enraged the generals—black soldiers, Muslims, who refused to take up arms against other Muslims. There are reportedly 18 such Marines in the brig at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, in addition to another 14 Marine reservists who filed for CO status and are charged with desertion and missing movement (failing to move with their units). One of the Muslims, Lance Corporal Daniel Gillis, refused last December to board a bus for deployment and was beaten by several white officers. So now, in addition to other charges, Gillis is charged with disrespect for and threatening an officer for saying that his attacker was prejudiced!
- Donald Alexander, a U.S. Marine communications specialist, announced that he refused to defend Kuwait, "a government which condones and practices slavery." He added, "On behalf of all black soldiers in Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf, and as the descendant of African slaves, I refuse to he part of the army of a government which is risking the life of its citizens claiming to defend freedom" (*El Diario/La Prensa*, 19 February). Speaking before the press, Alexander said, "For me, fighting in this war in the Persian Gulf would be like fighting with the troops of General Lee against the troops of Abraham Lincoln." His petition for CO status was denied.

El Diario-La Prensa

AP

Donald Alexander (left) refused to fight for Kuwait slavocracy. Right: Louisiana Guardsmen walk off Fort Hood army base to protest rotten conditions and racism.

We strongly defend the hundreds of soldiers who courageously refused to take part in the imperialist bloodbath in the Persian Gulf. At the same time, as communists, we do not share the pacifist and religious stance of many conscientious objectors and "war resisters." During the Vietnam War, especially in its early stages, many antiwar radicals pushed "draft resistance" as a strategy. To these activists, the Spartacist League said, "You Will Go!"—their place, when drafted, was alongside the working-class and minority youth who *had* to go, so that they could organize powerful opposition against the war *inside the army*. And in fact, in the last period of the war, opposition and demoralization among draftees in Vietnam was massive. That's the main reason that the American government ended the draft in 1973.

While Bush praises the "volunteer" army, many black and Hispanic soldiers who responded to feel-good TV ads and joined the military to get out of ghetto poverty suddenly found that "all they could be" in the Pentagon's view was cannon fodder. And they come back to a country where the racist rulers from the White House down to the local police consider oppressed minorities the enemy within. What's needed is a fight for *power*, to sweep out the ruling class whose "new order" spells devastation from Baghdad to Harlem. Class-conscious workers who fight against imperialist slaughter and racism at home must take up the defense of all the victims of the imperialist war machine, including those in uniform. ■

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mothers off welfare, forcing them either to starve or work for slave wages while leaving their children alone on the streets. And the scourge of AIDS, which due to "malign neglect" ravages minority communities without medical care or social services.

Not only is racist cop brutality no "aberration," it's part of an overall "pattern" of *genocide* by this racist capitalist system against ghetto blacks it no longer has any use for. In the past, minorities were a large part of the "reserve army of labor," available for when they were needed by the bosses. "Last hired, first fired," as the saying went. Since the mid-1970s it's been "first fired, never rehired." Even during the so-called "Reagan boom," black unemployment remained at depression levels, and now it's getting worse. A *New York Times* (19 March) profile of Milwaukee reported that as the Midwest "rust belt" city pulled itself out of a deep slump in the early '80s, switching from manufacturing to service industry, white unemployment fell from 5.3 percent to 3.8 percent, while black unemployment rose from 17 to 20 percent.

Blacks in America are in terrible danger. At a House hearing called by liberal black Democrat John Conyers, Manhattan borough president Ruth Messinger called for an "Operation Urban Storm," to "undertake the liberation of the millions of Americans in our cities trapped by the tyranny of poverty, illiteracy, hunger, unemployment, crime and hopelessness." We've got news for Messinger, a member of Democratic Socialists of America: George Bush has already launched his "Operation Urban Storm," a so-called "war on crime/war on drugs" which is really a war on the black and Hispanic poor. *Rodney King was one of its first victims.*

WV Photo

Families of victims and survivors of racist cop assaults protested at Police Plaza in NYC, March 20.

And while the cops stomp through the ghettos and barrios with their heavy weaponry, their helicopters, their Taser guns and tear gas, the *right to self-defense* is denied to the population. Gun control bills are rushed through Congress, just when people need protection most. This, too, is part of the "pattern." The ruling class insists on its monopoly of armed force. The working class and minorities must be intimidated, subjected to arbitrary brutalization by the "guardians of law and order." New York City has some of the tightest gun laws in the country: Malcolm X was assassinated after he was refused the right to bear arms. And who gets the rare police permits? Back in the 1930s, the *Daily News* publisher was licensed to carry...a Thompson machine gun. During the recent *Daily News* strike, the city sanctioned professional armed terrorists in ski masks and blue jumpsuits to guard newsstands and delivery trucks, while hundreds of cops were put at the disposal of the *News* scabherders.

As Marxists we understand the capitalist state is the executive committee of the ruling class, and the cops are one of those special armed bodies of men whose *job* is to protect capitalist property from the many whose blood and sweat make the profits for the few. It's a system built on a bedrock of racist oppression, from chattel slavery to wage slavery. And now that an entire generation of ghetto youth has been simply discarded by this country's callous rulers, it should be clearer than ever that the only way to eliminate the "pattern" of cop brutality is to do away with the system of racist American capitalism, for which the "gang in blue uniforms" are the front line of defense. And the key element is forging a revolutionary workers party which acts as a tribune of the people and champion of all the oppressed. ■

Kuwait...

(continued from page 1)

sundry "antiwar" leftists. Washington continues its vindictive starvation of the Iraqi people. On March 22, customs officials at Kennedy Airport confiscated a shipment of 5,000 pounds of antibiotics and other medical supplies donated by the Fellowship of Reconciliation for Iraq.

U.S. military commanders in the Gulf War are now saying that at least 100,000 Iraqi troops were killed during the one-sided slaughter. The *Wall Street Journal* (22 March) describes how "Allied ground forces used bulldozers to bury thousands of enemy dead in trenches as the allies advanced." Many of these thousands died not in what little real combat took place, but as a result of terror bombing and methodical murder by U.S.-led forces of units *withdrawing* from the fighting—such as along the notorious "highway of death" from Kuwait to Basra.

Meanwhile, "liberated" Kuwait has become a killing field, as the oil-bloated Kuwaiti rulers exact vengeance for their humiliation at the hands of Saddam Hussein by carrying out a bloodbath against their defenseless slaves. While the Western press has been trumpeting bogus atrocity stories about Iraqi baby-killers and bemoaning the plight of slain hippos at the Kuwait City zoo, the torture and slaughter of Palestinians and other immigrant workers has been virtually ignored.

Within days of the U.S. capture of Kuwait City, the Palestinian districts of Hawali and Rega were sealed off by tanks. While death squads roamed from house to house, seizing thousands and summarily executing scores, U.S. officers kept out Western journalists, human rights groups and the Red Crescent relief organization. In one incident, a gang of 100 armed Kuwaitis opened fire on four Palestinians.

At the Gadssia police station, eyewitnesses watched as an ax-wielding Kuwaiti dragged in an Iraqi captive: "The man then chopped off his fingers. We watched as he gouged out his eyes.... It was disgusting. The eyes popped out like eggs. Then he shot him" (*New York Times*, 3 March). Even the hospitals provide no sanctuary from the terror. Patients are beaten in the emergency room, and at Mubarak Hospital in Hawali, 37 torture victims "vanished" after being admitted to the orthopedic ward.

Every day busloads of tortured and often still unconscious prisoners, mostly Palestinians, are dumped in the desert across the Kuwaiti border to die. Three who were fortunate enough to get out alive recounted how over 100 people, some over 60 years old, were crammed into a single cell. They were pistol-whipped, beaten with electric cables and subjected to electric shocks. A Sudanese farm worker reported that "the beatings increased" after he complained of his torture to a uniformed American military doctor known as "Abu Willie" who regularly visited the cell to treat the injured.

AP

Post-"liberation" Kuwait: as number of slain Palestinians mounts, more graves at Kuwait cemetery.

The supervisory role of the U.S. Special Forces is everywhere in evidence. American troops sport small Kuwaiti flags—but no name plates—on their uniforms. Investigating a Palestinian prisoner's claim that "men in uniforms burned him with a cattle brand, beat him and later dumped him by a roadside" after detaining him at the Salmiya Girls' Secondary School, relief officials "found a U.S. Special Forces captain and sergeant at the school" (*Washington Post*, 17 March). Colonel Jesse L. Johnson, the head of U.S. Special Forces working with the Kuwaiti military, "confirmed suspected collaborators were being rounded up."

In the eyes of the Kuwaiti slave masters, all Palestinians are deemed guilty of "collaboration." A banner placed outside the firebombed office of Yasir Arafat's Fatah organization in Kuwait City reads, "Anyone who is a Palestinian is a traitor." Some 600 Palestinians, Iraqis and others are to be hanged on charges of "war crimes."

Over 400,000 Palestinians lived in Kuwait before the war, the largest concentration outside Israel and the Occupied Territories, Lebanon and Jordan. It was their labor, along with that of other Arab as well as Filipino and Bangladeshi workers, which created the fabulous wealth of the ruling al-Sabah family and its entourage.

The contempt with which the Kuwaiti elite treats those whom it exploits is captured in the "wanted" notices which have been appearing in Kuwaiti newspapers, aimed at hunting down "workers who have left their employer without permission. They are published as a warning to any other employer not to hire the runaway but instead to send him back to his original master" (*Nation*, 18 March).

Now the very existence of what remains of the Palestinian population in Kuwait is threatened by the U.S.-sponsored terror. Kuwait is intent on ridding the statelet of "politically unreliable Arabs," to be replaced by South Asian workers. The human rights group Middle East Watch estimates that some 6,000 Palestinians have been rounded up and "held without charges on the authority of a militia force acting in conjunction with U.S. Special Forces."

Virginia Sherry, associate director of Middle East Watch, noted with alarm that the slogan "Amman 1970, Beirut 1982, Kuwait 1991" had been painted on a wall in Kuwait City—a reference to the horrific Black September 1970 massacre of 10,000 Palestinians perpetrated by Jordan's King Hussein, and the 1982 slaughter of women and children in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps directed by the Israelis and carried out by their Lebanese Maronite henchmen.

Palestine Liberation Organization spokesman Suleiman Najjab told Sherry: "We are demanding that our people in Kuwait be protected by the UN or by international forces so as not to have a repeat of Sabra and Shatila." Has the PLO forgotten that it was after its withdrawal from Beirut under the supervision of UN "peacekeeping forces" that Sabra and Shatila were decimated?

Until last year, the Kuwaiti emirate was one of the PLO's heaviest financial boosters; today it is slaughtering Palestinians. Meanwhile yesterday's butcher of Black September, Jordan's King Hussein, is today hailed by these petty-bourgeois nationalists as a savior of the Palestinian people. Committed to reliance on one or another Arab bourgeois regime, the PLO is capable only of leading the long-suffering Palestinian masses from one slaughter to another.

No less than the Zionist butchers, the sheiks and colonels who head up the Arab capitalist states of the Near East have proved themselves to be the enemies and oppressors of the Palestinian people. Forced into diaspora by the bloody Zionist expulsions of 1948-49 and 1967, the highly educated and cosmopolitan Palestinian workers occupy a vital political and economic role throughout the region.

They can play an even more vital role in building the revolutionary internationalist leadership needed to unite the toilers of the region in a struggle for socialist revolution to overthrow all the murderous capitalist regimes of the Near East. It is that road alone which leads to salvation for the Palestinian people, and national justice for all the peoples of the Near East. ■

Spartacus Youth Club Forums

Stop the Fascists! Fight for Workers Power!

"New World Order" = Racist Terror At Home and Abroad

Monday, April 15, 7:30 p.m.
Community Church of Boston
565 Boylston St., 4th Fl (Copley Sq)
For more information (617) 492-3928
BOSTON

Friday, April 26, 7:30 p.m.
Barnard College
116th and Broadway
For more information (212) 267-1025
NEW YORK CITY

Solidarność' Walesa Against Women's Rights

Spartacists joined the protest against Polish president Lech Walesa at New York's Town Hall on March 25, with signs reading, "Free Abortion on Demand!" and "Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!" as well as demands in Polish to "Smash Attacks on Abortion Rights!"

In Washington March 20 to meet with Bush at the White House, Walesa was met with a protest called by NOW (National Organization for Women) and "Catholics for a Free Choice." Signs at the protest included: "Not the Church, Not the State, Women Must Decide Their Fate," "Free Choice—Legal Abortion" and "Walesa—Vatican's Puppet."

It's an indication of the ferociously reactionary, anti-woman policies of Walesa and his Solidarność government that such bourgeois feminist organizations felt compelled to publicly protest a man whose otherwise "noble struggle for democracy" they continue to shamefully uphold. In fact, Walesa has never been a "democrat" of any sort, and the anti-woman, anti-abortion politics of Solidarność, now being implemented with a vengeance in Poland, were clear a decade ago to anyone not blinded by anti-Communism.

In September 1981, we Spartacists demonstrated in New York to "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution," characterizing it as a "company union for the CIA and bankers." In *Women and Revolution* (Spring 1982), we published an article on "Solidarność: A Man's World," noting the clerical-led campaign against abortion. That issue of *W&R* had a cover honoring Rosa Luxemburg, the Polish Jewish revolutionary who is reviled by Solidarność.

Today Bush rewards Walesa for his faithful service to capitalism with a multibillion-dollar "debt forgiveness" deal, while Polish workers are thrown onto the streets and women especially are the target of massive reaction. Solidarność is pushing for the total abolition of abortion rights (including even in cases of rape!) while a proposal pending in the Polish parliament defines life as beginning at conception, gives fetuses full legal rights and would entirely ban even contraceptives. The Polish government is now trying to make divorce unobtainable by anyone married in the Catholic church.

Our comrades of the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski (Spartacist Group of Poland) printed in the first issue of their newspaper an article titled "Smash Attacks on Abortion Rights!" (translated in *Women and Revolution* No. 38, Winter 1990-91). In fighting to resurrect the revolutionary tradition of the Polish working class, our comrades understand that the question of women's liberation is vital: "The Spartakusowska Grupa Polski upholds the position for complete separation of church and state, considers the family as the main institution for the oppression of women and advances the slogans of free, 24-hour childcare and free abortion on demand. The question of women's liberation is indissolubly connected with the socialist revolution."

WV Photo

Spartacists at NYC protest against Poland's Lech Walesa. Solidarność capitalist regime is anti-woman, anti-worker.

Germany...

(continued from page 7)

drive by the capitalists to atomize the proletariat and destroy everything that recalls the DDR, even basic social gains like women's right to abortion. The last issue of *Spartakist* (No. 84, March 1991) stated:

> "The SPD calls for some crumbs, like extending the short workweek, only in order to dampen the resistance of the working class. But the working class needs a leadership that organizes mass strikes and plant occupations in the East and West through elected strike and factory committees in order to fight against the mass unemployment and the spreading impoverishment of the working people. Thus the issue is posed: who has the power—the capitalists, who only produce mass poverty and destruction, or the workers, who can bring the wheels of industry to a halt in order to defend their livelihood?"

Facing an economic catastrophe that threatens the very existence of the proletariat in eastern Germany, the workers' struggles are necessarily defensive. Moreover, they go up against an imperialist ruling class which has just won a major victory. Yet it is desperately necessary to fight. And the only way to fight against the rapidly escalating massive unemployment is through class-struggle actions, which in the explosive situation of the ex-DDR could pose a situation of dual power locally. The German bourgeoisie is not all-powerful: right now, the Bonn politicians, Frankfurt bankers and their social-democratic flunkeys are feeling like they bit off more than they can chew. Nevertheless, the German rulers are undoubtedly prepared to use murderous force on a large scale against anything challenging their rule: the massive invasion of West German cops to oust squatters in East Berlin's Mainzerstrasse was intended to show that.

For them to carry this off is another matter entirely. A dramatic seizure of a key plant could electrify workers throughout the country. Such actions are fundamentally political, for there is no East German economy in reality. As far as the bourgeoisie is concerned, it's a giant sinkhole for scarce D-marks. So the key is to spread any workers actions to the West where it will hurt the capitalists. Thus during last December's strike by East German railway workers, the call in an SpAD leaflet for extending the strike to West German railways got a positive reception in the Hamburg depot. Two sections of the railyards there walked out, and a short time later the union tops called off the strike, citing imminent danger of it spreading throughout the country. For all the talk of smug, well-paid West German workers, united struggle is not pie-in-the-sky.

Combative workers struggles in Germany would have a powerful effect internationally. While the U.S. imperialists were carrying out a war of annihilation against Iraq in the Persian Gulf, a war whose ultimate targets were Washington's imperialist rivals Germany and Japan, Bonn was focusing on the Soviet Union. The rulers of the successor state to the Nazi regime, which launched Operation Barbarossa against the Soviet Union 50 years ago this June, want to bring the Baltics "home to the Reich." And they hope to achieve through economic penetration and D-mark imperialism what the Wehrmacht Panzers failed to do militarily; extend Germany's *Hinterland* to include the oil fields of Baku and Tyumen, the coal fields of the Donbass and Kuzbass, and a vast Soviet market. Today the Soviet Union is in severe crisis, wracked by nationalist turmoil and a clash between wings of the bureaucracy whose main difference is over the pace of restoring capitalism.

As Gorbachev prepares to drastically raise prices, supporters of his rival Yeltsin have turned a miners strike into a political challenge to the Kremlin. After the past two years which have seen the collapse of Stalinist rule in East Europe, many Soviet workers are convinced that introduction of a capitalist market economy is inevitable. Next door in Poland, where the capitalist government of Solidarność leader Lech Walesa has brought mass poverty, workers at the Gdansk shipyards are striking for more rapid privatization. But East German workers are now experiencing the devastation which restoration of capitalist rule brings. And militant mass strikes, plant occupations and other actions in defense of the working class will send shock waves to the Urals and beyond.

The key element is to forge an internationalist, Leninist-Trotskyist party to lead the workers' struggles and defend all the oppressed. The SpAD recently put out a poster and leaflet asking "Who lied to us?" (with election posters of the CDU, SPD and PDS) and underlining that "The Spartakists told the truth. Now the watchword is: workers resistance against the Fourth Reich!" The poster/leaflet called for:

- Equal pay for equal work, immediately!
- Block layoffs with plant occupations, mass strikes, East and West, now!
- Sweep away the Kohl government and the Treuhand! The plants, which we built, into the workers' hands!
- Form workers councils! For a workers government! The key: a Bolshevik party like Lenin and Trotsky's! ■

Berlin Demo...

(continued from page 7)

workers. Renate Dahlhaus, spokesman for the SpAD, spoke of the fascist attacks against Soviet barracks and declared: "The fascists are only the echo of the drive of the German bourgeoisie to make Germany '*judenrein*' [purged of Jews], its drive to the East to begin a new Operation Barbarossa [Hitler's 1941 attack on the Soviet Union]."

Important to this protest action was the support of union representatives, since it is particularly the social power of the organized workers movement which can take the lead in defending immigrants against state oppression and Nazi terror. Employees of the Berlin airports, represented among the endorsers, have several times in the past blocked deportations. However, the PDS, this "Party of Democratic Socialism" that is wallowing in German nationalism, showed no interest, having previously refused to lift a finger against the mass deportations of Polish, Vietnamese and Mozambican workers from the former DDR.

The Committee for Social Defense, a class-struggle, non-sectarian defense organization whose purposes are in accord with the political aims of the SpAD, declared in its protest statement: "The German capitalist reunification has led to a revival of fascist terror and to an escalation of official state racism against immigrants and those seeking asylum, led by Imperial Chancellor Kohl and LaFontaine's SPD, which unleashed pogrom attacks against Roma and Sinti [gypsies]." The KfsV demands: "Full citizenship rights for all immigrants! Stop the racist witchhunt—No deportations! Immediate lifting of the political gag order!" ■

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Sixteen Years in British Prison, Framed in IRA Pub Bombings

Birmingham Six Freed!

On March 14, more than 16 years after being torn from their families and thrown behind bars, the Birmingham Six finally walked out of London's Old Bailey court as free men. Framed in the heinous IRA bombing of two Birmingham pubs in November 1974, the six Irishmen remained unbowed, insisting on their innocence throughout their years of imprisonment.

Leaving the Old Bailey, Patrick Hill launched into a fiery denunciation of the criminal system which had persecuted him and his comrades: "The police told us from the start we did not do it. They told us they didn't care.... I don't think them people in there have got the intelligence or the honesty to spell the word justice, never mind dispense it. They're rotten."

The Birmingham Six were arrested hours after the 1974 IRA bombings, which killed 21 and injured 162. Five of the six men were arrested while on their way to the funeral of an IRA friend in Belfast. After being badly beaten and tortured, four signed "confessions," which they subsequently retracted. But riding a wave of anti-Irish chauvinism, the Labour government rammed through their trials and convictions, and seized the moment to slam through the notorious Prevention of Terrorism Act.

Brian Harris

British imperialism framed them and stole the prime of their lives.

The presiding judge at the trial dismissed the charges of torture and forced confessions, claiming that this would have to be the result of a "conspiracy... unprecedented in the annals of British criminal history" (*Economist*, 2 March). In fact, this conspiracy went right to the top of the British ruling class. Lord Chief Justice Lane rejected their last appeal three years ago, despite overwhelming evidence that they had been tortured into confessing. Last year Lord Denning railed, "We shouldn't have all these campaigns to get the Birmingham Six released if they'd been hanged." Now Labour Party leaders are demanding Lord Lane's resignation. But it was a Lahour government that condemned these innocent men to languish in prison.

This is the third anti-Irish "terrorism" frame-up to collapse in the past 18 months. In October 1989, the Guildfnrd Four, charged with a similar pub bombing in 1974, were released. Then the government admitted that the case against the Maguire Seven, sentenced in 1976 to up to 14 years for making bombs for the IRA, was a fraud. In all three cases, they had been convicted on the basis of fabricated forensic "evidence," torture and lies.

But the victims of a similar racist frame-up—the Tottenham Three—still languish in prison, as do countless other victims of racist British "justice." Two miners imprisoned during the heroic 1984-85 coal strike for defending their union's picket lines were released only last year. The government is talking about "compensation" for the Birmingham Six, who lost the better part of their adult lives behind bars and came out with white hair. But as our comrades of the Spartacist League/Britain wrote (*Workers Hammer* No. 121, March 1991):

> "True vengeance for all victims of British 'justice' will be exacted only when victorious workers revolution sweeps this rotten, racist capitalist system away, along with its Labourite flotsam and jetsam."

Stop Duke!...

(continued from page 12)

home for minorities and all decent people.

Duke's Klansmen have long had their sights set on Boston for recruitment for racist terror. They were emboldened by the outpouring of race hatred in the streets which killed busing for school integration. But this town of multi-ethnic and heavily Catholic immigrants was not fertile ground for these cross-burners and white supremacists whose aim is a bleached white America of total conformity. Now that the "Massachusetts Miracle" has bottomed out into a nightmare of unemployment and desperation, now when Confederate flags fly at Harvard, now when unbridled cop terror is unleashed in black communities (as in the grotesque Stuart case) and now when skinhead fascists attack gays, Jews and Asians, Duke hopes to cash in in Boston and deflect anger away from united class struggle against this whole system of racist capitalist oppression and into race hatred to divide and conquer us.

Even in this deeply class- and race-divided city, sectors of the organized labor movement represent a potentially powerful weapon in the struggle for social justice. Our unions represent the unity of all working people against the race-haters and we must use our social power, as those who produce the wealth of society, in struggle against the exploiters. When labor has flexed its muscle in defense of all working people the fascists have been stopped cold, as they were in the massive labor/black mobilization initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee which stopped the KKK and Nazi skinheads from parading for genocide through the streets of Philadelphia in 1988.

In October 1982, decent people of Boston took a solid anti-racist stand and stopped the KKK from marching in Boston's Government Center. 1,500 people —including Irish from South Boston and Dorchester, Italians and Portuguese from East Boston and Somerville, students from Cambridge, blacks from Roxbury, unionists, and leftists scored a big victory over the race-haters who would divide and destroy us if left unopposed. That's the kind of action that's needed today. All out on March 28 to stop the deadly threat David Duke stands for! ■

Help Stop Fascist Duke $$$ Needed

The Partisan Defense Committee is working hard tn ensure a mass, disciplined and militant demonstration to stop KKKer David Duke in Boston on March 28. Organizing on the streets, in working-class and minority neighborhoods, on campuses, takes time and especially money—for printing thousands of leaflets and getting the word out. David Duke, currently running for governor of Louisiana, wants a national platform to spread his race-terror filth. He must be stopped! This is vital to decent people throughout America. In Boston, call the PDC at (617) 492-3928 to see how you can help. If you can't be there, show your support for stopping the Klan by sending a generous contribution, earmarked "Stop KKKer Duke" to: Partisan Defense Committee, PO Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

WV Photo

Boston's City Hall Plaza, October 1982: As cops protect racist terrorists (below), mass protest drives Klan off the streets.

UPI

BOSTON

The Struggle Against Fascism

Report and Discussion on the March 28th Protest to Stop KKK Hitler-Lover David Duke

Sponsored by the Spartacus Youth Club

Tuesday, April 2, 7:30 p.m.
Sever Hall, Room 215
Harvard University

Thursday, April 11, 7:30 p.m.
Room to be announced
Northeastern University

For more information: (617) 492-3928

Report and Discussion on the March 28th Protest to Stop KKK Hitler-Lover David Duke

Sponsored by the Latino Student Center—UMass Boston

Thursday, April 4, 12:30 p.m.
Wheatley Lounge, 4th Floor, Wheatley Building
University of Massachusetts—Boston

Boston Demo Against Fascist David Duke

We reprint here the call for the demonstration initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee on 12 March 1991.

Ku Klux Klansman David Duke is scheduled to put forth his "agenda for America" from the hallowed hall of Boston's Old South Meeting House on March 28. David Duke is a fascist. His "agenda" is *genocide* of black people, Jews, Catholics, immigrants, Hispanics, Asians, gays, unionists, leftists—*most of us*. As an elementary act of self-defense, all intended victims of the race-hate terror David Duke threatens must mobilize in a massive, integrated, defiant demonstration to stop this fascist—*genocide is not debatable!* In 1773 Old South Meeting House was the organizing center against British tyranny and where the march to the Boston Tea Party began. In 1991 let's make it the site of organized opposition to the lynch mobs David Duke seeks to whip up! Demonstrate outside the Old South Meeting House, Thursday, March 28 at 5:30 p.m.! Be there!

Today David Duke hides the white hood and the swastika under a three-piece suit—don't be fooled by this fascist with a face-lift. Duke got his start as a swastika-clad Hitler-lover at Louisiana State University and was known as "The Nazi of L.S.U." He went on to become the "Imperial Wizard" of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, a media-sharp stormtrooper for racist reaction who expanded the Klan's influence from Louisiana into the rest of the South and into New York, New England and California. Duke says the Nazi Holocaust of six million Jews was a "myth" and sold Nazi tracts out of his "legislative office." Under the "Rebel" label Duke has marketed songs like "Some Niggers Never Die" and "Kajun Ku Klux Klan." Duke organized a vigilante "Klan Border Watch" in southern California, targeting immigrant workers from Mexico and Latin America for extermination.

The founder of the sinister "National Association for the Advancement of White People," Duke was formerly in the fold of the Dixiecrat Democratic Party. In 1988 he ran for President on the ticket of the Populist Party—a nest of fascists including the paramilitary anti-Semites of Posse Comitatus and die-hard racists of the bomb-throwing States Rights Party. In 1989 Duke joined the Republican Party and rode the coattails of Reagan/Bush reaction into office as a Louisiana state legislator. Today he comes to Boston on the wind of Bush's "Operation Desert Storm" to set a chilling example of what the "New World Order" means at

continued on page 11

"We endorse and will help build a mass demonstration: 'Stop KKK Hitler-Lover David Duke!'"

Partial List of Endorsers as of 26 March 1991

ACT UP/Boston (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power)
Ron E. Armstead, Research Associate, William Joiner Center for the Study of War and Social Consequences*, Boston, MA
M. Georgia Balan, Vice President, Haitian Club, University of Massachusetts Boston*, Dorchester, MA
James R. Barrett, Executive Board member, USWA Local Union 8751*, Hyde Park, MA
Boston Greater News
Boston Unit, Irish Northern Aid Committee
Linda C. Bowman, Negotiating Committee member, University of Massachusetts chapter, SEIU Local 509*, Dorchester, MA
Jackie B. Breckenridge, International Vice President, ATU*, Chicago, IL
Dr. Donald Brown, Director, African-American, Hispanic, Asian and Native American Student Program, Boston College*, Chestnut Hill, MA
James C. Casteris, member, Arlington Street Church Social Action Committee*, Newton, MA
Cesar Chavez, President, United Farm Workers of America*
Comics Connection/University of Massachusetts Boston
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Gays, Lesbians, Bisexuals and Friends at MIT, Cambridge, MA
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International Socialist Organization
Irish-American Society—University of Massachusetts Boston
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Mujeres Latinas—MIT, Cambridge, MA
New Alliance Party
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Northeastern University Society Organized Against Racism, Boston, MA
Partisan Defense Committee
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Oavid P. Richardson, Jr., Pennsylvania State Representative, immedrate past President of National Black Caucus of State Legislators*, Harrisburg, PA
Normen Roth, former President, UAW Local 6*, Oak Park, IL
Francie A. Russo, Co-President, Boston Intercollegiate Lesbian and Gay Alliance*, Somerville, MA
Jamae W. Ryder, President and International Executive Board member, ILWU Local 6*, San Francisco, CA
Hank Sandara, Senator, Alabama State Senate*, Selma, AL
Brunir Shackleton, Host, Caribbean Forum WZBC 90.5 FM, Boston College*, Chestnut Hill, MA
Spartacist League
Studente Against War in the Middle East Harvard University*, Cambridge, MA
Representative Alvin E. Thompson State Legislator, member Massachusetts Black Caucus*, Cambridge, MA
UMOJA at Boston University
The Watch, magazine, Branders University*, Walthem, MA

*Organizational affiliation for identification purposes only

We want to make it very clear that these endorsers do not necessarily agree in any particular with the call by the Partisan Defense Committee printed above

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 524 12 April 1991

Soviet Workers: Fight "Free Market" Misery!

USSR Lurching Toward Catastrophe

AP

Sherbell/SABA

Outrage over drastic price rises (left). Pro-Western "democrats" stage rally in Moscow.

Bread Price Triples

Zhigailov/TASS

In February Gorbachev promised Minsk tractor factory workers they wouldn't suffer from price increases. They have now held strikes against slashing of their living standards.

APRIL 8—"I am very worried now simply how I am going to feed my children," exclaimed a Moscow mother of two. On April 2, the price of bread, meat, flour and rice was tripled. The cost of milk, eggs and tea doubled. A child's school uniform which had been 12 rubles now costs 62. The long-expected and long-feared shock of "price reform"—the cutting edge of Gorbachev's declared "transition to a market economy"—hit Soviet working people with a vengeance.

Two days later the expected mass strikes and protests had begun. In Minsk, the capital of Byelorussia, tens of thousands of workers streamed out of automobile, tractor, engine and other factories and marched on the central square. Standing atop the pedestal of a statue of Lenin, speakers demanded wage increases to fully offset the price rises and called for the resignation of Gorbachev.

A month ago the Soviet president personally assured angry workers at the huge Minsk tractor factory that they would not suffer as a result of the "price reform." Now Minsk workers are defending their living standards by turning their power against the decomposing Kremlin oligarchy. An elected strike committee declares it will call a citywide general strike if its demands are not met by April 10.

A commonly voiced sentiment among Soviet working people is that they're willing to pay higher prices if only there was something to buy in the state stores. But the shops are empty. "I don't have a family to feed, so I've just said to hell with meat," said a schoolteacher in the capital. A coal miner's wife in the Donbass of the eastern Ukraine described a scene at the Children's World department store: "People were literally fighting over some two-ruble tights that came in."

The Gorbachev regime has promised compensatory increases in wages, pensions, student grants and child benefits such that there will be no overall fall in living standards. But with the Soviet economy visibly collapsing, such promises are unbelievable and unbelieved. The state planning agency, Gosplan, predicts a 12 percent fall in national output this year coming after a 3 percent drop in 1990. A Gosplan forecaster, Yakov Urinson, prophesies darkly: "I see an abyss ahead—economic, political and social—a return to the horrible times that we lived through in our country in the past" (*Independent* [London], 11 March).

Soviet working people can avoid falling into this abyss only by sweeping away all wings of the disintegrating Stalinist bureaucracy—the hardline apparatchiks and military men, the Gorbachevite "centrists" and the openly pro-capitalist "democrats" around Boris Yeltsin—and taking political power into their own hands. The price increases reveal more sharply than anything else that all of these contending forces are enemies of the working class.

The "patriotic" apparatchiks and colonels, who denounce the "democrats" as agents of Western imperialism (which they are), will support Gorbachev against the workers in the name of "law and order" and of preserving a strong Russian-centered state. While condemning Gorbachev for ruining the economy, the "free marketeers" criticize the price hikes only for not going far enough. They want an end to all government price controls without any compensation. Yeltsin is now reintroducing into the Russian republic's parliament the "500 days" to capitalism plan, which calls for the privatization of housing, agricultural land and 70 percent of industrial enterprises.

As we wrote in Part One of our three-part article "Where Is the Soviet Union Going?" (*WV* No. 520, 15 February):

> "Working-class struggles in defense of social equality and the emergence of an authentic Leninist pole of attraction would shatter the present alignments within the bureaucracy and intelligentsia.... The Soviet working people must cut through the false polarization between the 'democrats' and the 'patriots,' each in their own way heirs of the parasitic and reactionary Stalinist bureaucracy."

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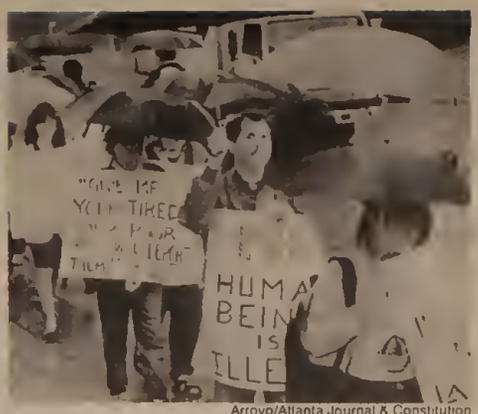
Gilliland/Rome News Tribune



Arroyo/Atlanta Journal & Constitution

Immigration cop dragnet seizes hundreds of foreign-born workers (left). Protesters outside Atlanta INS office denounce arrests and deportations.

Stop Migra Raids in Georgia!

ATLANTA—Hundreds of "undocumented" workers have been rounded up in vicious raids by *la migra* culminating in Easter week. The operation, dubbed "Atlanta Storm," targeted foreign-born workers at low-wage food processing plants and carpet mills throughout Georgia, including Atlanta. Hundreds of INS and U.S. Border Patrol agents and local cops surrounded plants with vehicles and dogs. Copters and planes were used to nab fleeing workers. Ostensibly to break up a forgery ring for residency/citizenship papers, the operation was months in the planning and aimed to deport 500. The INS fell short of their objective, they claimed, because of publicity. Workers got wind of the impending raids and fled minutes before the INS arrived.

Some captured workers were immediately deported, families ripped apart. Most left with only the clothing on their backs. In Whitfield County near Tennessee, the workers were tried "en masse" with no opportunity to speak. They will be arrested on *felony* charges if they return. The INS reneged on an agreement allowing two pregnant women to stay in Georgia to have their babies (the children would then be citizens). They were denied medical care and proper food, and went on a food strike. The Mexican consul from Atlanta was denied access because the jailers couldn't "verify his credentials." Apparently his diplomatic status is not recognized outside the perimeter highway which circles "liberal" Atlanta.

At Zartic, Inc., a poultry processing plant that is the largest employer of foreign-born workers in the country, the *migra* raid sparked pandemonium. "In the resulting confusion, workers escaped into the ceiling or hid in the plant's huge meat freezers" where they could have frozen to death in ten minutes (*Atlanta Constitution*, 29 March). The INS was forced to cut short the raid for fear that they would be held liable for the workers' deaths. In detention other workers were prevented from showering, brushing their teeth or using the bathroom. A prison inmate called the local newspaper to protest: the workers were told if they "couldn't speak English they didn't need to go to the bathroom" ([Dalton] *Citizen-News*, 30 March). The inmate has been punished for revealing this brutality to the press.

The INS and local authorities "justify" the raids, claiming jobs are taken away from American citizens. Typically the jobs, like weighing boxes of raw chickens, pay $5 an hour or less. Conditions are hazardous and the hours long. Meanwhile, cities and counties throughout Georgia use prison labor (the latter-day version of the chain gang) on public projects! No amount of racist chauvinism can hide the fact that Georgia's soaring unemployment has its roots in the capitalist recession. Immigration "reform" laws making the employer liable for hiring "illegal aliens" have meant *more* repression against workers, while for employers who superexploit their labor the occasional fine is a modest business overhead expense.

While most of the victimized workers were from Mexico, others were from Argentina, Peru, Guatemala, El Salvador and Ghana. Deportation to El Salvador or Guatemala could mean death at the hands of a fascist death squad. The growing number of Hispanics in towns like Gainesville and Cedartown have been victimized in turn by homegrown fascist Klan groups. The Mexican consul lamented, "it's misguided to do a 'Desert Storm' like this..." (*Citizen-News*, 27 March). On the contrary, *this* is the domestic face of Bush's "New World Order."

The INS dragnet caught 20 production workers at All American Gourmet Foods in Atlanta. A subsidiary of Kraft Foods, it is organized by SEIU Local 679 in Atlanta. The union informed *WV* that it is providing legal assistance to prevent the workers from being deported. The key is to mobilize the power of labor. The solid strike and organizing drive by janitors in Los Angeles last June was the best defense of that heavily Latino workforce. Union organization by a class-struggle leadership of the historically unorganized American South will find leaders and strong support from among the ranks of foreign-born workers. Labor must demand: Stop the deportations! Full citizenship rights for the foreign-born! ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

How to Fight Fascism

In the wake of Hitler's rise to power in Germany in 1933, fascism in France grew to dangerous proportions. Today Bush/Mitterrand's imperialist slaughter of the Iraqi people has emboldened the fascist thugs of Action Française and Le Pen's Front National, who attack Arabs and leftists with seeming impunity. Our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France are fighting to mobilize working-class action to stop the fascist terrorists along the lines laid out by Leon Trotsky in 1934, who commented on a clash between CP-led anti-fascist workers and police in a Paris district

What is the objective, not just for the moment but for the entire coming period? It is to get the workers to take up the struggle against the fascists before these elements have become the dominant force in the state, to get the workers used to not being afraid of the fascists, to teach them how to deal blows to the fascists, to convince them that they are stronger in numbers, in audacity, and in other ways.

In this period it is very important to distinguish between the fascists and the state. The state is not yet ready to subordinate itself to the fascists: it wants to "arbitrate." We know what this means from the sociological point of view. However, this is not a matter of sociology but of giving blows and taking them. Politically it is part of the nature of a pre-Bonapartist, "arbiter" state that the police hesitate, hold back, and on the whole are far from identifying with the fascist gangs. Our strategic task is to increase these hesitations and apprehensions on the part of the "arbiter," its army and its police. How? By showing that we are stronger than the fascists, that is, by giving them a good beating in full view of this arbiter without, as long as we are not absolutely forced to, directly taking on the state itself. That is the whole point.

In the case of Menilmontant, as far as I can tell from here, the operation was handled in the diametrically opposite way. *L'Humanite* reports that there were no more than sixty fascists in a thoroughly working class neighborhood! The tactical, or if you will, "technical," task was quite simple—grab every fascist or every isolated group of fascists by their collars, acquaint them with the pavement a few times, strip them of their fascist insignia and documents, and without carrying things any further, leave them with their fright and a few good black and blue marks.

—Leon Trotsky, Letter to French Ligue Communiste leadership (March 1934)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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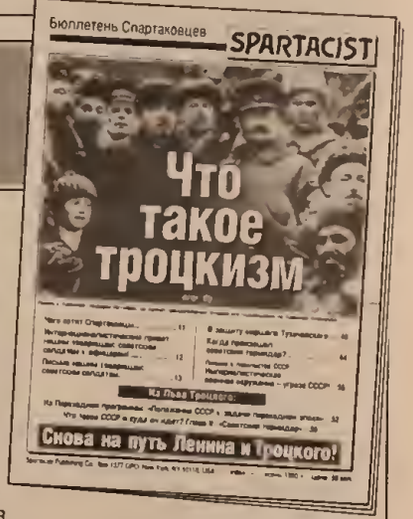
The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-170) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007 Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions $7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 524 **12 April 1991**

Spartacist Bulletin No. 1
(in Russian)



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Hands Off Vietnam Liberation Fighter Georges Boudarel!

France: Labor Must Crush Fascist Offensive!

The imperialists' victory in the Persian Gulf War has emboldened reactionaries in France who want revenge for decades of lost colonial wars. Fascists have spearheaded a hate campaign against Georges Boudarel, a history professor at Jussieu university in Paris, who joined the Viet Minh liberation forces fighting French colonialism 40 years ago. Vituperating against the "Communist traitor Boudarel," these thugs have unleashed a wave of murderous attacks on leftists. Ever since French society was torn apart a century ago by the campaign against Alfred Dreyfus, a Jewish army officer who was framed up on treason charges, the reactionaries and then the fascists have whipped up such hate/slander campaigns to further their sinister designs.

Armed with baseball bats and ax handles, on March 18 several dozen fascists marched on Jussieu and burned Boudarel in effigy. On March 27 some 1,000 fascists of Le Pen's Front National and the royalist Action Française tried to storm Jussieu, with chants of "Boudarel assassin!" and "Jussieu will be the Dien Bien Phu of the traitors!" That same day, at the university of Mont-Saint-Aignan in Rouen, some 30 helmeted fascists armed with baseball bats chanted Nazi songs around a bonfire of leftist literature and attacked students, including comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France, who were preparing a rally in defense of Boudarel.

And on March 26, in the Paris suburb Sartrouville, an 18-year-old "Beur" (second-generation North African immigrant youth), Djemel Chettouh, was shot pointblank in the back by a security guard. Enraged Beur youth exploded against the police and the mayor, a notorious anti-Communist racist. The LTF has appealed for mass labor action to stop the fascist offensive; along these lines the class-struggle defense organization Comité de Défense Sociale (CDDS) approached unions and other groups for a united-front mobilization in Rouen under the slogans "Stop the Fascists! Hands Off Georges Boudarel!" In its call, the CDDS wrote:

> "The organizations of the working class —parties and trade unions—'Beurs,' 'immigrants,' Jews, former members of the Algerian FLN, 'porteurs de valises' [those who smuggled money and arms to the Algerian resistance], homosexuals, students, teachers—everyone must mobilize....
>
> "Rage is not enough. We must organize the social power of our class before it's too late. We'd better not wait until the next assassination to organize our response....
>
> "The first step is a powerful show of force to *stop* them in Rouen."

The fascist offensive has aroused worries among French workers. Unions of building trades, chemical and electrical workers in the Normandy region responded positively to the CDDS' appeal. However, on the spot in Rouen, which is key, the unions decided not to mobilize. This will only postpone the showdown. The next confrontation may come on May Day, when Le Pen's fascists have taken to countermobilizing around the symbol of French nationalism, Joan of Arc.

Le Bolchévik

Pierre Vedry/AFP

Rouen, December 1981—Hundreds came out for labor-centered anti-fascist demonstration initiated by Ligue Trotskyste de France. At right, March 27 fascist/monarchist provocation in Paris targets Vietnam liberation fighter Georges Boudarel.

Two, Three, Many Dien Bien Phus!

In 1950, as a young Communist militant teaching high school in Saigon, Boudarel joined the Viet Minh guerrillas to liberate their country from the yoke of French colonialism—a courageous act of internationalist solidarity. Today, while renouncing his Stalinist past, Boudarel still insists he has "no regret at having made a radical commitment on the side of the Vietnamese people and of colonized people in general" (*L'Exprès*, 21 March). Because he served as political commissar at a Viet Minh prison camp for captured French soldiers, and tried to educate them about the evils of French colonialism, now, 40 years later, he is accused of treason and torture.

The fascists and monarchists demand that Boudarel be sacked from his university post, and legal proceedings were initiated against him by a former French prisoner for "crimes against humanity" (it's no coincidence that this is the same charge used against René Bousquet, chief of police in the Vichy regime, being tried for collaborating with the Nazis). The thirst for blood vengeance runs across a broader political spectrum. One Gaullist former minister declared that Boudarel "would be shot immediately if we could do it." Socialist Party education minister Lionel Jospin echoed the fascists' accusations, calling Boudarel the "kapo in a concentration camp" (*Libération*, 18 March). Marchais, leader of the French Communist Party (PCF), was quick to distance himself: "Of course I won't support him, if he engaged in torture."

In a message of solidarity to the March 28 anti-fascist demonstration in Boston, our comrades of the LTF denounced the campaign of murderous calumny against Boudarel: "The bourgeoisie accuse him of being a torturer. Except his accusers could not find a single prisoner from camp 113 who had been tortured. The torturers in Vietnam were first French and then American imperialists. Today they're trying to reverse the roles of the executioner and his victims!"

Boudarel points to the real source of the wretched conditions in the camps: "We had enormous problems with supplies. Vietnamese had also been dying of starvation." Famine was widespread, the deliberate result of a French blockade aimed at starving the Viet Minh areas into submission. Starvation, torture, summary executions were a key element of French policy aimed at terrorizing a population which overwhelmingly supported the struggle for liberation.

As our comrades wrote in *Le Bolchévik* (No. 110, April 1991): "Dien Bien Phu was, like the liberation of Saigon in 1975, a victory for the exploited and oppressed worldwide. This victory was in particular a formidable encouragement to the Algerian struggle for national liberation." In fact, in the Viet Minh's camp 114, where captured North African soldiers were held, cadres of the Algerian Communist Party and FLN were recruited from among the prisoners inspired by the Vietnamese example.

Those who would wallow in the greater glory of French imperialism have had a hard time finding any glory in the long list of France's great defeats: by the Germans in 1940, the Vietnamese at Dien Bien Phu in 1954, the Algerian war of independence. Now, finally, they think they have a chance to wreak blood vengeance for the humiliations of past defeats. As an article on the Boudarel affair in the *Frankfurter Rundschau* (26 March) observed:

> "At a moment when the French view their armed forces with some pride in the aftermath of the Gulf War, the case of the university professor recalls a war which seemed to be largely repressed from public consciousness. But it was not just shadows from a 40-year-old colonial war that suddenly reappeared; also revived is the perennial debate over how France deals with the dark side of its recent history, from collaboration with the Germans during World War II through the Indochina War to the Algerian War."

Indeed, the fascists of the OAS (Organisation de l'Armée Secrète), who viewed de Gaulle as the traitor who gave away Algeria, and organized repeated attempts to assassinate him, were the lineal descendants of the Pétainists who collaborated with the Nazis and carried out torture, executions and deportations of leftists, unionists, Jews. And this tradition is carried forward by today's fascist-monarchist rightists, who aim their murderous violence at those they consider "traitors," those who fought against the imperialist military aggression against Iraq.

Fascists Target Ghettos, Campuses, Picket Lines

The "immigrant" community, the French population of North African origin, has been singled out for police repression and subjected to racist attack. They were viewed as "the enemy within" during the imperialist war in the Gulf. Antiwar demonstrations were ringed with massive deployments of police, pro-Iraq Arabic newspapers were banned, and North Africans were subjected to constant police harassment, searches, surveillance and deportations. As the CDDS call for united action to stop the fascists

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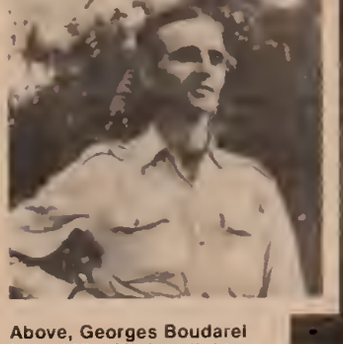
J.P. Rey



AP

Above, Georges Boudarel joined Viet Minh to fight against French imperialism. Today, he defends himself against witchhunt by fascists and Gaullists abetted by ruling "Socialists."

Soviet Union...

(continued from page 1)

Now this possibility is posed directly. The organization of workers resistance to the price increases can become the basis for *soviets* uniting the workers with collective farmers, Red Army soldiers and officers, old-age pensioners, oppressed minorities and others who embrace the cause of the working class. The fight for genuine soviet power requires the forging of a new Bolshevik party which can lead the working class against the forces of capitalist counterrevolution and bloody nationalist strife.

Gorbachev and Yeltsin: End Products of Stalinist Degeneration

The descent of the USSR into economic chaos parallels the disintegration of the Stalinist bureaucratic elite. The Soviet Union is today politically paralyzed at the top as the two main factions arising out of the decomposing Kremlin oligarchy for the moment counterbalance each other. Yeltsin's propagandists and many Western commentators portray the conflict as one between the advocates of capitalist democracy and the defenders of a refurbished "Communism" (i.e., Stalinism).

There is no question that the "democrats" are agents of Wall Street, the City of London and the Frankfurt banks. Recently, a top Yeltsin aide, Gennady Filshin, was forced to resign as deputy prime minister of the Russian republic after a financial scandal that starkly reveals this gang's real program and masters. Filshin reportedly arranged a deal with a shady British outfit, Dove Trading International, to import consumer goods for the fantastic sum of 140 *billion* rubles. These rubles would then be used by Western investors to buy up state-owned factories, mines and other enterprises. The deal was scotched by the central Soviet government.

However, the Gorbachevites, too, aim to transform the Soviet Union into a capitalist market economy although at a slower pace and for the benefit of different elements of the bureaucratic elite. A leading Gorbachev supporter, Yuri Prokofiev, Moscow Communist Party chief and a member of the CPSU Politburo, declared, "We must go the way of Japan and South Korea" (*Financial Times* [London], 5 February). Prokofiev even included Pinochet's Chile among the model countries where "developed market infrastructures were created in a short period of time"! In other words, the Gorbachevites are looking to introduce a corporatist system, if necessary through massive police-state repression.

Yeltsin's main appeal is that he promises a radical alternative to the present intolerable situation. Yet the mass of Soviet working people reject, indeed dread, the effects of "free market" capitalism. A poll, reported in the *Wall Street Journal* (2 January), indicates that only *5 percent* of the Soviet population supports allowing the market to determine prices. Leningrad workers have reportedly refused to vacate the premises of stores, restaurants and service centers recently privatized by the Yeltsinite city council.

Yet Yeltsin remains an extremely dangerous demagogue because he can exploit the increasing economic desperation and growing hostility to Gorbachev among the Soviet masses. Witness the month-long coal miners strike. When half a million miners struck in the summer of 1989, the government offered sweeping concessions. At the same time, Gorbachev claimed sympathy with the miners' plight and used the strike, with some success, as an argument for perestroika, his half-baked program of market-oriented "reforms." But as perestroika produced only greater misery and government promises were inevitably broken, the miners turned sharply against Gorbachev.

The current strike leaders are staunchly in the Yeltsin camp. In addition to economic demands, they are calling for Gorbachev's resignation and the transfer of effective political and economic power to the various pro-capitalist republic governments. Viktor Filimonov, a strike leader in the Kuzbass, states: "We fight for Yeltsin, but we don't believe he can change anything quickly. It took centuries to build capitalism, and he's talking of 500 days. But we have to get rid of the Communists" (*New York Times*, 28 March).

From a distance, it is not clear whether a significant section of the miners actually buy Yeltsin's pro-capitalist demagogy. Many mines are *not* on strike and there are reports of heated debates over the action. It may be that the miners are being manipulated by a small group of anti-Communist activists, with well-established ties to American imperialist circles, who formed a "free" union last fall (see "Soviet Miners Strike Amid Perestroika Turmoil," *WV* No. 522, 15 March).

In any event, Soviet miners must understand that the Yeltsin forces are deadly enemies of the working class. It is not Communism that has produced the present economic chaos but the Stalinist *perversion* of Communism during decades of bureaucratic mismanagement and parasitism. A return to capitalism would mean even greater misery for Soviet working people.

Look at East Germany! A year ago many East German workers believed that unification with the wealthiest state in capitalist Europe would quickly bring them the good things of life. Instead it has brought them mass unemployment, rent-gouging, the closing of day-care centers and generalized immiserization. Suicides are up, the birth rate is down. Today, many East German workers are saying "it was better before" under a collectivized economy.

Soviet workers do not have to experience for themselves the ravages of capitalist restoration. Resistance to the price increases can be the beginning of a *proletarian counteroffensive* against the forces of "free market" misery.

AFP

Demagogue Boris Yeltsin spearheads drive for capitalist counterrevolution in 500 days or less.

For Socialist Planning Under Workers Democracy

The last time the Kremlin bureaucracy raised the price of food and other consumer goods was in 1962 under Khrushchev. This provoked large-scale strikes and protests, which in at least one case (Novocherkassk in the Ukrainian Donbass) was suppressed with appalling bloodshed by the KGB political police and army units. When Brezhnev ousted Khrushchev a few years later, he sought to secure social peace by freezing consumer prices at 1962 levels.

However, as the Soviet economy stagnated after the mid-1970s, money wages, salaries and procurement prices for state and collective farms continued to be increased. The ever-growing gap between official prices and costs of production was covered by ever-greater subsidies from an ever-growing money supply. In the last Brezhnev years, rife with corruption, an increasing fraction of foodstuffs and other necessities were diverted into the black and grey markets. But under Gorbachev's perestroika goods have simply disappeared from state shops and are available only in private markets at 10 or 20 times the official price.

Financial Times

Soviet coal miners in the Urals debate strike as pro-Yeltsin activists openly push for capitalist restoration.

To begin with, the black marketeers were legalized under the misnomer "co-operativists," and their activities greatly expanded. Administrators looted their factories, warehouses and shops, turning over state-produced goods to their partners in the private markets. Real economic power is passing to what Russians call "the mafia"—a mélange of corrupt apparatchiks, private operators and outright gangsters. Early this year the deputy chairman of the state pricing commission reported that the cost of producing and distributing consumer goods was 25 percent greater than the state's receipts for selling them. The Soviet government is in effect subsidizing the mafia's price extortion!

Perestroika has also led to the fragmentation of the Soviet economy along national and regional lines. Republics, regions and even cities are waging economic warfare against one another: erecting trade barriers, tariffs, separate currencies, preventing sales to non-residents. Meanwhile, large numbers of Soviet Jews, who constitute a significant section of the technical and scientific cadre, are emigrating out of fear of anti-Semitic pogroms. The prominent "free market" economist Nikolai Shmelyev complains that the situation is "reminiscent of medieval times." However, economic nationalism along with communalist bloodletting (like the current Georgian pogrom against the Ossetian minority) is *inseparable* from the drive for capitalist restoration of which Shmelyev is a leading ideologue.

Spokesmen for the Gorbachev regime as well as its "free market" opponents argue that a pricing system which encourages farmers to use bread as cattle fodder is crazy. And it *is* crazy. Prices bear no relation to either relative or absolute costs of production. But the answer is not the introduction of a "market economy"—code word for capitalism. If the workers take political power, a genuinely socialist government would enormously increase the efficiency of the democratically planned economy, rationalizing prices and also soaking up the present hoards of unspendable rubles (for example, exchanging them for long-term bonds).

Market calculations have an important role in aiding the plan in areas such as the output of consumer goods and services. As long as everyone is guaranteed an income adequate to cover basic necessities, the price of specific consumer goods should in general be proportional to the cost of production. If someone wants to buy a leather jacket that costs twice as much to produce as a cloth jacket, he should pay twice as much for it. But to find out what people want to buy doesn't require unleashing anarchic market forces—all you need is product codes and a computer network linked to inventories!

As Trotsky called for in the 1938 Transitional Program, democratically elected consumer committees should oversee the quality and pricing of goods. And soviet bodies can democratically decide on which social programs should be provided free (such as medical care, day-care centers and education) and subsidies for certain items (for example, children's books to encourage reading).

Such a rationalization of the Soviet Union's pricing and financial system is possible only in the framework of the socialist revitalization of the economy as a whole. This means the elimination of all forms of bureaucratic waste and parasitism. It means radically increasing productivity through scientific planning and, no less important, through the renewed discipline and dedication of working people who know they are building a better future for themselves and their children. But that requires defense of the system of collectivized property.

To go from the present conditions of chaos and misery to a genuinely socialist system requires a *proletarian political revolution* to oust the degenerate remnants of the Kremlin bureaucracy and to crush all of the forces driving pell-mell toward bloody counterrevolution—the pro-Wall Street "democrats" around Yeltsin, the reactionary nationalists in the Baltics, Caucasus and Ukraine, and the Great Russian chauvinists now masquerading as Soviet "patriots."

The bureaucratized anarchy of Gorbachev's perestroika has fueled the growth of all these anti-working-class forces. But now worker resistance to the price increases offers a *crucial opportunity* to turn the entire political situation around. The Soviet Union can be polarized along lines for or against the interests of working people; whether the cost of living will be hostage to the mafia and Western financiers or determined by the democratic mandate of society.

Under revolutionary leadership—a reforged Bolshevik party built on the principles of Lenin and Trotsky—the Soviet working class can reclaim their genuine communist heritage. Just as the October Revolution shook the capitalist world, so the re-establishment of soviet power in the USSR will inspire the revolutionary struggles of the working class in the heartlands of imperialism, opening the road to a global communist order. ■

U.S. Set Up Iraqi Suppression of Kurds

Less than a month after raising the Kurdish red-and-green flag over Iraq's main border crossing with Turkey, Kurdish rebels are being routed by the army of Ba'athist strongman Saddam Hussein. Fearing punitive retaliation by the Iraqi regime, hundreds of thousands of Kurdish refugees are reportedly flooding toward the Turkish and Iranian borders, where they huddle in freezing rains, with little or no food and shelter. One refugee raged that when the Iraqis came, "they started to kill all the Kurdish and Turkish people. Just shoot, shoot, shoot by the government. The United States caused all this."

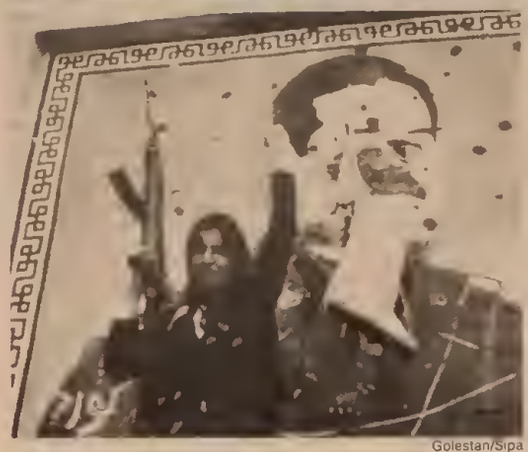
Barely a month after George Bush proclaimed victory in his Persian Gulf blitzkrieg, Washington is now hated not only by relatives of the 100,000-plus Iraqi troops who were slaughtered as they retreated from Kuwait and by civilian survivors of the Pentagon's merciless bombing of Iraq's cities, but also by the Shi'ites and Kurds who rose up against the Ba'ath regime expecting American backing. In the U.S., the postwar euphoria has been undercut as even supporters of the war are shocked at the open cynicism of the administration, which called for an uprising against Hussein one week only to set it up for suppression the next.

We said from the beginning that this criminal war had nothing to do with self-determination or democracy, but was for U.S. imperialist domination of the region and the world. Shortly after the war ended, we noted that "the U.S. seemed to be again tacitly backing its former Iraqi ally" Hussein (*WV* No. 522, 15 March). Now White House "officials say they do not want either the Kurds or Shiites to triumph" (*U.S. News & World Report*, 1 April).

The Kurdish rebellion unfolded with dramatic rapidity, and collapsed just as quickly. On March 14, as the Iraqi army was busy clearing out Iranian-backed Shi'ite rebels in the south, Kurdish fighters seized 12 towns in Iraqi Kurdistan in the north. They soon took control of Kirkuk, the third largest city in Iraq and the center of the northern oil fields, and were fighting their way into the other major northern city of Mosul. Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) leader Massoud Barzani appealed to the rest of the disparate Iraqi opposition to form a provisional government in Kurdistan.

As we remarked last month, the Ba'athist regime is clearly far more adept at fighting its own population than opposing the imperialist invaders. Rather than waging "the mother of all battles" against the U.S.-led invaders, Saddam salvaged what he could of his army and weaponry to attack Kurds and Shi'ites. As the main body of Iraqi forces turned their attention from the south to the north, the Kurdish offensive was sharply reversed. As U.S. reconnaissance planes circled overhead, Iraqi helicopters bombed Kurdish towns, retaking Kirkuk and driving the rebels back to the border. "We never made any promises to these people," a White House spokesman declaimed. But, as the *New York Times* (6 April) reports, the CIA was recruiting Kurds to broadcast anti-Saddam appeals during the war "in the belief that a revolt would receive Western assistance."

AFP



Golestan/Sipa

As a Kurdish woman fighter shouts her defiance, bodies of Kurdish rebels lie in the street of Erbil, Iraq.

So once again the Kurdish people have been the victims of imperialist duplicity. As one Kurdish leader put it, "The West never misses an opportunity to forget about the Kurds." Except when it wants to use Kurds only to then discard them. A U.S.-sponsored overthrow of the Ba'athist regime in Baghdad would not further the rights of the Kurdish people one iota, only installing an equally murderous, if perhaps more pliant, dictatorship. But a genuine struggle for the self-determination of the oppressed Kurdish people would have revolutionary implications throughout the Near East.

As we go to press, the UN Security Council is talking of setting up a "safe haven" for Kurdish refugees in northern Iraq, what the U.S. delegate called an "area of tranquility." Whether this would be a Gaza-style concentration camp or a hantustan, certainly the UN, that fig leaf for the imperialist invasion, will hinder Kurdish liberation.

The International Communist League placed at the center of our agitation against Washington's murderous war on the Iraqi people the call to "Defeat U.S. Imperialism! Defend Iraq!" We insisted that a defeat for the American empire would embolden the working people of the Near East to sweep aside their own reactionary rulers—including Saddam Hussein—through revolutionary class struggle. At the same time we reiterated our longstanding support to the Kurdish struggle for an independent state. This down-the-line opposition to imperialism brought yelps from the Democrats' social-chauvinist and pacifist lap dogs who wanted to build a red-white-and-blue "antiwar" movement tied up with yellow ribbons.

But some among those who have faced the lash of Ba'athist repression found it difficult to understand the need to defend Iraq. One Kurdish militant wrote to us that our call "implies you are giving 'military support' to the government of Iraq.... There is no Kurd that would defend the government of Iraq." We would reply to this militant that, yes, the present government of Iraq is an enemy of the Kurdish people, *as are all of its predecessors, all the neighboring bourgeois regimes and all the imperialist powers*. And the U.S. war on Iraq meant even sharper oppression for the toiling masses of the Near East, including the Kurds, by the most ruthless imperialist power on earth.

"The enemy of my enemy is my friend" is not always a good maxim. For decades various Kurdish groups have subordinated themselves either to Washington or to capitalist regimes next door that are hostile to their direct oppressors, but no less oppressive to indigenous Kurdish minorities. Repeatedly, these treacherous patrons turned on their Kurdish clients, just like George Bush, as soon as they were no longer useful as pawns. None of these regimes will tolerate an independent Kurdistan anywhere: Kurdish national liberation requires sweeping away all the bourgeois oppressor regimes, and fighting the imperialist powers that prop them up.

As proletarian internationalists we bluntly told the truth about the brutally repressive Ba'athist regime, as in our article "Saddam Hussein's War on Kurds, Leftists—Iraqi Rulers' Bloody Reign" (*WV* No. 517, 4 January). But in the face of the neocolonial U.S. war it was necessary—yes, even for Iraqi Kurds—to defend Iraq, not least because a strengthened imperialist stranglehold on the region would give its local satraps an even stronger whip over their subject peoples, whether or not Saddam Hussein stayed in power. A better watchword here is: "The imperialist enemy of my local enemy is not a friend, but the bigger and deadlier enemy."

What has been the result of Iraq's defeat by the U.S.-led imperialist alliance? The very day the U.S. announced its cease-fire, NATO Turkey launched the biggest anti-Kurdish offensive in recent years, carrying out bloody raids and mass arrests throughout Turkish Kurdistan. During the buildup to the shooting war, they deployed an additional 100,000 troops in Kurdish districts along the Iraqi border. And both Turkey and Iran flatly ruled out an independent Kurdish state, even on Iraqi territory.

Of course the Kurds seized on the weakened state of the Baghdad regime to strike out for their own interests. But where could they hope to find allies in their struggle? The working class in Iraq and throughout the region has been demoralized by the victory of the imperialists, while around them is nothing but death and devastation. But the leaders of the Kurdish rebellion were not looking to the workers of Iraq as allies in their struggle, but rather to the U.S.

Jalal Talabani, leader of the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK), wasted no time in flying to Washington last August, immediately after the U.S. war mobilization had begun. The State Department refused even to meet with him. At the beginning of the uprising Iraqi Kurdish leaders also met with the brutally anti-Kurdish Turkish regime of Turgut Özal, vowing "that they would not foment rebellion among their brethren in Turkey." Tailoring their demands to satisfy Washington, Ankara and Teheran, the leaders of the Kurdish rebellion did not even claim to fight for independence but only for "autonomy" in a "democratic" (or not so democratic) Iraq.

As consistent opponents of all national oppression, we Marxists defend the right of the Kurds to get arms and support from any quarter. But the Kurdish people have a bitter history of "leaders" who use the struggle for an independent Kurdistan to make them cannon fodder for the aims of one or another imperialist or regional power. Meanwhile, even self-styled Marxist groups like the guerrillaist Iranian Komala and Turkish Workers Party of Kurdistan (PKK) capitulate to the Kurdish landholding classes through popular-frontist appeals to "patriotic landowners."

KDP leader Barzani is the scion of a wealthy landowning family. His father, Mullah Mustafa Barzani, was notorious in the 1970s for being a direct agent of the CIA, the shah of Iran and Zionist Israel who used the Kurds to keep Ba'athist Iraq on the boil. In 1975, the shah struck a deal with Saddam Hussein. Barzani and the Kurds were dumped, left

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Kurdish homeland is divided among four capitalist states and the USSR. For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!

MLP: "Ex"-Stalinists Adrift

From Stalin, Mao and Hoxha to...?

The terminal crisis of Stalinism, from East Europe and the USSR to China—and including even tiny, "go it alone" Alhania—has put all organizations whose ideological roots go back to Joseph Stalin up against the wall politically. Face to face with the undeniable fact that decades of hureaucratic misrule have laid the basis for an escalating assault on the fundamental gains of the October Revolution, even the most hard-bitten Stalinists are forced to confront the hankruptcy of their ideology. For Stalinism is

PART TWO OF TWO

the false consciousness justifying the political rule of the conservative, nationalist hureaucracy that halanced parasitically atop the gains of the revolution. The collapse of these bureaucracies has thrown Stalinist groupings around the world into total disarray.

As capitalist ideologues proclaimed the collapse of Stalinist rule to be the "death of Communism," the commander in chief of the American empire unleashed the Pentagon war machine to create a "New World Order" through a blitzkrieg in the Near East. In the face of this across-the-board imperialist offensive, many erstwhile radicals have turned sharply to the right. As popular-front "peace" demonstrations were awash with red-white-and-blue flags and signs to "support our troops," liberals insisted on no support to "the enemy" in the Persian Gulf War. But while the Spartacist League defiantly proclaimed "Defeat U.S. Imperialism—Defend Iraq!" the "Marxist-Leninist Party of the U.S.A." *denounced* those who defended the country which had been targeted for destruction in the U.S./NATO attack (see Part One of this article in *WV* No. 522, 15 March).

In contrast to the hulk of the American left, which shifted to the right during the Reagan years, the MLP initially moved to the left—although in a partial and distorted way. This small, eclectic group puts itself forward as an organization that seriously seeks to get to the root of "what went wrong" in the history of the "Marxist-Leninist movement." After a series of "study campaigns" they decided that the turning point came at the Communist International's Seventh Congress in 1935 where the Stalinists definitively went over to reformism, binding the parties of the Comintern to the "popular front" of class collaboration. But having reached that point, knowing full well that one step further would call into question the Stalinist lie of "socialism in one country" and take them into the realm of Trotskyism, they stopped short and don't know where to turn.

Over the course of the years, the MLP has attracted a number of militants who genuinely want to be communists. These comrades are faced with some hard thinking and some hard choices, since their party is today hursting with contradictions, whose logic will either drive it into mainstream social-democratic reformism, blow it out intn a political never-never land like the "Mao more than ever" RCP with Chairman Bob's clanking bullet necklace, explode it up entirely—or lead its best elements to pursue the study of the history of Stalinism through to revolutionary conclusions. And that means coming to terms with the dreaded "T-word": Trotskyism.

Playing with Fire

The MLP has made quite an odyssey since it hegan life as the American Communist Workers' Movement (Marxist-Leninist) in 1969, when the New Left was splintering into a myriad of collectives, many of them Maoist. ACWM(ML) and its successor, the Central Organization of U.S. Marxist-Leninists (COUSML), prided themselves on being "hard" Maoists. They sported saucer-sized Mao buttons and plastered entire cities with posters of an obscure would-be Stalin named Hardial Bains, leader of the Communist Party of Canada (Marxist-Leninist). Those who witnessed their antics will never forget the sight of COUSMLers striking heroic "socialist realist" poses in the study lounges of Midwest colleges as they draped the halls with huge banners of Marx, Lenin, Stalin and Mao, and befuddled hapless onlookers with mind-numbing "mass democracies" to promote Mao-thought.

Being a Stalinist always meant being an apologist for betrayal of the working class in the hopes of cutting a deal with imperialism. The young Maoists who had come out of the Vietnam antiwar movement lost their innocence in December 1971, when Nixon was clinking glasses in Peking with Mao Tse-tung as the U.S. rained bombs on Hanoi. Some Western Maoists had qualms about this, others reveled in "Marxism-Leninism-Henry Kissinger Thought." COUSML sought to outdo other Maoists in anti-Sovietism. Thus when South Africa invaded Angola in 1976, using CIA stooge Jonas Savimbi's UNITA as black front men, Soviet-supplied Cuban troops managed to beat back the apartheid-imperialist assault. COUSML, however, proclaimed "Down with the Intervention of the Soviet/Cuban Aggressor Troops" and "Long Live UNITA! Long Live Jonas Savimbi!" (*Workers' Advocate*, 24 June 1976).

When Mao died, COUSML found a new helmsman and a new Stalinist fatherland: Enver Hoxha's "socialist Albania," whose "main enemy" was its neighbor, Yugoslavia. As China made noises about reconciling with Yugoslavia's Tito, COUSML published the stirring headline, "Against Reversing the Verdict Condemning the Yugoslav Revisionist Tito Clique, Murderers and Spies for U.S. Imperialism" (*Workers' Advocate*, 1 November 1977). COUSML soon discovered that Mao wasn't such a glorious anti-revisionist fighter after all. They wrote documents denouncing the "Three Worlds theory" that Mao & Co. used to justify alliances with the shah of Iran, Chile's Pinochet, and other butchers; they attacked Mao for setting a "great barrier hetween the democratic and socialist revolutions" and for "opposition to the hegemonic role of the proletariat" ("Mao Tsetung and Mao Tse-tung Thought Are Anti-Marxist-Leninist and Revisionist" [1979]).

Breaking with the megalomaniacal Bains when his weird dictates became too much to hear, at the beginning of the '80s COUSML renamed itself the MLP. And then something rather interesting began to happen. The MLP's "study campaigns" led to a series of historical investigations in which they kept pushing back the date when Stalinism went bad. "Even in the period of the 1960's," they wrote, the Chinese leadership put forward an "opportunist stand towards the national bourgeoisie, and the denial of socialist revolution" (*Workers' Advocate* Theoretical Issue, 10 August 1984). As followers of Mao (and Hoxha), they had maintained that the USSR went from "socialist" to capitalist as a result of Khrushchev's secret speech at the CPSU's 20th Congress. But now they discovered that *Stalin himself* was pushing a class-collaborationist line after World War II.

Thus "peaceful coexistence" was no longer held to he a post-1956 invention, hut could be found in "the pacifist policy of the World Peace Congress" between 1949 and 1954. And while French CP leader Jacques Duclos had denounced Earl Browder for dissolving the CPUSA into FDR's Democratic Party, "the FCP acted like a typical government party of capitalist slave drivers" and took "a shameless imperialist stand" against independence struggles in Vietnam and elsewhere. As if that weren't bad enough, they find that "Stalin wasn't ignorant of the general line being followed in the post-World War II period, but took part in it." No kidding.

Summarizing their conclusions in 1984, the MLP declared Stalin to be good coin up until 1945: "But the orientation of his activity changed at some point...in his later period, he himself championed replacing the Leninist orientations on various key questions with something else" [sic]. Overall, despite "good works" (such as having "fought the Trotskyites"), Stalin's life and work "does not have the necessary consistency to be described as a classic model of Marxism-Leninism" (*Workers' Advocate* Theoretical Issue, 1 May 1984). Moreover, although an MLP resolution called for "Solidarity with Socialist Albania, the Only Genuinely Socialist Country in the World Today," they wrote that the Party of Labor of Albania "seems to have lost its bearings." A speech by "Comrade Enver" was attacked for "nationalist and 'three worldist' style rhetoric" and its "lack of any revolutionary spirit."

Hoxha, Mao and the later Stalin toppled—where does that leave the MLP? "The wrong stands of the post-World War II period naturally raises the question of how far back certain of these errors go," they wrote. The next stop was

The Workers' Advocate

WORKERS, OPPRESSED NATIONS AND PEOPLE OF THE WORLD UNITE!

Against Reversing the Verdict Condemning the Yugoslav Revisionist Tito Clique, Murderers and Spies for U.S. Imperialism

Glorious Fighters Against Titoite Revisionism

The Workers' Advocate

MAO TSETUNG THOUGHT WILL SHINE FOREVER!

Deeply Mourn the Death of Chairman Mao Tsetung, the Great Teacher and Leader of the Workers, Oppressed Nations and Oppressed People of the Whole World!

The way they were: many '60s radicals were attracted by "Stalinism under the gun," though MLP gava it their own special twist. But their investigation of Stalinist betrayals has raised questions they can't answar.

Hoover Institution

Leftist militiamen in Spanish Civil War. MLP recognizes that Stalinist-led Popular Front suppressed anarchist (CNT) militants and centrist POUM in name of capitalist "democracy."

the Seventh Congress of the Comintern in 1935, at which Dimitrov proclaimed the "united front against fascism" ur, as it became known in France and Spain, the "popular front." This is described as "a turn away from Leninist united front tactics," as if the call for class collaboration were a "tactical" question. Among the "errors" of the Seventh Congress were "abandoning the revolutionary struggle for the liberation of the colonies," "creating illusions in the bourgeois-democratic imperialist powers," and "a liquidationist perspective of worldwide merger with social-democracy" (*Workers' Advocate* Supplement, 1 May 1985).

The MLP presents the Seventh Congress turn as a series of mistakes and bad ideas, not as the expression of the politics of the bureaucratic caste that had usurped political power in the Soviet Union a dozen years earlier. They completely divorce the Comintern line from the 1935 Stalin-Laval pact that endursed French imperialism's rearmament policy —the Kremlin leader's panicked bid for an alliance with the imperialist "democracies" in the wake of Hitler's victory in Germany. Thus the MLP's 50-years-later revelations about the Seventh Congress are utterly idealist, ignoring the material and political causes of the Stalintern's betrayals. And then they call a halt:

> "The line of the first six congresses of the CI...was both consistent and Marxist-Leninist. This was also true of the 'Sixth Congress Period' from 1928 to 1934, until a year or so before the Seventh Congress when the line began to change."

Prior to this point the MLP finds only "certain rigid views on certain tactical questions."

There was indeed a turn at the Seventh Congress. But it was not, as the MLP imagines, the beginning of the process of degeneration of the revolution—this was the reformist culmination of a series of centrist zigzags and vacillations, and Communist parties worldwide were officially chained to the camp of social-patriotism, of coalition with the bourgeoisie, as the "People's Front" was declared binding on all sections. Seventh Congress participants were "busy in practice with the liquidation of the program, principles, and tactical methods established by Lenin," wrote Trotsky, "and are preparing the complete abolition of the Comintern as an independent organization." He added: "Nothing now distinguishes the Communists from the Social Democrats except the traditional phraseology, which is not difficult to unlearn" ("The Comintern's Liquidation Congress" [August 1935]).

Off Limits: "Socialism in One Country"

As Trotsky noted in an article on "The Stalinist Turn" (September 1935), "we warned that from the theory of 'socialism in a single country' would inevitably flow social patriotic conclusions with all their treacherous consequences. The Seventh Congress of the Comintern provided a truly remarkable confirmation of the Marxian prognosis." For all its "study campaigns," the MLP is studiously avoiding going to the *origins* of Stalin's policy of global class collaboration. Thus at the MLP's congress in 1988, after a report on "the degeneration of Soviet socialism," a member asks from the floor if "the ideological victory of Stalin over Bukharin, Zinoviev, Trotsky played any role" in the USSR's "change of policy." The response: "I don't have any answers to that question" (*Workers' Advocate* Supplement, 15 April 1989)!

We have news for you, comrades of the MLP: the answer is "yes." The popular front was the corollary internationally of Stalin's anti-Leninist dogma (formulated with Bukharin's aid and Zinoviev's acquiescence) of "socialism in one country," which was at the heart of the Stalin-Trotsky fight all the way back to 1924. Today the MLP pretends to be the first Marxists since Lenin died, the first ones to seriously search for the roots of Stalin's "errors." To make this arrogant pretense, it must turn its back on the tens of thousands of Soviet Communists who fought together with Trotsky for the continuity of Leninist revolutionary internationalism. For this they were murdered by Stalin at the head of the conservative nationalist bureaucracy which claimed to rule as Lenin's heirs. There is not a mysterious half-century gap in revolutionary continuity, but an unbroken line of struggle for Bolshevism represented by Trotskyism.

But try as it might, the MLP can't hold the line at the mid-'30s. For there is a continuity in Stalin's *anti*-revolutionary policies. Take the example of Spain. In spelling out the consequences of the Comintern's Seventh Congress, the MLP published a series of articles in 1986-87 on the Spanish Civil War. Labeling the CI's policies "grievously wrong," it denounced the Stalinists' suppression of the anarchist workers and the centrist POUM during and following the Barcelona May Days of 1937, "Trotskyism was denounced as anything that smacked of working class militancy," *Workers' Advocate* wrote. It noted that "harnessing the struggle to the alliance with the treacherous bourgeois liberals undermined and demoralized the resistance," and explained the collapse of the Spanish Republic as the result of "bourgeois democratic opportunism and liquidationist merger with reformism and social democracy."

All quite true enuugh. But *ten years earlier* in China, Stalin followed a class-collaborationist line that foreshadowed the popular front, only then it was known by Bukharin's formula of the "bloc of four classes." The Communist Party was bound to the "progressive" bourgeoisie by being part of and subordinated to Chiang Kai-shek's nationalist Kuomintang. Stalin even made the KMT a sympathizing party of the Comintern, and Chiang an honorary member of the CI's executive committee! But in April 1927, Chiang conquered Shanghai and KMT squads proceeded forthwith to massacre thousands of Communists and workers. Only a week before Chiang's coup, Stalin rejected Left Opposition warnings and said in a meeting of Moscow functionaries that the Chinese bourgeoisie would be used and then tossed away like a squeezed lemon!

The Sixth Congress of the Comintern, which the MLP holds up as good Marxist-Leninist coin, endorsed Stalin/Bukharin's class-collaborationist line that wrecked the second Chinese Revolution, and put it forward as the strategy for all the countries of the East. In his famous critique of the draft program of the Sixth Congress, Trotsky denounced this as "a classic Menshevik noose for the proletariat of the Orient" ("Summary and Perspectives of the Chinese Revolution" [June 1928]). In summing up his critique of the Sixth Congress program, Trotsky wrote:

> "If it is at all possible to realize socialism in one country, then one can believe in that theory not only *after* but also *before* the conquest of power. If socialism can be realized within the national boundaries of backward Russia, then there is all the more reason to believe that it can be realized in advanced Germany. Tomorrow the leaders of the Communist Party of Germany will undertake to propound this theory. The draft program empowers them to do so. The day after tomorrow the French party will have its turn. It will be the beginning of the disintegration of the Comintern along the lines of social-patriotism."

Or again in the same document:

> "If our internal difficulties, obstacles, and contradictions, which are fundamentally a reflection of world contradictions, can be settled merely by 'the inner forces of our revolution' without entering 'the arena of the world-wide proletarian revolution' then the International is partly a subsidiary and partly a decorative institution, the Congress of which can be convoked once every four years, once every ten years, or perhaps not at all."
>
> —Leon Trotsky, *The Third International After Lenin* (1929)

Stalin in fact dissolved the Comintern in 1943 on behalf of the "Grand Anti-Fascist Alliance." If you seek to find the roots of the "turn" at the Comintern's Seventh Congress, here is a guide.

Up Against the Russian Question

In rejecting the traditional Mao-Stalinist line of portraying Khrushchev as the *diabolus ex machina* who transforms socialism into capitalism in a six-hour speech, and by registering the anti-revolutionary nature of Stalin's policies back to the mid-'30s, the MLP got itself in some pretty hot water with their erstwhile comrades of the international pro-Albania "trend." (Thus, at the same time as it was advertising the politics of the Nicaraguan MAP-ML, the MLP was barred from having an official delegation at the 1986 "Anti-Imperialist and Anti-Fascist Youth Camp" of Albania-line groups in Managua.) But having chucked overboard most everything it once believed, it is left with a big zero...except for visceral anti-Trotskyism. How long will the MLP ranks consent to living in a political limbo as "sort of ex-Stalinist anti-Trotskyist Marxist-Leninists" without even "socialist Albania" to cling to?

April 1927: eight years before Comintern's Seventh Congress, Stalin's class-collaborationist policy of subordinating Chinese CP to Kuomintang led to mass slaughter of Communist workers.

Pulling up short in fear that one more step would take them into Trotskyland, the MLP is stuck masquerading as some kind of critical "Third Period" Stalinists. But while that other brand of Stalinoids-without-a-country, Progressive Labor, might be comfortable with such a posture, the MLP has no desire to follow PL into the wilderness. And they have to go through all sorts of contortions in order to buttress their present theoretically and politically untenable position. Thus the MLP pretends that Trotsky's call for a workers united front to smash the Nazis in the streets of Germany was the same as the formation of a popular-front government with the shadow of the bourgeoisie in Republican Spain, while today the MLP "supports" patriotic peace crawls organized by sundry liberal Democrats and the social democrats, what Stalin and Thälmann used to denounce as "social fascists."

Deep in the pages of *Workers' Advocate* Theoretical Issues they may denounce the "incessant unity-mongering" of post-World War II Stalinism, but in practice there isn't a Democrat-led "movement" around—from "pro-choice" abortion groups to South Africa "divestment" to pro-imperialist "peace coalitions"—that the MLP doesn't yearn to be the "left wing" of. The "Third Period" window dressing is only dusted off as a way to ward off the demon Trotsky. The MLP refuses to honestly confront the Trotskyist program because it fears that this would mean cutting loose from the popular-front swamp of which they are somewhat esoteric, but tolerated, inhabitants. Genuine Bolshevik politics mean breaking with, not being the "left" tail of, class collaboration.

The badge of loyalty to the imperialist popular front throughout the Reagan/Bush years has been anti-Sovietism. And in all the hot spots of Cold War II, these "Marxist-Leninists" refused to defend the remaining gains of the October Revolution from the assault of their "own" bourgeoisie. More often than not, this refusal was couched in the queasy "neutralism" that has become the MLP's trademark: "on the one hand," the CIA's Afghan *mujahedin* are cutthroat reactionaries, Walesa's Polish Solidarność is a clerical-nationalist right-wing movement

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Challenge to Debate

Chicago, IL
March 7, 1991

To the MLP:

Your article "More on the 'Defend Iraq' slogan:..." printed in the February 20 *Workers' Advocate Supplement* along with an excerpt from our article "Break with the Imperialist 'Doves'..." (*Workers Vanguard*, No. 518) addresses our differences head on. You point correctly to crucial differences in our appreciation of the U.S./Iraq conflict, as regards the nature of the Eastern European states (and, of course, the USSR) and, therefore, the tasks revolutionaries face in mobilizing the working class with specific reference to the "antiwar" movement.

A correct orientation on these questions is made even more urgent for communists, especially in this country, in light of the vicious smashing of Hussein's army by the now-exultant U.S. imperialists. We propose a debate on these questions between representatives of our respective organizations. Given that the war has now ended, it might be best to approach our differences under the general heading "The Struggle Against Imperialism: From the Gulf War to the Russian Question" which would address the specifics raised in the respective articles as well as the more general programmatic thrusts of our organizations.

Should this proposal be acceptable to you we will need to meet to come to agreement on democratic norms for discussion as well as on chairing the debate and on such specifics as time, place, advertising, etc. It might also be helpful to exchange other relevant literature by our organizations on these questions to assist preparation.

Needless to say, we will want sufficient time to mobilize a large turnout for the event, however, we would hope to be able to schedule this within a month or so to attempt to attract interest generated by the U.S./Iraq war. In any event, we hope to hear from you soon concerning this proposal.

Ed Clarkson
for the SL

WV Photos

Crowd surged to windows of Old South Meeting House chanting against KKKer Duke (left). Fascist terrorists are emboldened by bipartisan imperialist war and official racism. Spartacist says: Genocide is not debatable. Build a workers party!

Boston Protest...

(continued from page 12)

the moment he and moderator Steven Curwood took the podium."

As soon as it was announced from the rally microphone that Duke was starting to speak, the crowd outside surged to the windows of the hall. For the next 45 minutes their resounding chanting could be heard in the hall as well. Inside, separate groups of gay activists, members of Progressive Labor and some Zionists interrupted Duke with chants and catcalls. A couple of Nazi-saluting Duke supporters attacked PL supporters in the audience. The police moved in and pulled out a half-dozen anti-racist protesters in the audience. One PL supporter, Joshua Barnett, was arrested on phony charges of assault and battery on a cop. The PDC contributed to a bail fund outside the hall. Drop the charges against Barnett now!

All Out to Stop Fascist Duke!

From Harvard Square to Mattapan Square, tens of thousands of leaflets motivating the call to "Stop KKK Hitler-Lover David Duke!" were distributed to build the demonstration. Leaflets were posted by storeowners near Roxbury's Dudley Station and the integrated South End neighborhoods. One record store owner who lost relatives in the Holocaust volunteered to include a leaflet with every record she sold. Black transit workers took stacks to circulate among "T" drivers and at the bus barns. PDC spokesmen appeared on radio stations, from a student station in Amherst to a Creole talk/music program popular with the Haitian community.

Endorsers of the united-front action included: James Barrett, executive board member of USWA school bus drivers Local 8751, and Michael Holden, vice president of ATU Local 1205 striking Greyhound bus drivers—both endorsed the effort early on. Cesar Chavez, in town to give a speech at MIT, endorsed the rally—farm workers remember that it was Duke who set up the Klan Border Watch to target immigrant workers at the Mexico-California border. Jean McGuire of the Boston School Committee endorsed, saying: "The Klan is patently anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, anti-black, anti-everything." Support also came from State Representative Alvin Thompson, a member of the Massachusetts Black Caucus, and from the Boston Unit of Irish Northern Aid.

In building the united-front protest against David Duke, trade-union leaders who had participated in previous PDC-initiated anti-fascist mobilizations gave important support. The day of the demonstration, Rev. James L. Stovall, organizer and chairman of the Louisiana Coalition Against Racism and Nazism, flew to Boston to speak at a press conference with the PDC on his efforts against Duke in his home state.

In contrast to the way Boston students, minorities and unionists took up the building of the anti-KKK mobilization, the liberal and pop-front "establishment" in Boston either ducked or unsuccessfully sought to divert anger away from the Stop Duke demonstration. Black state representative Byron Rushing not only refused to endorse, but penned a letter to the *Boston Globe* claiming the rally against Duke would "play into his hands." Other liberals began a whisper campaign, mixing slanders of violence against the PDC and the Spartacist League (for stopping the Klan with a 5,000-strong labor/black mobilization in Washington, D.C. in 1982, after which the *cops* took revenge by beating some dispersed groups of young black demonstrators) with the complaint that we "take all the credit" for our initiatives.

What do they mean by "taking the credit"? Those who are looking for "credit" are the Democratic Party politicians who want to use such opportunities for grandstanding and hustling votes. And they don't want reds around who tell the truth about this racist capitalist system. What's really behind the reformists' and union bureaucrats' cynical lament is that the Spartacist League and PDC *refuse to self-censor* our revolutionary politics before the unionists and minorities who want to stop the fascists.

As an "alternative" to the PDC-initiated protest, an "Ad Hoc Committee for a Klan-Free Boston" announced a picket line on March 28. But the only evidence of this crew on site was a handful grouped around Rev. Ellis-Hagler quietly singing freedom songs.

David Duke's first appearance in Boston came in 1974, when he sought to recruit from the racist anti-busing mobs led by Ray Flynn and the South Boston Marshals. Busing was killed on the streets of Boston as liberal Democrats in City Hall and the U.S. Congress put the knife in school integration programs. While the reformists and union bureaucrats told black children to rely on the capitalist state for protection, we fought for mobilizing the one force which could have won the battle: union defense guards to defend busing and fight for its extension to the better-off suburban schools.

Seventeen years later, Flynn is in the mayor's chair and Duke returns to recruit for his fascist terror. And official racist terror continues unabated. A black MBTA bus driver, Selbert Lewis, just filed suit against four cops who assaulted him while his bus was stalled on the Mass. Avenue bridge. A black worker from Mattapan who went into Dedham to see a movie (since there are no movie theaters in black Boston neighborhoods) was kicked in the face and choked by two cops while handcuffed.

But the Stop Duke mobilization on March 28 showed that there is a determined and militant core of students and workers who will not put up with racist terror. From their ranks will come fighters who will transform this sick, racist society. As the Spartacist League speaker told the rally: "Only when working people rule this land will we be rid of the white hood, the swastika, and all forms of racist oppression once and for all!" ■

Bay Area Labor Black League:

Drive Out Duke Like Boston Drove Out the Slave Catchers

The following statement was sent to the Boston demo by the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense.

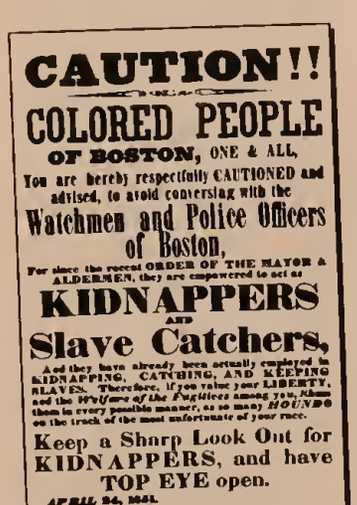
Comrades and Friends! We in the Bay Area Labor Black League for Social Defense wish we could be with you today. KKKer David Duke thinks he can ride a wave of war hysteria and economic misery and make an appeal to poor white people in Boston, especially the Catholics. Who does he think he's fooling! The KKK killed Catholics! Like their capitalist masters, the fascists want to set working people at each other's throats: black against white, Christian against Jew, Protestant against Catholic. The racist terrorists primarily target black people, but the Klan's hit list targets all of us who oppose or are in any way "out of step" with the Anglo-Saxon Protestant ruling class in this country.

David Duke is a fascist. Duke is a leash dog of capital who wants to terrorize immigrant workers and their families, kill black people and union organizers, and drown in blood the struggles of the oppressed against the imperialist "new world order."

We need labor/black mobilizations to clean out the fascists. David Duke deserves the kind of welcome that this city used to reserve for the "fugitive slave" catchers before the Civil War. When those dreaded mercenaries tried to kidnap black people and drag them to slavery, the decent citizens of Boston drove them out of town! Mobilize the independent power of the labor movement. Then we could do something to address the unemployment, homelessness, education cutbacks and police terror that is capitalist America right now.

What we urgently need is integrated working-class struggle. For militant unity in action to beat back the fascist David Duke! March with the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee! Fight for a workers party! The U.S. bloody massacre of the Iraqi people is only a foretaste of what this very arrogant bourgeoisie has in mind unless power is taken from their hands. Working people must rule! Fight for a workers America, a socialist America! For a Third American Revolution to Finish the Civil War!

27 March 1991


CAUTION!!

COLORED PEOPLE OF BOSTON, ONE & ALL,

You are hereby respectfully CAUTIONED and advised, to avoid conversing with the

Watchmen and Police Officers of Boston,

For since the recent ORDER OF THE MAYOR & ALDERMEN, they are empowered to act as

KIDNAPPERS AND Slave Catchers,

And they have already been actually employed in KIDNAPPING, CATCHING, AND KEEPING SLAVES. Therefore, if you value your LIBERTY, and the Welfare of the Fugitives among you, Shun them in every possible manner, as so many HOUNDS on the track of the most unfortunate of your race.

Keep a Sharp Look Out for KIDNAPPERS, and have TOP EYE open.

APRIL 24, 1851.

Abolitionist placard called for vigilance against slave catchers.

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— MARXIST LITERATURE —

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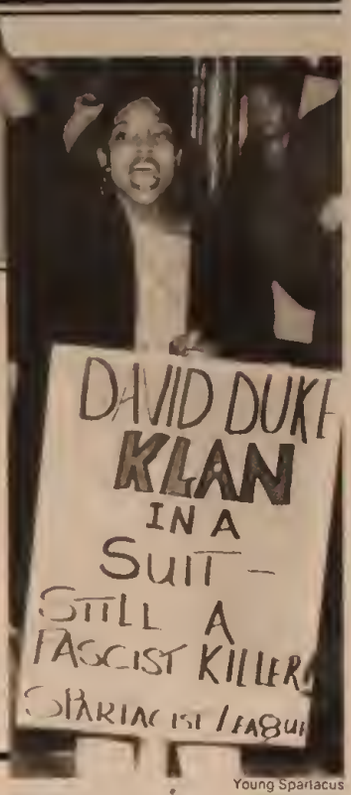
Young Spartacus

Young Spartacus

Boston Youth Mobilize Against David Duke

Klan Terror Will Not Ride!



Young Spartacus

The news that David ("Klan in a suit") Duke was coming to town to organize white-supremacist reaction ignited a powerful response from youth in Boston high schools, colleges and neighborhoods. Spartacus Youth Club members swung into high gear, gathering endorsements and support from other youth organizations to build a united-front protest to "Stop KKK Hitler-Lover David Duke!" Leafletting at Brookline High, we met starters from the school basketball team who were already mobilizing their friends to come out and dunk Duke. Organizations representing the whole broad swath of Duke's intended victims—Latino students at UMass, black students at Boston University, Jewish students at Brandeis, gay and lesbian students everywhere—were all part of the militant 1,500-strong protest outside Old South Meeting House on March 28.

David Duke became a focal point for all the anger and revulsion of young people fed up with this decaying capitalist society of racism, war, and unemployment. They welcomed the united-front protest as an overdue opportunity to *fight back* against all the racist garbage that's been shoved in their faces—from Confederate flags at Harvard to cop harassment of black youth in Mission Hill. In Cambridge's Central Square, a young black man took a stack of leaflets, saying, "I was there in Government Center when we ran the Klan out of Boston in 1982—they better not come back! I'm gonna be there!"

The protest against David Duke, initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee, provided a rare opportunity for the hundreds of youth to join forces with other anti-fascist militants, speak their minds and organize against racist attacks. Our rally outside Old South Meeting House became a genuine speakers corner as one youth after another stepped forward to address the crowd.

A young black woman told of how she was harassed by Boston police and declared, "I'll be damned if I'm gonna be looking over my shoulder for David Duke! This is *my* home!" Shea Justice, spokesman for UMOJA at Boston University, vowed, "We will not allow the state of America to step back to the way it was 20, 30, 40, 50 years ago. We're standing for the same cause which is the freedom and liberation of all Americans, not just one section—*everybody*. There is no place for David Duke!" A white youth from Bunker Hill Community College captured the crowd with his impassioned appeal, "*We don't want to live in a generation of hate!*" He continued, "I love history, but let me tell you there are things that make me ashamed, things that make this country not so great—like slavery! These are things David Duke stands for. Damn him to hell!"

A young Haitian woman took the microphone and spoke with conviction of the impact participation in this united-front action had on her:

> "I am not with a particular group but I know from tonight that I do not stand alone. I am American by the flag but I am Haitian by the blood. If I have any respect for the American flag it's because of the backs of the good people that this country rides on. What I'm about to say today, and it's the first time I've consciously said it, but I've asked myself, 'Why am I 22 years old today and I've never voted?' It's because when I looked at what's been offered to me, I rejected it, just as I reject David Duke! Nothing has satisfied me yet! I want it all! I want freedom! I want equality! For all of us! I want to work for the day when Bush will see my words in front of him and I will say, 'I denounce you as my government. I denounce everything that you stand for.' I want to see a free America and I will die fighting for it!"

Unity in Action, Freedom of Criticism

While the masses of youth and working people present relished the opportunity to speak out in defiant opposition to the race-hate terror threatened by David Duke, representatives of ostensibly socialist organizations were peculiarly tongue-tied. Surveying our many signs and banners on a range of issues from defense of the Soviet Union, to the need to forge a workers party, to opposition to David Duke, members of a group called Socialist Action sneered, "You call this a united front? You've got your full program up there!" To reformists like Socialist Action, schooled in tailing liberal Democrats and building popular-front coalitions that *suppress* all but the lowest-common-denominator liberal demands, open political debate is unthinkable!

We built this demonstration the same way we've built every other successful mobilization against the fascists—as a genuine *united front*, based on unity in action and freedom of criticism. That's how to mobilize the many intended victims, diverse political organizations and the labor movement in the largest possible force to defeat our common enemy, while providing all participants with the right to express their own views and debate others. With the exception of the ISO (which endorsed and spoke at the demonstration) other "socialists" present were dumbstruck by our offers to address the rally. The Marxist-Leninist Party said they "couldn't find a good speaker," the Revolutionary Communist Party and Progressive Labor said "no...yes...maybe" and never rose to the occasion.

The clash of opinion and test in action of competing political organizations are important elements in raising the consciousness of working people and youth. Key political questions, like which side the government is on, are critical for anti-fascist fighters to see clearly. Groups like the Communist Party and Young Communist League actually call on the government to "ban the Klan," and on March 28 a small circle of middle-aged white ladies with "ban the Klan" leaflets stood outside the demonstration singing songs to protest Duke.

It is dangerous to peddle the illusion that this government can be made to defend the interests of the oppressed. The

continued on page 10

Young Spartacus

High school and college students, gay activists, socialists, minorities came out against fascist Duke—and spoke out against cop terror and this racist government.

Boston Youth...

(continued from page 9)

government has been up to its eyeballs in abetting heinous Klan and Nazi murders. An FBI informer was involved in the 1963 Birmingham church bombing which killed four little black girls attending Sunday school. Police and a government federal agent were involved in plotting the 1979 KKK massacre of five leftists and union organizers in Greensboro, North Carolina.

Advocates of "hanning the Klan" should think about the Smith Act, whose hackers said it was for "outlawing" the Nazis. It was first used in 1941 against the Trotskyists and became the weapon of choice for the 1950s McCarthyite witchhunt against the Communist Party. Any hanning orders by this government will be used against the left, like Boston's recent ordinance against antiwar protests.

For Class Struggle Against the Racist "New World Order"!

Many of the demonstrators were wise beyond their years as to the racist nature of this society because they'd already been on the receiving end of injustice. Few saw Duke and the Klan as an isolated problem but as part of a whole system of oppression. The notorious television clip of the Klan in blue uniforms—gun-toting Los Angeles police officers clubbing the living daylights out of a defenseless black man—was never far from people's minds. Many spoke of police rampages against oppressed minorities in Boston. That image of unbridled racist terror meted out by the supposed guardians of "democracy" has been seared into people's consciousness and goes a long way toward conveying the fundamental truth that the government is *not neutral*.

From the mass racist murder of the Iraqi people, including civilian women and children in a Baghdad bomb shelter, to the 1985 bombing of Philly MOVE, to cop brutality against blacks and Hispanics in every city in this country, the U.S. ruling class is the biggest organizer of racist terror on the planet. Against illusions in the government, its cops, its courts, and its university administrations, the Spartacus Youth Clubs fight to win students to an understanding that youth must ally with the social power of the integrated working class to smash racist attacks.

Perpetuating the *illusion* of equal rights and democracy is very important for a government of the exploiters in maintaining its rule over the exploited. The capitalists and their political parties prefer to keep the fascists in white hoods and swastikas in reserve as shock troops for extralegal terror. Thus the Republican and Democratic party political machines tried to distance themselves from David Duke (once a Democrat, now a Republican, still a fascist).

The Republican Party in particular is nervous about an open Klansman in their midst—after all, George Bush's racist "New World Order" must rely on an army that's disproportionately black and Hispanic. So College Republicans, who've unleashed a lot of the ugly racist crap on the campuses (from the *Dartmouth Review* crowd to UMass-Amherst's *Minutemen*), actually came out in competition for Duke's supporters outside the Old South Meeting House bearing placards reading, "GOP not KKK!"

In the U.S. today, the KKK and Nazi fascists are emboldened because of the *bipartisan* policies of the Democratic and Republican parties. Boston's Democratic mayor Flynn was part of the fevered racist mobs in the streets against busing for school integration that enticed KKKer Duke to come to Boston for the first time in 1974 to extend Klan influence in New England. Democrats and Republicans were united in the campaign of racist murder against the Iraqi people, and skinhead fascists stepped up their attacks on Arab Americans and other dark-skinned peoples at home.

When gays and the ghetto poor are killed through the government's malign neglect of the AIDS epidemic, blacks and Hispanics are shot by the cops, poor women are targeted with genocidal "workfare" and rollback of abortion rights, and union workers have their contracts and jobs ripped up and thrown in their faces, the fascists see a green light from the government to goose-step against us.

To fight the fascists we have to fight the capitalist economic system that breeds them. The 1917 Bolshevik Revolution put an end to the fascist Black Hundred pogroms by overthrowing the rule of the capitalist class and establishing equality throughout the vast and multi-ethnic Soviet Union. Now that Gorbachev is giving up Eastern Europe and even the Soviet Union to the "free market," all the old crap—including Hitlerite fascists—are back on the scene with a vengeance. Throughout the former DDR (East Germany), workers, youth and women are realizing that rights they had taken for granted (like housing, health care, full employment, day care, education) were the result of a planned collectivized economy and are now ruthlessly being ripped away by the capitalists.

Even a basic democratic right—like equal access to education—requires a revolutionary fight to bring the working people to power. That means building a class-struggle workers party that will fight for all of the oppressed as a tribune of the people. It is to the task of building such a party that the Spartacus Youth Clubs are dedicated. Join us! ■

Kurds...

(continued from page 5)

to the tender mercies of the Ba'athist strongman, much as Barzani Jr. has been.

This practice was by no means restricted to Barzani. In the 1960s, Talabani's forces fought alongside the Iraqi army against Barzani supporters. In the '80s, Barzani joined forces with Khomeini's Iran, not only against Iraq but against Iranian Kurdish groups, while the (distinct) Iranian KDP lined up with former Khomeinilites Bani Sadr and the mujahedin behind the Iraqi regime. Meanwhile, the PKK—which for the past seven years has waged a guerrilla war against both the Turkish army and any Kurdish leftists who disagree with it—is supported by Assad's Syria.

Kurdish militants must learn the bitter lessons of the past and break with the sordid history of nationalism and class collaboration. Under the leadership of Bolshevik parties committed to the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution, the Kurdish working people can play a decisive role in the liberation of all the toilers in the region.

Süddeutsche Zeitung

Turkey's military-based government brutally oppresses Kurdish minority. Iraqi Kurdish leaders pledged to Turkish president Özal not to spread uprising to Turkey.

In 1958-59, Kurdish oil workers were the strategic core of the Iraqi Communist Party, which squandered a key revolutionary opportunity in Near East history by subordinating the workers struggle to a popular front with bourgeois-nationalist military leader Qassem. And this January, as Turkish Kurdistan was swept with antiwar protests demanding "Freedom for Kurdistan," a militant strike wave spearheaded by miners from northern Turkey threatened to bring the country to the verge of civil war.

In greetings to a 1984 conference of Kurdish militants in Europe, a Spartacist representative laid out the alternative to the nationalists' history of betrayal:

> "The Kurdish masses must look to an alliance with the Arab, Persian and Turkish proletariats, who in turn must be made to become determined champions of the Kurdish right of self-determination against the great power chauvinism of their own bourgeoisies....
>
> "The solution to the oppression of the Kurdish masses can only be regionwide, involving the smashing of four reactionary bourgeois regimes.... We understand that the struggle for a United Socialist Republic of Kurdistan will be shaped by and in turn shape the future of the revolutionary proletariat of the whole region toward a socialist federation of the Near East." ■

France...

(continued from page 3)

warned: "The target of the fascists' attacks for years has been the ghettos; today it's the campuses; tomorrow it will be the picket lines."

The fascists have already targeted the most militant expressions of labor struggle. Among some sectors, resistance to the imperialist war in the Persian Gulf took the form of strikes: CGT sailors at Toulon, railway workers of Chambéry, Marseille longshoremen. When in February the CGT dockers at the port of Marseille refused to load war matériel destined for the Gulf, they were denounced by the rightists, and the dockers union hall at Port-du-Bouc was machine-gunned and bombed. Inscribed at the scene was "Dockers = Traitors to the Fatherland" (*Rouge*, 21 February).

French writer Gilles Perrault (author of *The Red Orchestra*) was denounced for "treason" because he urged French soldiers in January to organize resistance to the war effort; the minister of justice demanded his prosecution on charges of promoting mutiny in the ranks. At a March 28 meeting of the antiwar group "The 250," Perrault argued against those who hellittled the danger of Le Pen coming to power, while noting that many of the fascists' ideas have permeated much of society; and he strongly defended Boudarel. Perrault is among those who have endorsed the call for a united workers mobilization to stop the fascists and defend Boudarel.

The social-chauvinists of the French Communist Party (PCF) are visibly embarrassed at the prospect of a campaign on behalf of a "traitor to the fatherland." After all, the CP leadership joined the bourgeois government which waged the war in Indochina, and actively supported the "restoration" to French imperialism of "its" colonies after World War II. Their Vietnamese comrades initially toed the line, joining with the imperialists in the violent suppression of the 1945 Saigon workers uprising led by the Vietnamese Trotskyists, and succeeded in restoring French colonial rule. The imperialists showed their gratitude by trying to wipe out the Vietnamese Stalinists, forcing the Viet Minh to undertake the armed struggle culminating at Dien Bien Phu.

The Boudarel affair has provoked no little consternation among the "far left" which for years has trailed after social democracy. While forced to condemn the fascist violence, Alain Krivine's LCR, which in the 1970s acted as uncritical cheerleaders for the Vietnamese NLF, keeps trying to separate this from the matter of Boudarel and his defense. Yet Boudarel is today the fascists' main target. With no perspective of mobilizing the weight of the organized workers movement, the "far lefts" have recourse only to the equally futile and dangerous tactics of small, isolated confrontations with the fascists and appeals to the bourgeois state and university authorities to repress them.

Our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste, French section of the International Communist League, have distinguished themselves by their successful united-front mobilizations against fascism and racist attacks, most notably at Rouen in 1981 and the 1987 boycott campaign against a restaurant which refused to serve North Africans. The LTF is well known as the only left party which consistently refused to support Mitterrand, the "Socialist" who presides over France's bloody actions in the Gulf and the iron fist of police terror against the "immigrant" population in France. While the "far left" camp followers of Mitterrand have waffled on defending Boudarel, the LTF has forthrightly taken up his defense.

In its call for a working-class mobilization in Rouen to stop the fascists in their tracks, the CDDS wrote:

> "Such an action must be based on the muscle and social power of the organized working class. Hundreds of thousands of trade unionists demonstrated against the imperialist war against Iraq. Some waged strikes against this war. Mobilizations uniting even a fraction of these forces could drive the fascists back into their holes—if the experience and organization of the unionists are applied to teach these vermin, should they dare to show up, the lesson they so richly deserve." ■

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MLP Adrift...

(continued from page 7)

backed by the U.S., Pol Pot is a bloodthirsty running dog for imperialist designs in Southeast Asia, etc.—but "on the other hand," you can't give even military support to the Soviet (Polish, Vietnamese) "revisionists" by taking a side for the defeat of imperialist-sponsored counterrevolution.

On the one hand, on the other—the MLP found itself caught in the crossfire of the class war, hardly distinguishable from Cold War liberals when confronted pointblank with the Russian question. In rejecting Maoism, the MLP never broke from the Maoists' "theoretical" cover for de facto alliance with U.S. imperialism: the assertion that the Soviet Union is "state capitalist" and "social imperialist." This is not a scientific analysis but a fig leaf to cover naked anti-Soviet prejudice. Who would seriously contend that the Soviet economy is characterized by the drive to maximize profits, generating cyclical crises and depressions? Yet "capitalism" without competition is a contradiction in terms. The claim that the USSR is "state capitalist" is absurd on the face of it, and all the more today in the face of the drive to restore *real* capitalism in the bureaucratically degenerated and deformed workers states.

Basil Blackwell Inc

Leaders of the Left Opposition in 1928; they fought Stalin's betrayals as they happened, most paid with their lives. Seated, from left: Serebryakov, Radek, Trotsky, Boguslavsky, Preobrazhensky. Standing, from left: Rakovsky, Drobnis, Beloborodov, Sosnovsky.

For all their pages of historical disquisitions on "the degeneration of Soviet socialism," the MLP's talk of "state capitalism" is an empty label. Rejecting the Maoist "Khrushchev coup" variant, dismissing the claim by British left social democrat Tony Cliff that the USSR is just a giant capitalist firm, what are they left with? Asked at their last congress "what was the basis of the turn that took place during the 30s in the Soviet Union," MLP leaders respond again: "We cannot answer that question...." Nor can they explain the class nature of their once-shining model of socialism, Albania. Having applied the all-purpose label of "revisionist" to Tirana, the MLP's Platform on "Tasks of Workers' Communism During the Collapse of Revisionism" states: "We do not have sufficient information to judge where Albanian institutions have already degenerated decisively into capitalism" (*Workers' Advocate*, 1 January 1990).

The MLP is worse than irrelevant in the face of imperialism's counterrevolutionary offensive today. They sneer at the "Spart" program for defense of the gains of October through proletarian political revolution to oust the sellout Stalinist bureaucrats. They retail distortions borrowed whole hog from the professional anti-Spartacist slanderers of the "Bolshevik Tendency" to disparage our mobilization of resources and personnel from throughout the International Communist League to intervene in East Germany. They dismiss our international struggle to forge a communist vanguard to lead workers resistance against capitalist restoration and its devastating effects. The MLP itself is bereft of any kind of program for revolutionary *intervention* in these world-historic events.

Yet you have only to page through the MLP's own newspaper to read that "workers' living standards are decimated" by the Solidarność government's "free market disaster in Poland"; that East German women "face loss of abortion rights" and East German workers are up against "severe hardship"; that this is just a taste of things to come "throughout Eastern Europe," while in the USSR the Gorbachev-Yeltsin "500-day" program for capitalist restoration would "devastate the working class." How do they explain all this, since according to the MLP the planned, collectivized economies were not worth defending as the whole Soviet bloc has been "capitalist" since long before the current generation was born?

WV/Le Bolchévik Photo

"Long live victory at Jalalabad!" July 1989. Spartacists said "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" as Soviet intervention fought CIA-backed feudalists. When Gorbachev pulled out Soviet troops to appease imperialism, we raised funds worldwide in solidarity with victims of mujahedin assault on Jalalabad.

Unable to explain why what they call "state capitalism" simply "collapsed," the MLP comes off like a bunch of social democrats who think capitalism can be "improved" through a few nationalizations and social-welfare schemes. By denying that what is at stake is a struggle against capitalism's drive—abetted by Stalinist bureaucrats, whose decades of misrule laid the basis for the present crisis—to carry through a social counterrevolution all the way to the cradle of the Bolshevik Revolution, the MLP is covering over the bloody designs of imperialism. In the same way, their scandalous "neutrality" in the Gulf War covered over the real nature of the bloody U.S. imperialist war of annihilation against Iraq.

The MLP is bedeviled by the spectre of Trotskyism. Quoting Spanish CP leader José Díaz' remark that "no matter what pseudo-revolutionary slogans the Trotskyites use to camouflage themselves, their fascist ears stick out everywhere," the MLP commented: "According to this logic, even the works of Marx and Lenin showed the 'fascist ears' of Trotskyism." Actually, if you seriously investigate the works of Marx and Lenin you will find their writings shot through with "Trotskyism," from the permanent revolution to the distinction between military defense and political support. Meanwhile, the MLP is shocked and disappointed, but politically helpless, when people in their milieu—like the Swedish Röd Gryning ("Red Dawn") group they recently had hopes in—are drawn to the likes of Tony Cliff, a tendency that presents its anti-Soviet brand of left social democracy as some kind of watered-down "unorthodox" semi-Trotskyism.

But the MLP can't exorcise the Trotskyist demon by attacking the Cliffites (who really are what Stalin falsely claimed Trotsky was, social democrats covering themselves with left verbiage), all the while playing coalition games with the miserable picket-line-crossing fake-Trotskyists of the Ann Arbor-based Revolutionary Workers League. The real heritage of Trotsky's revolutionary fight to defend Leninism against the Stalinist usurpers is embodied today in the Spartacist League and the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

With all the MLP's idealist, moralistic hand-waving about how revisionist ideas peacefully produced "capitalism" in the Soviet bloc at some undetermined (and unnoticed) time after the mid-'30s, the world according to *Workers' Advocate* must be a pretty depressing place. If all that is required for the defeat of "socialism" and restoration of "capitalism" is for the current Número Uno (Khrushchev, Mao, Hoxha, Stalin...) to adopt some bad ideas, prospects for socialism would seem pretty bleak. And indeed, the Portuguese Política Operária (Workers Politics) group, which the MLP used as specialists in Trotsky-bashing, have now decided that Bolshevism was a lost cause way back in 1920-22 under Lenin. Consistent anti-Trotskyism leads to anti-Leninism: this should give thoughtful MLPers pause.

Many 1960s radicals were attracted to "Third World" variants of what we have called "Stalinism under the gun"—China, Cuba, North Korea, Albania—regimes which, while they shared the general political program of the Kremlin, did not have at the time much opportunity for "peaceful coexistence" with imperialism. Back when the MLP's founders were apologizing for Mao's alliance with Nixon, the Los Angeles-based Communist Working Collective decided to get to the roots of Maoist betrayals: their revolution "From Maoism to Trotskyism" is documented in the SL's *Marxist Bulletin* No. 10, which would make fruitful reading for MLPers today. The MLP was part of this broad "trend." Having split from the "ML movement" and from its pro-Albania wing, and now with their Swedish friends decamping to social democracy and their Portuguese cothinkers becoming explicit anti-Leninists, by all rights the MLP should be in crisis.

So we would like to make a candid appeal to the better elements of the MLP. Those of you who have been trying to find the roots of Stalinist betrayals, and want to make a break with them in order to fight for the internationalist program of Bolshevism, should study the works of Leon Trotsky. The Left Opposition were the ones who took the hard positions and knew how to swim against the stream. The Trotskyists fought against Stalin's betrayals *as he was committing them*, and tens of thousands were killed for their heroic stand. Trotskyism can explain what is going on in the world today, which the MLP is manifestly incapable of doing. It is the program of Trotsky's Fourth International that represents the real continuity of Lenin's Communist International. Only through fighting for authentic Trotskyism can you avoid becoming yet another bunch of embittered pop-front ex-"revolutionaries" or whacked-out denizens of a PL- or RCP-style political no man's land.

And when you want to look up the real Trotskyists, you know where to find us. ■

SPARTACIST LEAGUE/U.S. LOCAL DIRECTORY

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Boston: 1,500 Protest KKKer David Duke

"Fascist Duke, Klan in a Suit!"

WV Photos

Integrated, youthful demonstrators came out in force: "Klan terror won't ride in Boston!"

BOSTON—On March 28, chants of "Duke Stands for Genocide—Klan Terror Will Not Ride!" and "David Duke, Klan in a Suit, Still a Fascist Killer!" echoed through the brick corridors of historic downtown Boston. Over 1,500 people crowded into the street and lined the sidewalk in front of the Old South Meeting House in determined opposition to Klan terrorist and Nazi-lover David Duke. His appearance was sponsored by the liberal Ford Hall Forum, but there was an angry, combative response from hundreds of Duke's intended victims, who came out against the lynch mob terror that this "respectable" fascist from the Deep South is out to whip up.

Under the Partisan Defense Committee banner "Stop KKK Hitler-Lover David Duke!" there was a broad united front of those who wanted to do just that. Other groups went inside to heckle or debate Duke, a few huddled near the hall and sang civil rights songs. But it was the PDC-initiated effort which insured that there was an outpouring of trade unionists, defenders of women's rights, Catholics, Jews, gays and students—black, white, Hispanic and Asian—from across the city. Activists from Boston's large Haitian community came on board early and strong. And this mobilization was built in the face of a quiet but persistent campaign of violence-baiting and sabotage by liberals and reformists who would give the streets over to Duke rather than support a real united-front protest.

Two hours before Duke was scheduled to show, protesters began to gather and organizers set up a picket line outside the hall. Spartacist League supporters carried signs saying "Black Liberation Through Socialist Revolution" and "America's First Fascists: The 'Know Nothings'—Anti-Catholic, Anti-Irish—Stop David Duke!" They joined with protesters who brought their own signs ("David Duke Is Pond Scum") or made them on the spot ("New Suit, Same Homophobic Bigot").

Duke and his fascist scum had some help from an early provocation by a small clot of Jewish Defense League thugs, who tried to rush the stage when a PDC spokesman called for uniting all the intended victims of Duke's Klan/Nazi terror, including Arab Americans. The fascistic JDL goons were repelled by a defense guard for the demonstration.

The rally began with greetings from Rev. Nelson Johnson, a survivor of the 1979 Klan attack in Greensboro, North Carolina where five union organizers and leftists were murdered. Yves Isidor, a Roxbury Community College professor, brought greetings to the rally from Boston's Haitian community, linking the fascist terror of the KKK to the work of the dreaded Tontons Macoutes thugs in Haiti. Also speaking was Sheila Parks of the Reproductive Rights National Network.

In this city where 15 years ago racist mobs attacked black schoolchildren being bused to rigidly segregated schools, the rally was striking for its integrated character and the felt need for a common defense against racist terror and all forms of oppression. Groups as diverse as the Boston Intercollegiate Lesbian and Gay Association, the high school group New Nation, the New Alliance Party, ACT UP and UMOJA, the black student organization at Boston University, denounced Duke's bigotry. Also impressive was the number of gay activists who came early, and fired up the picket line chants.

Warren Blumenfeld, speaking for Boston ACT UP, told of his family members who were killed in Nazi death camps, and vowed "We'll never be silent again." Phyllis Bailey, representing Women Against Violence, pointed to the role of the government in protecting the KKK: "How is it that the Klan is allowed to speak when organizations such as the Black Panther Party, SNCC, and other organizations were *destroyed* by COINTELPRO and the United States police forces?" As the crowd swelled to over 1,500, a young black woman from Dorchester started a rap/chant, "Hit the Road Duke!" The crowd roared.

As PDC labor coordinator and rally co-chair Gene Herson introduced the speakers, he stressed the centrality of mobilizing the social power of the working class to crush the fascist threat. In a message read at the rally, Linda Bowman, a negotiating committee member of Service Employees Local 509, pointed to what lay behind Duke's targeting Boston: he sees an opportunity in a city where the labor movement is traditionally weak, where ethnic communities are pitted against each other for crumbs and unemployment is skyrocketing. Black hospital worker and labor organizer John Sprigs denounced the Democratic city administration for "setting the police" on the black people of Boston. Also present and participating as marshals were members of the Vulcans Society (black firefighters).

Partisan Defense Committee spokesman Tom Daley linked the fight against Klan terror to the struggle against U.S. imperialism's bloody slaughter in Iraq. "Duke and his filth think they have a green light to carry out the domestic agenda of Bush's New World Order." Daley emphasized the PDC's strategy of mobilizing the power of labor against the fascists, used with success in Washington in 1982 and Philadelphia in 1988.

Spartacist League speaker Alison Spencer drove home the point that "Every one of us here is engaged in a basic act of self-defense." The crowd was electrified when she blasted the muddleheaded liberals who prattle about free speech for fascists: "David Duke is not about words, he's about corpses! The Holocaust was not a viewpoint, the Holocaust was genocide! The lynching of blacks in the South was not an idea, it's racist murder—and we will not let it ride in this city!" Spencer pointed out:

> "The fascists are emboldened by the official racism of the Democratic and Republican parties.... It's time for the working class to organize its own class-struggle workers party committed to the fight for black freedom, to lead the integrated labor movement to sweep fascists like David Duke back into their sewers."

Just before 7 p.m. a massive cop presence including canine units was deployed to spirit Duke into a side door of the Old South Meeting House. But even inside the confines of the building, the racist provocateur did not have an easy time of it. The *Boston Globe* (29 March) said: "Duke was sweating profusely and was visibly unnerved by the crowd, which began voicing its resentment at 7:29 p.m.

continued on page 8

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 525

26 April 1991

Labor: Strike Against Cuomo, Dinkins, Wall Street!

Budget Ax Murderers Go After NYC

Pro-Dinkins Union Tops Sidetrack Fight

Squeezed from all sides, New York City has been spiraling downward into crisis. And now it's crunch time. The Wall Street banks want to unload their serious cash flow problems onto the state and city by jacking up their interest rates. Governor Cuomo, who's over $6 billion in the red on the state budget, lambasted fellow Democrat Mayor Dinkins and won't pay $600 million to NYC, exacerbating the city's "budget gap." Liberal Mario wants to keep his presidential contender status by acting as a fiscal conservative and demanding "sacrifices" from the unions as if he were Bush talking to Saddam Hussein. And to the more than 200,000 overwhelmingly black, Hispanic and Asian students at City University of New York, his message is: Drop Dead.

Instead they fought back. On April 8, students took over the main classroom building at City College in Harlem, starting a wave of occupations which spread quickly across the five boroughs. At press time, in addition to CCNY, four other campuses were completely closed down: BMCC (lower Manhattan), Hostos (South Bronx), New York Tech (Brooklyn), and York (Queens). Students were also barricaded in at eleven other schools including Hunter, La Guardia, Lehman and Queens colleges. They are protesting Cuomo's $500 increase in tuition (on top of a $200 hike this year), which combined with a $400 cutback in student loans almost doubles the cost of a school year. Effectively this spells the end of

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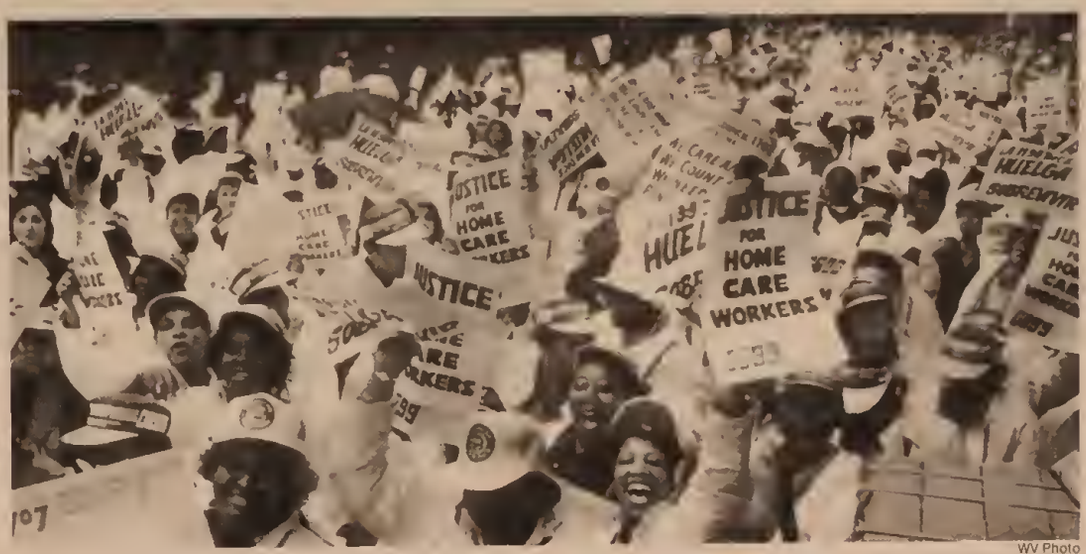
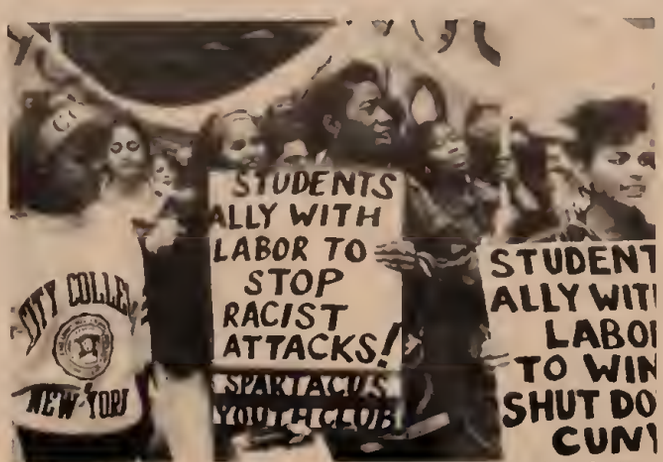


WV Photo

New York City, April 17—8,000 home care workers in one-day strike marched on World Trade Center. They were joined by CUNY students protesting cutbacks, tuition increases.

Young Spartacus

CUNY Students Seize the Campuses



Young Spartacus

CUNY students on the march, April 17, against budget cutbacks that would purge campuses of minority and working-class students.

Spartacists Demand: Cops Out! Open Admissions! No Tuition!

While Wall Street millionaires celebrate the stock market topping 3,000, working-class New York is fighting for survival. It's a tale of two cities—and at the forefront of the fight against the bankers' budget, Governor Cuomo's cuts and Mayor Dinkins' cops, are the working-class youth who've rocked the city with marches and building takeovers throughout the City University of New York (CUNY) system. We reprint here a leaflet issued on April 11 by the Spartacus Youth Club appealing for a common fight of city labor and CUNY students against the bosses

Welcome to the "New World Order." Abroad, the U.S. massacres tens of thousands of Iraqis. The LAPD brings the war machine home, showing on videotape the kind of brutal racist terror that is "business as usual" for the police in every barrio and ghetto across the USA. In New York City, Cuomo and Dinkins raise the budget ax like a guillotine over the heads of thousands of working-class youth. Let's be clear about this. Sticking up CUNY students for *1,000 bucks* more per year is not a "tuition hike"—*it's a deliberate racist purge!*

The majority of working-class youth throughout the CUNY system are black and Hispanic. The government's message

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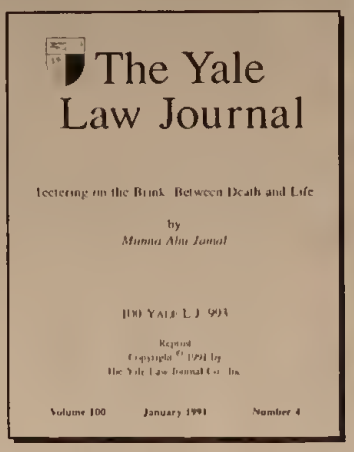
Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Law Journal Publishes Mumia Abu-Jamal

In the infamous 1987 case of *McCleskey v. Kemp*, the U.S. Supreme Court explicitly endorsed the racist application of American capital punishment. Last week, when McCleskey brought a new petition before the court, over the violation of his Sixth Amendment right to counsel, Rehnquist & Co. used the opportunity to strike a deadly blow against appeals from death row. The court severely curtailed the right of defendants condemned to die to challenge the legality of their state convictions and sentences through *habeas corpus* appeals in the federal courts.

Incensed that *habeas* petitions result in some *40 percent* of death sentences being overturned for constitutional errors, the court hopes to greatly speed up the execution process by limiting a death row inmate to only one shot in the federal courts. James Lee Richardson, Clarence Brandley and Ronald Monroe are just a few of those recently proven innocent shortly before their scheduled executions. But to the Rehnquist court this is an "abuse of the writ."


The Yale Law Journal

Teetering on the Brink: Between Death and Life

by
Mumia Abu Jamal

100 YALE L.J. 993

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Volume 100 January 1991 Number 4

Philadelphia Magazine

The case of death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal is becoming the rallying cry for all opponents of the death penalty.

To the rulers of this country the largely black and Hispanic prison population are non-persons—legally they are "civilly dead." For those on America's death rows awaiting the uncivil death of lethal injection, electrocution, gas or hanging, it's far worse than that. But from his cell in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania, death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal struck an important blow for them—and himself. The prestigious *Yale Law Journal* took the unprecedented step of publishing two essays authored by prisoners in its January 1991 issue.

Jamal's article, "Teetering on the Brink: Between Death and Life," describes the "netherworld of despair." Jamal writes of and for the "men and women who walk the razor's edge between half-life and certain death in thirty-four states or under the jurisdiction of the United States." It is a world where life "oscillates between the banal and the bizarre," so degrading in its conditions that even family visits "are an exercise in humiliation." For Jamal's fellow death row inmates, "the actual execution is a *fait accompli*, a formality already accomplished in spirit, where the state concludes its premeditated drama by putting the 'dead' to death a second time."

Jamal's appearance in this forum is a recognition that this accomplished journalist and death row commentator has become a symbol of the racist character of capital punishment U.S.A.

That same issue carried an article by Joseph Giarratano, the Virginia death row prisoner who has won national acclaim for his self-taught legal scholarship. Giarratano's death sentence was commuted just days before his scheduled execution, the result of a several-year publicity campaign.

Mumia Abu-Jamal's fight against racist "legal" lynching continues to win widespread recognition as the rallying cry against the racist death penalty. On April 19 James Herman, International president of the powerful ILWU West Coast longshore and warehouse union, wrote Governor Casey, "on behalf of the 50,000 members" of the union, "to express our strong opposition to the execution" of Jamal.

* * *

On March 6 Patrick Hooty Croy was sent back to a California prison to serve out a life sentence—*for failing two urine tests!* Croy, a Shasta Karuk Indian, already spent twelve years in prison, six on death row, before his acquittal last June in the shooting death of a drunken cop in Yreka, California.

Croy and his sister Norma Jean were framed up for surviving a vicious cop assault in July 1978. Twenty-seven cops wielding semi-automatic assault rifles, shotguns and .357 magnum pistols fired over 200 rounds at Patrick Croy and two young relatives. Croy survived. But one drunken cop fell dead after putting two slugs in Croy's back at pointblank range. In 1985 the California Supreme Court reversed the murder conviction, but a conviction for conspiracy to commit murder was untouched.

Conceding that anti-Indian racism in and around Yreka was pervasive, the trial judge transferred the retrial to San Francisco. Last June a San Francisco jury, made up of several blacks and Hispanics, an Asian and a Guamanian, acquitted Patrick Croy of the murder charge, recognizing the truth of his "cultural defense" that centuries of racist terror against the Indian population of Northern California gave Croy a reasonable belief that the cop mob was out to kill him.

After Norma Jean Croy was denied parole, Patrick was sentenced to ten years' probation on the conspiracy charge. The terms of his probation required regular drug testing. After two urine samples turned up positive for marijuana, Placer County judge Gilbert ordered Patrick Croy sent back to prison for life. A hearing to reconsider the sentence is scheduled for April 30.

On April 19, the PDC sent a protest demanding Croy's immediate release, stating: "It is apparent to many observers that you wrongfully condemned Patrick Hooty Croy to life in prison because he had the audacity to defend against and to survive a massive police assault and then persuade a jury that he was innocent of any wrongdoing. Patrick Hooty Croy has committed no crime and his continued imprisonment stands as a graphic symbol of the racism, class bias and cruelty of 'law and order' in the U.S."

* * *

For more information on the campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal contact the PDC. We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

The Working Class, Achilles' Heel of U.S. Imperialism

TROTSKY

LENIN

In an orgy of imperialist triumphalism, George Bush called for resurrecting the "American Century" which was proclaimed when the U.S. emerged as the chief victor of World War II. The Soviet Union had borne the brunt of the fighting against the Nazis, and America's imperialist rivals were devastated. Today the American ruling class, intent on building a "New World Order" over the corpses of more than 100,000 Iraqi men, women and children, has lost its economic hegemony. Speaking at a 1945 May Day rally, just as the United Nations was being founded in San Francisco, American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon debunked the illusions of the imperialist rulers.

U.S. imperialism emerges from this war as the master of the world, and it seems to those who cannot see clearly that it is all-powerful. Some of the statesmen at Washington and their representatives in Frisco, and their generals and admirals on the battlefields and the high seas, deceive themselves in the effulgence of these great victories that have been produced as a result of the terrific preponderance of the American economy. They deceive themselves.

I do not think that America is all-powerful. Let us not make that mistake. The modern Rome, the master of the world, whose light-minded statesmen dream and even talk of dominating and exploiting and policing the world for one hundred years, has a cancer at its heart. But today they are the victors....

This is the revolutionary epoch and we, as the heralds of the revolution, have every right to confidence in the future. Power will decide it. The two greatest powers in the world today face each other on the continent of North America, in the United States of America which, as Trotsky once expressed it, is the foundry where the fate of mankind will be forged. Two powers face each other: one, the power of American imperialism, the present master of the world, and the other is a still greater, although not yet conscious power, the American proletariat, whose power is greater than that of American imperialism and greater than that of any force in the world, once it becomes conscious of its own social position and potentiality....

All the defeats of socialism, all of them, have been due solely to the lack of leadership. The task upon which the future of humanity depends is to create the leadership for the revolutionary struggle. That means, in one word, to create the revolutionary party...,

To the robber League of Nations which they set up after the last world war, Lenin and Trotsky counterposed the Third International, the Comintern. To this new robber League of Nations which they are contriving at San Francisco now, we, the modern communists, the heirs of Lenin and Trotsky, counterpose the Fourth International.

—James P. Cannon, "The End of the War in Europe" (May 1945)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions $7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 525 **26 April 1991**

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Poland:

Spread Workers' Resistance Against Capitalist Attacks!

The following article was written by our comrades of the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski, sympathizing group of the International Communist League.

Workers in Poland:
- **Smash the fascists!**
- **Defend women's abortion rights!**
- **Oppose anti-Semitism and anti-Gypsy racism!**
- **Fight for revolutionary unity of Polish, German and Russian workers!**

The Spartacists opposed capitalist restoration in Poland from the very beginning. Today workers in Poland are experiencing for themselves what introduction of capitalism means: misery and unemployment, attacks on women's abortion rights, growth of anti-Semitism and racism, growth of anti-Sovietism and fascism.

But the Polish workers have started to fight back against the "shock treatment" of the IMF and the German banks, imposed by the pro-capitalist Solidarność government. In the last weeks tens of thousands have come out to national demonstrations called by the former official Stalinist trade-union federation OPZZ, which is now the biggest union in Poland. The OPZZ leadership called these demos under the demands: stop unemployment; stop starvation wages and European prices; stop the closure of kindergartens, pharmacies, hospitals. The OPZZ is also agitating against a new tax on companies, which would lead to more unemployment. But they don't even have a single slogan against capitalist restoration.

It is not surprising that the leadership of OPZZ doesn't call upon workers to fight against pro-capitalist forces. During the presidential election in December last year they called to vote both for the Stalinist and for one of Solidarność' candidates! They have organized the present demonstrations during the middle of the workday without calling the workers out on strike, in order to be able to limit the number of workers bused in from outside the cities and keep the demonstrations tightly controlled.

First Issue of the newspaper of the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski.

But the workers go into the streets and stay off work because they want to fight against poverty, the terrible conditions of their lives, and threats to their very livelihoods. In contrast to the OPZZ demo in Warsaw a few weeks ago, during the demo in Lodz on March 22 no Polish national flags were to be seen. The banners were "Support OPZZ" and signs from the individual factories. More than half of the 10,000 demonstrators were women, partly because the main industry in the area is textiles. Many groups of women workers, young and older, were the most spirited elements of the demo.

The Spartakusowska Grupa Polski marched with two placards: "SGP Founded—Build a Trotskyist Party—Against Capitalist Counterrevolution" and "Workers Must Mobilize to Defend Women's Abortion Rights." The comrades of the SGP attracted a lot of favorable notice and sold many copies of *Platforma Spartakusowców*. One woman came up to us because she particularly liked our slogan on abortion rights, saying that naturally she is against capitalism. A group of women shouted that the rents were now so high that they no longer even buy bread.

A high proportion of women work full-time, including in skilled trades and professions, very heavily in transport. The average wage is 700,000 zlotys per month (currently about US $70). Equal pay for equal work is formally instituted, but women are overwhelmingly represented in less well-paid industries and jobs. Even before 1980 and increasingly now the life of peasant women is as deeply oppressed as in any undeveloped capitalist country. Only the formal gains (free legal abortion, etc.) helped to relieve the hardships of life for peasant women, and now even these are threatened.

In the countryside and small towns state-organized or even private childcare is almost nonexistent. In the large cities state-run childcare facilities are now charging prohibitive prices—in Warsaw, for example, as much as 500,000 zlotys per child per month, that is, about two-thirds of the average wage. Abortion is still one of the main methods of family planning in the country, where the level of sexual education is very low due to the activity of the powerful Catholic church. Only 11 percent of Polish women use modern contraceptives.

Attacks on the workers' demonstrations have begun. During the OPZZ demo in Lodz there was a road blockade against workers' buses, organized around the country by Rural Solidamość and announced on national radio. Toward the end of the demonstration in Lodz, as the demonstrators were herded together in the crowded street in front of the mayor's office (many workers had already left), fascists staged a dangerous provocation.

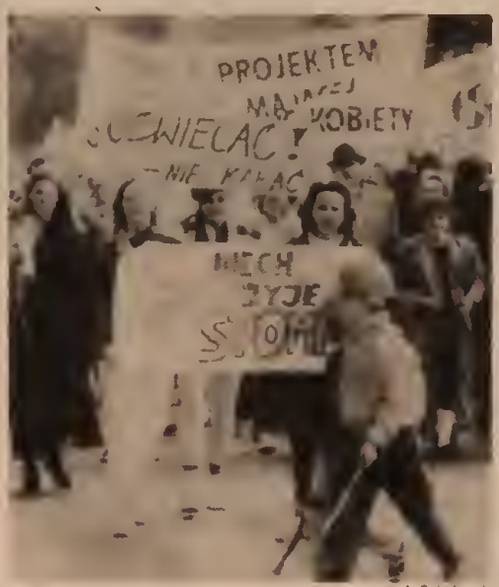
Five or six rather drunken youths with a small banner "Down with Middowicz" (head of the OPZZ federation) were standing near the demo, shouting "Oi, oi, oi," the murderous fascist call accompanying their terror against intended victims. The fascists pushed forward toward the president's office; nobody was doing anything against them. Spartacist comrades tried to organize other protesters and leftists to throw them out in a united action and make sure they would not try to threaten workers' demonstrations again. But there was criminal passivity on the part of the official organizers of the demo. One member of the Stalinist group Proletariat even responded to us that the police would take care of it!

Fascists are a deadly danger to the workers movement. They must not be allowed to grow and recruit out of the desperate youth on the basis of poisonous Polish nationalism. We need united-front actions, based heavily on the working class, to smash the fascists! *Trybuna*, organ of the former Stalinist leadership in Poland which now calls itself Social Democrats (SDRP), reported on the fascist attacks by calling this scum a "little anti-protest group" who were not as loud as the demonstrators.

The Stalinist misleadership has no conception of fighting against the fascists, as they have no alternative to the pro-capitalist course of Solidarność. The workers need a real revolutionary party, a continuation of the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky. We say to the most conscious workers: We must forge a Trotskyist-Leninist revolutionary party!

This is what we are intervening for at the OPZZ demos, while most of the "left" in Poland boycott them in principle because they consider them Stalinist. We are fighting for workers' resistance against the ravages of capitalist austerity throughout East Europe.

The Spartakusowska Grupa Polski is part of an international Leninist Trotskyist organization and fights for real internationalism. Now the workers in East Germany are out in the streets against the consequences of capitalist *Anschluss*, and the workers in Poland and the USSR are already experiencing what a capitalist market will mean. They must fight against it together. For revolutionary unity of German, Polish and Soviet workers! ■



A Sokolowski

WV Photo

Women in Poland march against Solidarność government's attacks on abortion rights in 1990 (left); sign in background reads: "No to a law that makes an object of women!" In New York, Spartacists join protest against Lech Walesa outside Town Hall, March 25.

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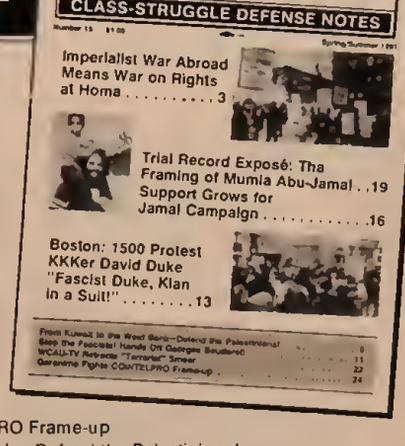

No. 15
Spring/Summer 1991

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NYC...

(continued from page 1)

open admissions, *which is exactly what's intended.*

There's a growing sense that the students' struggle and that of the workers are directly linked. The parents of these working-class kids, and they themselves, staff the city's hospitals, subways and welfare centers. When Local 1199 home care workers called a one-day strike April 17 on behalf of this terribly underpaid workforce of minority women, hundreds of CUNY students came out to a joint march and rally outside Cuomo's office in the World Trade Center. The Spartacus Youth Club carried a banner calling "For Open Admissions and Free Tuition! Students and Workers Unite! Strike Against Cutbacks and Layoffs!" It could happen here. A sign of community and labor support for the students was a leaflet by gypsy cab drivers saying:

> "We hereby urge the CUNY authorities to stop the dangerous practice of calling the police to intimidate the students and we wish to remind them that just as students take buildings we the taxi drivers can jam traffic, bridges and tunnels."

At CCNY local gypsy cabbies, with whom students are in radio contact, have been keeping a lookout for cops around the campus.

Unchain Labor's Muscle—Break with the Democrats!

An integrated labor-centered struggle against the cutback attacks is an urgent felt need in this city. The most powerful New York labor unions—transit, 1199 hospital workers, District 37 city workers—should use their muscle to shut down the city. The Spartacus Youth Club leaflet (see page 1) noted, "What we need is a demonstration of labor's *power*, like a one-day *general strike* involving private and public employees, CUNY and high school students." In the wake of the CUNY protests and the threat of massive layoffs, a mass labor demonstration has been called for April 30, the same day the Transport Workers Union (TWU) contract runs out. This should be the opportunity for a citywide strike.

But this will require a struggle against the union bureaucrats who tie labor to the Democrats in Gracie Mansion and Albany, who are sticking it to the unions. When a militant TWU member and supporter of the Spartacist League spoke from the floor at a community-labor forum sponsored by WBAI radio last week (see box above), calling for "some real strike action by the unions to defend ourselves...and to back up the CUNY students," AFSCME District Council 37 president Stanley Hill hid behind the anti-strike Taylor Law and sputtered about how Mayor Koch stood on the Brooklyn Bridge and told the unions to go to hell.

TWU chief Sonny Hall gets just as apoplectic as Hill whenever he hears the "s" word. But transit workers had better prepare to use their strike weapon at midnight April 30, or have management's truly "obscene" concession demands shoved down their throats. The TA is demanding a three-year wage freeze, a six-tier wage scale *starting at minimum wage for new hires*, job cuts and more firings of provisionals. Meanwhile, safety conditions have gone to hell (seven transit workers killed on the tracks in just the last two years, not to mention hundreds of injuries). Militants in the TWU are calling for a mass meeting at the Felt Forum of Local 100 members to organize strike action, for elected strike committees that will fight to win, and for ripping up the Taylor Law.

After eleven years of big-mouthed racist pig Koch stoking the fires of race war in an increasingly polarized city, the ruling class felt they had to bring in a "healer" like Dinkins to cool things out. While Dinkins is a member of the Democratic Socialists of America, he was also a longstanding "responsible" member of the Board of Estimate, which was set up to handle "sensitive matters," like money, best not left to the scrutiny of elected bodies such as the city council, however impotent. A black mayor, they figured, would be better able to sell the "sacrifices" in store. "They'll take it from me," Dinkins told Wall Street contributors. Dinkins' campaign was the quintessential popular front: the union ranks worked the phone banks, and the banks reaped the benefit.

AP

Cutbacks and cop terror: Ed Koch unleashed his cossacks against protesters in Harlem fighting closing of Sydenham Hospital in 1980.

But now Dinkins' ruling-class backers are complaining that he's not tough enough, that the recent settlements with the teachers, the Teamsters and the city workers shows "weakness of will and a lack of decision" (*New York Times*, 12 March). Responding to these pressures, the city told bond agencies that labor was willing to defer contract gains. The union tops cried "liar." "This administration is going into the toilet," said Teamsters chief Barry Feinstein. "The head stinks," said Hill. Except it wasn't a lie—they *had* begun talks, they just wanted it kept secret from the members. A few days later Feinstein and Hill were at a party that raised $800,000 for the mayor's re-election campaign.

Just another story about how the union tops party with the Democratic Party, just like Vic Gotbaum used to play ball (tennis) with top banker Felix Rohatyn, while Rohatyn was axing 60,000 city jobs and eating UFT pension funds for his power lunch. Nothing can be done in this city without breaking these ties that bind. And it's not just the "old guard." Up-and-coming labor leaders like 1199's Dennis Rivera may be more energetic (not hard to do—there has been no reported sign of life at Van Arsdale Jr.'s Central Labor Council for some years) and may even pull a strike now and then. But they are no less tied to the powers that be in NYC. Rivera was Dinkins' No. 1 union backer, and tries to get the reactionary Cardinal O'Connor to intervene in every strike that comes along.

What we urgently need is a leadership that will *fight* City Hall, and the State House, and the banks and the Democrats who swung the budget ax for Reagan and now Bush—a leadership that fights for a *class-struggle workers party.*

The crisis New York City faces is just a symptom of the far larger crisis of American capitalism. In the aftermath of the Gulf War, the U.S. economy continues to shrink as the number of jobless and homeless climbs. Not just Donald Trump, but the entire NYC real estate market has gone through the floor, leaving the banks with bad loans and the city with falling property revenues. After the S&L fiasco, with insurance companies shaky and even the biggest banks tottering, Wall Street is putting the screws to its biggest debtor. New York City, which "piles on more long-term debt in most years than any borrower other than the U.S. Government" (*New York Times*, 5 March), already owes $22.4 billion to the banks. This means that 75 cents of every new dollar in city revenue is used to meet interest and principal payments to the banks!

When the banks suddenly declared that New York City was on the verge of "fiscal crisis," the powerful Moody's bond-ratings agency lowered the city's credit rating to the second-lowest investment grade—on a par with Cleveland! What this means is that the extra interest payments just shot up by another $142 million. So now the city is throwing around numbers like 20,000 layoffs, and/or "furloughs" for the 243,000 municipal workers. To hell with their furloughs and layoffs and cutbacks. The working people should demand: not another red cent should be paid to the bloodsucking banks who bled the city dry 15 years ago.

The only answer the bureaucrats can give to the widespread attacks on the working class and poor minorities is "tax the rich!" Limiting their demands to what is "possible" under capitalism, the heads of these powerful unions impotently beg Cuomo for "a more progressive tax system" (*Village Voice*, 23 April). This is also the refrain of the so-called "socialists" who tail after the labor bureaucracy. At the rally for home health care workers, the Young Communist League carried a banner with the slogan "Tax the Rich!" while the Marxist-Leninist Party handed out a flier demanding "make the capitalists pay for the budget crisis!" How? "Tax the rich!" But everybody knows the rich don't pay taxes. It's the "little people" and working stiffs who are forced to pay taxes—they are deducted from their paychecks!

Besides, New York City already has one of the highest tax rates in the U.S. Although New York isn't simply expendable like East St. Louis or Philadelphia—cities that now resemble giant potholes—the rulers see a huge "underclass" which presents a storage problem. They can't simply send all immigrants back, or draft everyone into the army, and there aren't any jobs. The mess the economy is in has got a lot to do with

Transit Militant Calls for Strike Action

The following remarks were delivered at a forum against NYC budget cuts held on Tuesday, April 16 by the Community-Labor Coalition for Social & Economic Justice and WBAI Pacifica Radio, and broadcast two days later.

My name is Mary Jo Marino. I'm a longtime member of the Transport Workers Union Local 100, and I'm also a student at City College in the Bachelor of Technology program. One thing I want to say is that I think that the City College students are taking care of business right now, they're doing their bit. They took the campus, they're leading the protests, they're igniting CUNY. But the problem is that the unions, as far as I'm concerned, are not taking care of business.

The students by themselves have only so much power. The real power in this city—although many of us at City College, like myself, are the transit workers, are the hospital workers, are the teachers—is with the very people that make this city move. We can also make it come to a halt. And as far as I can see, all we're being offered by our labor leaders, including some of the brothers here, is the same old tired strategies: Go lobby Governor Cuomo! [laughter from audience] Go beg Washington to "change their priorities"!

Well, they had their priorities—they bombed Iraq back to a pre-industrial country, and murdered thousands of Iraqis, and set thousands of Kurds up for slaughter—that's their priorities, they made that decision. We've got such problems here, like homelessness, like run-down neighborhoods, like our bridges falling down, like the schools being holding pens, like our hospitals, like our transit system. [Interjection: "We all know that."] Well, if we all know that, let's talk about how we're going to fight it.

What I feel is that we've got to have—not just resolutions—some real strike action by the unions, to defend ourselves and our own livelihoods against the cuts we face, and to back up the CUNY students. The brother talks about the Taylor Law—the Taylor Law was not handed down from the mount! [applause] That Taylor Law's a piece of paper, until the union leaders of this city bow down before it. The only strike that gets the Taylor Law invoked against it is a losing strike, and we could fight to win! [applause]

WV Photo

1980 NYC transit strike: integrated labor movement has the social power to bring the city to a halt. What it needs is a fighting leadership.

CUNY Students...

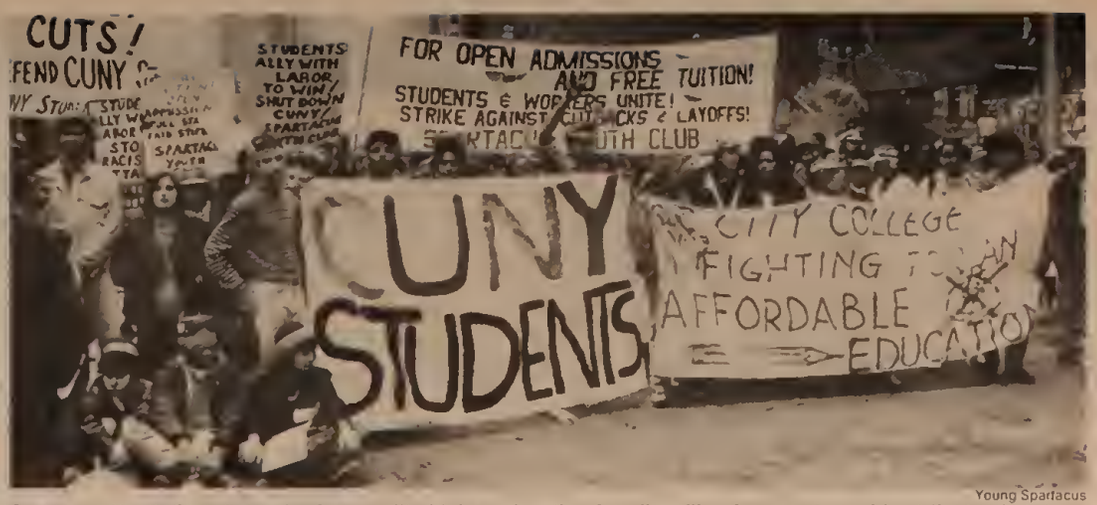
(continued from page 1)

to them is: "Hit the road, Jack. You're history." City College had a long history of free tuition, a school that was supposed to provide quality education for the working-class youth of this city. But the U.S. ruling class doesn't need or want educated youth anymore, especially not minorities. The greedy hosses have hankrupted the U.S. economy—who needs skilled labor if there's no jobs? Their policy is to let a whole generation of minority youth die on the ghetto streets or be used as cannon fodder for their wars.

How are we going to fight back? For starters, we need to consolidate and extend our protests to a *system-wide strike that shuts down all of CUNY*. Some students have expressed illusions that the administration is on our side—but the threats of suspensions, expulsions and a cop assault on our protests explode that myth. The Spartacus Youth Club says: *Abolish the administration and the board of trustees. For student/teacher/worker control of the university!* Education should be a right, not a privilege for the wealthy. To break down the race and class barriers to higher education we fight for *open admissions and no tuition and a state-paid living stipend for students*. Elite private universities should be nationalized to open the door to working-class youth.

But it's not true that "the students united will never be defeated." We surely appreciate Mike Tyson's support for us at Hunter College. But the real heavyweights that have to be brought into the ring are the powerful, integrated unions in this town. Our strength lies in our links to real working-class power. Many of us study at CCNY *and* keep the trains moving in this city—literally—as transit workers. Our parents (and many of us) are 1199 hospital workers and nurses, AFT schoolteachers, Teamsters, state and municipal employees organized by AFSCME, sanitation workers, firefighters. This is what moves New York City—the financial and cultural center of the country. And this is the power that could bring it to a halt in militant strike action.

To fight back we need to organize militant *class struggle*—demonstrations and marches of students and labor against our common enemy. Members of 1199 and public employees unions have spoken at CCNY rallies and pledged support. We need to appeal to these militants for a united struggle. There's



Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth Club fights for free quality higher education for all, calling for a system-wide strike to shut down all of CUNY.

talk now of a big labor demonstration. City workers are ready and willing to fight: thousands came out to back the *Daily News* strike. What we need is a demonstration of labor's *power*, like a one-day *general strike* involving private and public employees, CUNY and high school students. The biggest obstacle to this is the AFL-CIO bureaucrats who only care about their dues base and work hand in glove with the Democrats they got elected to rule this town on behalf of the bankers. But the unions themselves represent the unity of the multi-ethnic working class and many militants see the writing on the wall: fight or starve.

We students need a common front with labor—*now*. The same bastards that are ripping up our right to an education are destroying our families' livelihoods and slashing social services. City unionists face imminent massive layoffs, firings, wage freezes, and takebacks like the outrageous theft of the teachers' paltry raises, while the Wall Street bankers rake in the interest payments. Who's dishing out the punishment? It's not just Bush and the Reaganites—here it's the "liberal" Democrats, Cuomo and Dinkins. There's a lesson in this—it's a whole rotten *system* of capitalist exploitation and racism. What we need is a class-struggle workers party, one that doesn't "respect" the property values of the bourgeoisie, a party that says to the exploited and oppressed: we want all of it, it ought to be ours, so don't beg, *take it*.

The only thing the bosses are pouring money into in this town is more cops—like the bunch who killed Freddy Pereira, Michael Stewart, Eleanor Bumpurs, and too many others. The capitalists want a solid blue line of racist police terror to enforce their class interests and killer cuts on working people. They build prisons, gut Harlem Hospital and throw thousands of us out of school. The battle cry of the Spanish fascists was, "Down with Intelligence. Long Live Death!" This government wants to accomplish the same thing with an adding machine, but frankly, their computer chips have gone haywire. They're spending over $43,000 a year per prisoner just to keep people locked up—a stark example of the waste and irrationality of capitalism. We fight for a society with jobs and education for all!

It's not a question of lobbying Albany or Washington to reshuffle their investments and priorities—as implied in the dumb chant, "Money for (fill in the blank), not for war." The bosses' government is not "our" state but an instrument for the class rule of the capitalist exploiters. One of the first American casualties of the U.S. war against Iraq was Ismael Cotto, a Puerto Rican youth and former CCNY student. His sister Maria asked the bitter, hard questions: "Why are they spending all this money on this stupid war?... Why aren't they spending it on the children, on the schools, on housing, on factories?... I saw them on Wall Street and they were cheering! It was sick.... Don't they know that it means people will die? Not them. Not their families. Not their kids. People like my brother" (*New York Post*, 2 February).

Death is the only "growth industry" of this sick capitalist economy. The U.S. has spent billions on defense to "roll back Communism" and arm the contra scum from Nicaragua to Afghanistan. America's rulers are emboldened by the terminal crisis of Stalinism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Gorbachev rolls over and Bush murders 100,000 Iraqis. "Democracy." "self-determination"? Tell it to the Kurds and the Palestinian workers now being expelled from Kuwait! While trumpeting "the end of the Cold War," Bush and the Democrats launched a hot war to seize the oil wealth and stick it to their economically more dynamic rivals, Germany and Japan.

Many CUNY students recognized that their war was here at home. On February 21, as part of a national day of protest, CUNY students marched on Wall Street and asked that the Spartacus Youth Club banner declaring "Defeat U.S. Imperialism! Defend Iraq!" lead the march. We fought for labor political strikes against the war. Other ostensible "socialists" wrapped themselves in yellow ribbons and the American flag under which the imperialists rained death on Iraq.

The government, the preachers and do-nothing demagogues like Farrakhan like to blame black youth in particular for their own oppression and everything else that's rotten in this society. The way we see it, if the government and this system can't even provide an adequate and complete public education to its youth, then we better get a new system, not a new youth. The crucial task is to forge a revolutionary leadership.

We need a socialist revolution to rip the wealth of this country out of the hands of the exploiters so we can begin to build a planned, socialist, egalitarian society on an international scale. Winning students and youth to this struggle is what the Trotskyist Spartacus Youth Club is all about. Join us! ■

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the huge military machine which murdered tens of thousands of Iraqis while sucking up hundreds of billions of dollars annually. The racist imperialist ruling class of this country is not about to "restructure its priorities" and cease to be the enemy of the working class and the oppressed peoples of the world. Talk of a "peace dividend" or "money for schools, not for war" is just as utopian as "tax the rich!" Under capitalism, there is no solution to the crisis of capitalism. You've got to expropriate industry and the banks, seize the wealth, take the power!

For Open Admissions—No Tuition!

The hard-won gain of open admissions at CUNY, achieved after the radical struggles of the 1960s, is under attack. The *New York Times* (15 April) asked: "will the financially beleaguered university be able to sustain its historical mission of offering a way out of poverty for the children of immigrants and minorities, low-wage workers and the poor?" Not if Chancellor Ann Reynolds has her way. She was brought to CUNY from California State University to spearhead an assault on open admissions.

The *Times* article, headlined, "At Heart of Protest at CUNY, Its Role in Educating the Poor," for once accurately spelled out the many-pronged attack: tuition hikes, slashing student loans, "tougher admissions requirements," administrative harassment, and $92 million of budget cuts targeting such programs as tutoring and counseling. The article admits the city and state are "afraid of the political consequences of explicitly curtailing open admissions."

CUNY's traditional no-tuition policy lasted from the time the system was founded in 1848 until 1976, when a fee of $925 was imposed. The first year that tuition was imposed, enrollment fell by 75,000 students, and that's exactly what they expect and intend to happen this time. One student from Harlem exclaimed, "If this goes through, I'll be in a supermarket for the rest of my life" (*Village Voice*, 23 April). Actually, he'll be lucky to get even a McJob. And college graduates are finding it the worst job market in a decade, or more.

On the CUNY student demonstrations, there's been talk of joining the '60s with the '90s. But the present protests are not a product of a general radicalization, but a desperate response of minority and poor students with their backs to the wall. Many have been pretty career oriented and at most campuses, the sit-ins are being monopolized by junior bureaucrats of the student government.

On more than one occasion, these unelected "delegates" and self-appointed censors have tried to exclude "unauthorized" speakers, "non-CUNY" banners, and so forth. These exclusionist practices and political narrowness have limited the protests, rather than drawing in the masses of students and others who support the struggle. At Columbia University in 1968, the whole community showed up in Morningside Heights, and there was an open mike. Thousands stood outside the occupied buildings as a buffer between the NYPD and the students inside.

The New York Spartacus Youth Club has actively participated in the CUNY protests: doing guard duty in building occupations, speaking at rallies, marching forthrightly under our own banners that call for joining the struggles with the power of the labor movement. Unlike the wishy-washy left that's gone along with the exclusionist garbage by hiding their ostensible politics and party affiliations, and even joining in the red-baiting, we're not ashamed of our politics. And we're getting a good response.

As we go to press, CUNY students have occupied the campuses for over two weeks. Injunctions against students at BMCC and Bronx Community College to vacate the buildings or face arrest have already run out. Even if the protesters do give up, they still face suspension and possible expulsion from school. Many students are immigrants from countries like Haiti and El Salvador—for them expulsion could mean deportation. We demand: Cops off campus, no reprisals!

Right now many of the CUNY protesters' political vision may be pretty narrow. But don't forget the old adage that there's more education at the end of a cop's nightstick than in years of sitting in musty lecture halls. CUNY students are learning enormous amounts about struggle through struggle, and they're right on the cutting edge of the fight for black, Hispanic and working-class New York. And don't forget—in Paris in 1968, it was the students' struggles which spread to the working class and touched off a general strike and brought France to the edge of revolution. We need some of that here. ■

Communist Party Becomes PDS, Minority Declares New PCI

Divorce Italian Style

In early February, the Italian Communist Party (PCI) said its final goodbye to even the name of communism, having in practice already abandoned the revolutionary program in favor of reformism more than half a century ago. In November 1989, following the opening of the Berlin Wall, party leader Achille Occhetto called for replacing the PCI with a "broader" left party. The project, for lack of name, was known as "la Cosa" (the thing). Any identification not only with Leninism but also with Marxism was to be discarded, as well as (following the Gorbachev line to its conclusion) the class struggle per se. Now the Congress in Rimini decided that henceforth it would be known as the Democratic Party of the Left (PDS), its symbol an oak tree growing out of a hammer and sickle.

But many in and around the ex-PCI are determined to hold on to the name "Communist." At Rimini, the group of those dead set against the change to PDS walked out and announced the birth of a new movement for "Rifondazione Comunista." The "refounders" of the PCI are already claiming a membership of 125,000, and held a mass meeting in Rome on February 10 with buses coming from all over Italy. As over 5,000 people jammed into a theater and hundreds more stood outside in the street in intermittent rain, the atmosphere was one of anger, pride and defiance. Every 15 minutes or so the crowd would burst into the traditional workers songs of the Resistance, singing loudly with fists in the air. At one point a hundred people arrived carrying a huge (1,500 square meter) red communist flag.

They were happy to be rid of the rightist elements in the PDS, and many have illusions that they can finally do something now. But Rifondazione Comunista is led by Stalinist bureaucrats who have in no way broken with the reformism of the old PCI. Its parliamentary leaders are Armando Cossutta, who now heads a fraction of eleven senators, and deputy Sergio Garavini. Garavini, who gave the keynote address at the Rome meeting, is a former leader of the PCI-dominated CGIL union federation and a real "labor lieutenant of capital." Cossutta was the veteran "pro-Soviet" leader of the party, who for more than a decade was in impotent opposition to the "Eurocommunist" line of Enrico Berlinguer and his successor Occhetto. Neither Cossutta nor Garavini ever opposed the PCI's domestic policies of class collaboration.

Meanwhile, far from attracting an influx of unaffiliated leftists, the PDS has been rent by internal squabbling and hemorrhaging. The ultra-reformist section around Giorgio Napolitano would like to unify with the Socialist Party (PSI) of Bettino Craxi, a cynical power politician unaffectionately nicknamed "Benito" (after Mussolini) who wants to dominate a left coalition with the remnants of the PCI firmly under his heel. With Napolitano and a tame "left" around Pietro Ingrao joining forces, Occhetto was not even able to get renominated as general secretary until a hastily called second session of the congress a week later. Since then the former followers of the Il Manifesto/PDUP (Party of Proletarian Unity) have walked out of the PDS.

PDS leader Achille Occhetto with eco-friendly party symbol.

The search for a "popular front" alliance with sections of the bourgeoisie didn't begin with Berlinguer's forlorn attempt at a "historic compromise" with Christian Democracy, the perennial ruling party of postwar Italian capitalism. All wings of the ex-PCI bureaucracy look back to the end of World War II when the Stalinists headed off proletarian revolution in order to establish the *capitalist* republic on the ruins of the fascist regime of Mussolini and the monarchy. In the late 1970s, the PCI's popular-front program of class betrayal was expressed in shameful collaboration with the police in the "anti-terrorist" witchhunt against leftist militants. And for years, whether as Moscow-loyal Stalinists or "Euros," the PCI has headed off powerful strikes by Italy's militant working class.

The war on Iraq provided an x-ray of the differences within the now-ex-PCI, and their limited scope. Last August, the party supported "sanctions" (the U.S. blockade of Iraq covered with the fig leaf of the UN) and abstained on the Italian government's sending of warships to the Persian Gulf. This tacitly pro-American policy was not popular with the PCI's working-class base, and as bombs started falling on Baghdad in January there were widespread strikes and walkouts. So on the eve of the Rimini Congress, in order to steal a march on the left, Occhetto appealed for a cease-fire, called on the government to withdraw the ships and praised the Pope's "peace" oratory (which became the theme of *l'Unità*). The PDS right wing, meanwhile, openly supported Italian participation in the war.

And Rifondazione Comunista? Speaking at Rimini before the split, Cossutta denounced the "infernal war machine" unleashed by the U.S., and noted that Bush's objectives were "to consolidate American hegemony throughout the region, including by war, and worldwide as well in the conflict-competition with European and Japanese interests, and to give a further blow to the remaining international prestige of the USSR." He even made a nod toward a "great national strike" against the war. Yet leader Garavini declared that the war undercut Occhetto's "post-Cold War" justifications for abandoning the name of the PCI, but called for "political and economic measures to force Saddam to respect the sovereignty of Kuwait."

Cossutta bellows at a meeting of his comrades that "communism is in our view the loftiest horizon of human freedom." The crowd responds: well roared, lion. But none of the would-be "refounders of communism" dared to call for *defense of Iraq against imperialist attack*, as our comrades of the Lega Trotskista d'Italia (LTd'I) did. This is an elementary duty for Leninists. Writing on "The Tasks of the Third International" (July 1919), Lenin insisted: "There must be no toleration of the verbal condemnation of imperialism while no real revolutionary struggle is waged for the liberation of the colonies (and dependent nations) from one's *own* imperialist bourgeoisie." This was made explicit in the "21 Conditions" for admission to the Comintern.

Rifondazione Comunista (RC) did not seek to break with the Occhettos and Napolitanos. Up to the last minute they begged for a "federative pact" with the PDS rather than a split. Moreover, these self-proclaimed "communists" are taking the PDS to court, asking the capitalist state to arbitrate over who has the "copyright" to the hammer and sickle! RC's reference point is the traditional PCI: thus Cossutta constantly refers to the policies of Togliatti, and at a March 16 RC meeting in Bologna Garavini continuously praised Berlinguer. Their commitment to popular-frontism was underscored by the adhesion of Christian Democratic (DC) senator Maria Fida Moro, daughter of former premier Aldo Moro, who is bitter that the DC didn't make a deal with the Red Brigades to free her father because it feared he would bring the PCI into the government.

Yet Rifondazione is a heterogeneous formation, with old Stalinist warhorses as well as former "kabulisti" who supported Soviet intervention in Afghanistan, metal workers chafing at the sellout policies of the CGIL bureaucrats, and younger would-be communists whose hands are not dirty with past betrayals. At the Bologna meeting there were hundreds of young people who are rebelling against the status quo that includes a city government which the ex-PCI ran for decades. And at a national RC youth meeting in Rome on April 14 there was considerable interest in our pamphlet, just out in Italian, "Trotskyism: What It Isn't and What It Is." Many were surprised to learn that the LTd'I, unlike the gaggle of pseudo-Trotskyist anti-Soviet groups in Italy, defended the Soviet Union over Afghanistan and opposed Polish Solidarność, the "union" for the Frankfurt bankers and CIA blessed by the Pope and paid for with money from the Vatican bank.

The various fake Trotskyists are busily deciding which force to tail after. Falce Martello ("Hammer and Sickle") of the British-based Militant tendency has evidently decided to go after the left wing of the PDS. The supporters of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat around Livio Maitan had already liquidated themselves into Democrazia Proletaria, where they have been caught up in the usual internal maneuvering. DP, in turn, has offered to give up its organizational identity and "flow into the new PCI," that is, "so long as it isn't a little PCI." Garavini wasn't interested—but who knows, maybe if the Manifesto group comes in on the deal things will change. As the opportunist carousel turns: they're all assessing their options, talking of their respective "policies of alliances." In contrast, the LTd'I is aggressively approaching with the program of authentic Trotskyism and Leninism those attracted by Rifondazione Comunista.

Of all the West European CPs the PCI was at the forefront in a nationalist break with Moscow, from Togliatti's Testament to Berlinguer coining "Eurocommunism" in 1975. Today Occhetto & Co. are desperate to break out of the political ghetto in which they have been confined for over 40 years. But no amount of selling out will make them *ministrabile* (eligible to be ministers). While the spectacle of 50 cabinets since WWII gives the impression of bourgeois instability, this game of musical chairs masks the underlying stability: three decades of Christian Democratic rule, followed by the "center-left" *pentapartito* (five-sided party) centered on the DC and PSI in power since 1981. And one thing they all agree upon is: anything that smacks of "communism" must be kept out at all costs.

The death-rebirth of the PCI takes place against the backdrop of the collapse of Stalinist rule in East Europe and

continued on page 10

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Storia Illustrata

Resistance and Betrayal

Alfred Bowman

Italy 1943-45

Top: Fall 1943, partisan fighters take up arms against fascist regime. Above: The revolution strangled, spring 1945. Following orders from U.S. Army, Stalinist leaders organized "victory celebration" which ended with disarming of partisans.

The leadership of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) decided last February, in what was no douht its first honest statement in decades, that it no longer pretended to be "Communist." Two-thirds of the delegates to the party's 21st Congress voted in favor of changing the party's name to Democratic Party of the Left. However, a minority walked out to form a movement for "refounding communism." Rifondazione Comunista looks to the traditions of the PCI for its inspiration, particularly the halcyon days of the *Resistenza*. A national congress of the new grouping was initially scheduled for April 25, Liberation Day, commemorating the 1945 insurrection which finished off fascist rule. And speaking at the PCI congress, Senator Armando Cossutta, the senior leader of Rifondazione, declared: "I have been in the Party since 1943, I have dedicated my life to this Party, from jail to the *Resistenza* to the infinite battles of almost half a century...."

The mystique of the Resistance has long inspired the ranks of the PCI. However squalid the party's suhsequent sellouts, militants could look back to the days when they or their parents fought fascism, arms in hand. But the bitter reality is that the heroic fighters of the *Resistenza* were sold out by the PCI leadership, on orders from Stalin who confirmed at Yalta in 1945 that Italy would helong to the Western sphere of influence. When Cossutta went into opposition to the PCI leadership's "ripping away" from the Soviet Union, over Poland and Afghanistan, he yearned for "the possibility, which was contemplated by Roosevelt and Stalin at Yalta, of continuing the wartime alliance between the two countries in an alliance of peace" through "the efforts and the cooperation of the two leading powers" (*Lo strappo* [1982]). Yet the goal of that "alliance" and "cooperation" *was the prevention of proletarian revolution in the West.*

The heritage of the PCI is that of class collaboration. And the treacherous consequences are nowhere clearer than in the defeat of the revolutionary wave which swept Italy at the close of World War II. The upsurge in Italy which opened in 1943 and culminated two years later in the spring of 1945 was one of the most powerful demonstrations of working-class power since the revolutions in the wake of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917. Against hideous repression the workers of Italy's northern industrial cities repeatedly launched gigantic strike movements. Yet the enormous possibilities opened up by these struggles were derailed hy the leaders of the PCI in the name of popular-front "unity" with the class enemy. Would-be communist militants who seriously wish to probe the roots of the crisis of Stalinism must address this history which the Stalinists have sought to bury under mountains of lies and self-serving myths.

In March, August and November-December 1943 powerful strikes, centered on the industrial triangle of Milano-Torino-Genova, shook the country. Then in March 1944 northern Italy exploded in the largest strike to take place in German-occupied Europe. Millions of workers stopped work and brought the country to a standstill. Thousands were deported to German death camps. Hundreds of workers were shot in the streets and by fascist firing squads. Yet the strikes continued in the face of Nazi repression. The culmination of the revolutionary upsurge occurred in April-May 1945 when, as the imminent German defeat became apparent, the population of northern Italy rose in a mass insurrection. Partisan guerrilla detachments wiped out the remnants of the Italian fascist regime and drove the German army from the industrial cities.

As the Allied armies rushed north to restore bourgeois "order," the armed working population turned its wrath upon the fascist butchers in order to extirpate the despised fascist regime at its roots. As James P. Cannon, leader of the American Trotskyists, said in a speech on May Day 1945 (shortly after being released from prison where he and 17 comrades were jailed for opposing the imperialist war): "The European revolutions—we have seen the beginning of them in Italy.... We saw what the workers of Milan have done in the past week. After more than twenty years of fascist degradation, imprisonment, concentration camps, violence, and death, they rose up as the only power in the country and hung Mussolini by his heels from the side of a gas station."

The explosion of working-class power which shook Italy in the spring of 1945 could have been the opening salvo in sparking a European socialist revolution. Instead, the popular-front coalition of Stalinists, social democrats and bourgeois liberals, which found itself holding the power which the insurgent masses had wrenched from the fascists and Nazis, promptly handed it over like a hot potato to the Allied military commanders and their quisling government in Rome. The Stalinists and other reformist working-class leaders worked overtime to dam the flood of revolution, disarm the workers and partisan fighters, and liquidate the factory committees. Only with their indispensable assistance was the bourgeoisie able to reconsolidate the capitalist order by integrating the very fascist scum who had faithfully served under Mussolini.

The disarming of the partisans and their bitter disillusion, evoked in Bertolucci's film *1900*, are familiar images. Less well known is how the Stalinist leaders prostrated themselves before the Allied military commanders in carrying out this cynical maneuver. The U.S. Army had this to say about the organization of the victory "celebrations":

> "It is preferable that these should not appear as held by Allied order but rather as the expression of the Partisans' own wishes....
> "The parade should be conducted with as much ceremony as possible—advance publicity, flags, band and speakers will all add to its effect....
> "The Partisans should participate in making the arrangements and at the conclusion of the parade should march, preferably by sub-units, to an appointed dumping place where their arms will be handed over."
>
> —Harry Coles and Albert Weinberg, *The United States Army in World War II* (1964)

As we shall see, the partisan leaders right up to the top carried out the orders of the U.S. Army. PCI general secretary Palmiro Togliatti, who has lately been demonized by the Italian right wing (with help from Occhetto & Co.) and lauded by PCI lefts, noted in his report to the party congress in December 1945 that it "united" with the other parties in an agreement that "calls for the disarming of all, and we were the first to carry it out...."

The Italian Revolution and the Popular Front

The Stalinists sacrificed the Italian revolution on the altar of the popular front. This policy of forming class-collaborationist alliances with sections of the bourgeoisie was embraced by Stalin in the mid-1930s. It was endorsed at the Seventh Congress of the Communist International, in 1935, at which Ercoli (Togliatti) gave one of the main reports. It was carried out in France, where the popular-front government smashed the 1936 general strike, fired on anti-fascist workers in Clichy in 1937, and crushed

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organizations struggling for the liberation of the colonies. The most dramatic demonstration of the counterrevolutionary nature of the popular front was in Spain where, in the interests of "unity" with the bourgeoisie, the Stalinists crushed the social revolution and murdered leftists —whom they indiscriminately labeled "Trotskyist."

Thousands of CP supporters and other militants from around the world, among them numerous Italians, fought valiantly in Spain against the Francoists. The slogan of the Garibaldi Brigades was "Today in Spain, tomorrow in Italy." But for the Stalinist leaders this had a grotesque meaning. Togliatti was a high Comintern agent in Spain, and participated in the April 1937 Paris meeting where it was decided to intensify the "struggle against Trotskyism" with GPU methods. This was followed shortly by the crushing of the Barcelona May Days workers revolt and the assassination of scores of leftists, including Andrés Nin, leader of the centrist POUM. Also active in Spain were Luigi Longo (Gallo), inspector general of the International Brigades, who was later a top leader of the Italian *Resistenza*; and Vittorio Vidali (Carlos Contreras), head of the Fifth Brigade and one of the bloodiest butchers of leftists, who after WWII became PCI leader in Trieste.

In Spain the popular front called for "unity" with the "democratic" bourgeoisie; in Italy they joined together with top fascists in the name of anti-German unity. A revolutionary crisis broke out in the spring of 1943, when Italian defeats in North Africa and Red Army advances in Stalingrad gave workers and peasants a sense of imminent collapse of the fascist regime and an end to the war. In March workers in the industrial centers went on strike and staged huge demonstrations. Southern Italy was swept by revolts and land occupations, and the army began to disintegrate. In order to head off the threatening upheaval (and to permit an approach to the Allies for an armistice), Mussolini was dumped in July 1943 by an alliance of reactionary officers, the big bourgeoisie, the king's coterie and the fascist Grand Council. Il Duce was replaced by Marshal Badoglio, despicable butcher of the Ethiopian people.

U.S. Army

Allied armies roll into Rome, June 1944. U.S. bourgeoisie promised "liberation," restored fascist officials to power.

However, the bourgeoisie's strategy backfired. Mussolini's ouster, instead of dampening the growing revolt, spurred the masses to more daring actions. The streets of Torino and other cities were patrolled by "anti-scab squads" [*squadre anticrumiraggio*]. Every sign pointed to the workers' determination to sweep away the monarchy and put an end to the capitalist system which had spawned the fascist regime and brought the horrors of war. The revolutionary conflagration was checked only by the swift occupation of northern Italy in August by the Germans. And the Allies...extended class solidarity to the Nazis! The American Trotskyists reported an interview with the liberal Gaetano Salvemini:

> "America sent bombers to bomb the people of Milan, Genoa, Turin in August to smash the revolution. There were demonstrations in the streets, but instead of bombing the Brenner Pass, through which the German army was pouring in, America bombed the Italians."
>
> —quoted in *Fourth International*, April 1944

However, there was no decisive test of strength between the workers and their oppressors; the revolutionary wave was checked but not crushed.

On September 8 the armistice was announced between Italy and the Allies, as Badoglio, the king and their rudimentary government fled to the Allied camp. For the American and British military commanders, the problem as their armies marched up the peninsula was to reconstruct and stabilize the tottering capitalist order while bridling the growing mass movement. After two decades of supporting and participating in the corrupt fascist regime, the Italian capitalists and landlords, the monarchy and the brass hats, the church hierarchy and the Vatican, all had thoroughly discredited themselves in the eyes of the masses. Many were fooled at first, however, by the "democratic" imperialists who professed aims of "liberation." The Allies took advantage of these illusions to impose upon the Italian people the self-same criminals who had been the bedrock of the fascist regime.

In order to foist this hoax on the Italian working people, the Allied authorities were seconded by a six-party popular front, an alliance between the PCI, the Socialists and the liberal bourgeoisie. The Stalinists were a key bulwark in this counterrevolutionary alliance because they retained a mass following and could still clothe themselves with the authority of the Bolshevik Revolution which had freed Russia from capitalist rule. A first incarnation of this coalition was set up in April 1943 at the very moment that the revolutionary wave began to break. A United Freedom Front was formed, presided over by the liberal former premier Ivanoe Bonomi and including the PCI. As intrigues swirled around the royal house of Savoy, Bonomi met with the king, the crown prince and Badoglio himself, pushing the idea of an anti-Mussolini coup which would supposedly allow Italy to extricate itself from the war.

When Badoglio took power in July, the anti-fascist "opposition" tacitly supported him. Historian Paolo Spriano in his five-volume *Storia del Partito comunista italiano* (1967-1973) writes: "The 'National Committee of Anti-Fascist Currents,' later 'Central Committee of the Opposition,' or again 'of the Anti-Fascist Forces,' thus renounced, for the moment, calling for the constitution of a democratic government or an early armistice." PCI leader Giorgio Amendola justified this, saying "the situation wasn't easy" because "the king and Badoglio still enjoyed wide popularity." And when the August strikes flared up, demanding immediate peace, release of political prisoners and removal of fascists from industry, facing German machine guns and Allied bombs, *the PCI sent a delegate (Giovanni Roveda) on a mission of the fascist Badoglio government to Torino to get the strikes called off* (Charles Delzell, *Mussolini's Enemies* [1961]).

April 1945: "Milano Has Arisen!" Tram workers (below) in Milano general strike. Mass insurrection in northern Italy brought down fascist order, but Stalinists headed off proletarian revolution.

Avanti!

Milano è insorta

A. Mondadori

The State and Counterrevolution

Despite Badoglio's promise to include Bonomi and other "opposition" politicians in his government, the formation of a coalition regime floundered on the refusal of the king, hated symbol of the fascist regime, to abdicate. The deadlock was broken when Togliatti returned from exile in Moscow in March 1944 and declared the PCI's willingness to enter the Badoglio government regardless of whether King Vittorio Emanuele III stayed on the throne. The Stalinists thus sought to provide the reactionary regime of the marshal and the king with a basis of popular support which the Allies were unable to provide. As the other parties of the popular front, rebaptized the Committee of National Liberation (CLN), followed suit and entered Badoglio's cabinet, Italian working people found themselves ruled by a truly unholy "popular front" of Stalinists, social democrats, liberals, monarchists and luminaries of the fascist regime, supported by American bayonets.

On 29 March 1944, Togliatti met with party leaders in the south, calling for "postponement of the problem of institutions until it was possible to call the constituent assembly"—i.e., not challenging the monarchy until after the war—and in the meantime setting up a "government of national unity." In his April 11 speech to the cadres of Naples, he declared that the party's objective, "after the war," was that of "creating in Italy a democratic and progressive regime"—i.e., no revolution. The PCI's abject pledge of fealty to the hated monarch provoked a deep malaise in the party, especially in Milano and other cities of the industrial north. Longo dissented, saying that "we recognized that one could collaborate militarily with Badoglio, but denied that one could also collaborate politically." In the ranks the reaction was far sharper:

> "An informational report from Milano, dated 15 December 1944, referring to meetings with factory cells, underlined that 'there is little enthusiasm for progressive democracy,' and also: 'this formula has been met with diffidence among some comrades who see in it a subterfuge for the bourgeoisie to repulse the fighting proletariat.... Our clarifications...do not convince them.... They think that civil war is necessary to achieve our aims'."
>
> —*Rivista di storia contemporanea*, October 1974

A whole mythology has arisen which presents the PCI's entry into the Badoglio cabinet as a *svolta* (turn) which supposedly represented a break with the PCI's past positions. In reality, Togliatti's position (which followed the Kremlin's recognition of the Badoglio government) was firmly in the tradition of the popular front. The PCI's capitulation before Badoglio had been prepared by months of bartering on the question of the monarchy. After first demanding the abdication of the king and Crown Prince Umberto, the CLN leadership then accepted the prince, pleading with Allied military commanders that if it accepted anything less it would "see itself disavowed...by its supporters" (*Foreign Relations of the U.S., 1944*, Vol. 3). It was finally agreed that the king would "retire" in favor of the prince. All the new cabinet ministers, including Togliatti, pledged to uphold this arrangement until the end of the war.

Following the logic of the popular front, in World War II the Stalinists in the "democratic" imperialist countries lined up in support of their "own" imperialism against Nazi Germany. The Trotskyists, in contrast, waged revolutionary opposition against the interimperialist war, while steadfastly defending the Soviet Union against imperialist attack (including sending many of their American seaman comrades on the dangerous Murmansk run). As Leon Trotsky had pointed out, "social patriotism" meant subordinating the class struggle and tying the workers to their "own" bourgeoisie. Certainly, it was pretty hard for the PCI to tell Italian workers that this was a "war against fascism" when *they were now in a coalition government with a gang of fascist holdovers.*

The Allied armies' march into the Rome region in the summer of 1944 posed the first decisive test of the abil-

ity of the PCI and the rest of the popular front to hold back the winds of revolution:

> "Armed Italians, often in red shirts, waving revolutionary banners, greeted them, frequently after they had set up their own local administrations. The Allied armies pushed some Partisans aside, and even threatened them with the firing squad; they arrested many and threw them into prisons.... Indeed, the Occupation followed the carrot and stick policy, those Partisans refusing to hand in arms facing prison, those cooperating being given special food rations and, if available, jobs, though not usually in the army and rarely in the police."
>
> —Gabriel Kolko, *The Politics of War* (1968)

The masses were clamoring to wipe out the fascist pestilence. When Rome's mass-murdering ex-police chief came to trial, thousands of furious citizens stormed the Palace of Justice, seized an ex-prison director who was there to testify, and drowned him in the Tiber. The political climate in the Eternal City was too hot for Badoglio and his clique, so he was dropped and a new coalition government, resting like its predecessor on Allied bayonets, was set up under CLN leader Bonomi.

As Lenin stressed in his classic 1917 work *The State and Revolution*, the central task of the socialist revolution is the destruction of the bourgeois state, centrally the police and the army—those "bodies of armed men" which Engels pointed to as the central institutions defending the ruling class—and its replacement by a workers state, the dictatorship of the proletariat. Contrariwise, the central task of the Italian bourgeoisie in its drive to reconsolidate the bourgeois state was to reconstruct a repressive apparatus which it could count on to defend its class rule and property. This was one of the key tasks of the perfidious Bonomi government. And for their bodies of armed men they picked those trusted elements who had been responsible for directing the security forces of the fascist regime—the officer corps, police chiefs and local prefects—who were integrated lock, stock and barrel into the new "democratic" regime.

In the summer of 1944 the Allied armies prepared to advance into northern Italy where the great bulk of Italian workers were engaged in an ongoing civil war with the Germans and the puppet Salò republic headed by Mussolini. At the same time, as news of the counterrevolutionary role of the Allies spread into the north, the masses' illusions in the "democratic" role of the Allies were rapidly crumbling. The occupation authorities were also making coldblooded use of the weapon of economic terror to starve the working people into submission. The average daily ration in Allied-occupied Italy was a mere 664 calories, slightly more than half the nutrition required to maintain normal health. The slow military advance up the peninsula was giving the industrial proletariat of northern Italy time to understand what Allied occupation meant—and to prepare for it.

The Allied commanders were likewise preparing to confront the working class—and their counterrevolutionary political instrument was the CLN popular front. Military authorities proceeded to work out with their Stalinist henchmen the details of a scenario for the liquidation of the proletarian revolution they knew awaited them upon their occupation of the north. The principal tasks of the counterrevolution—disarming the partisans and handing over power to the imperialist armies—were the subject of formal agreements. Meanwhile, the Allied commander, British general Alexander, cynically addressed a radio message in November 1944 to the partisans calling on them to "halt large-scale military operations"—thus giving the Germans a green light to devote their forces to crushing the partisans. At this same time Alexander was preparing to provoke a bloody civil war in Greece aiming to smash CP-led partisans.

In return for an engagement to provide vital supplies and financial aid, CLN leaders signed a secret agreement promising to act "under the authority of the Supreme Allied Commander" and "carry out all instructions of the Commander-in-Chief." In this document (the so-called "Protocols of Rome") the CLN promised, upon taking power, to "hand over" to Allied military authorities "all authority and powers of local government." It further promised to "disband and surrender their arms, when required to do so" (Coles and Weinberg, *The United States Army in World War II*). Several days later, the CLN signed a further agreement with the Italian government in which it recognized the government in Rome as "the sole legitimate authority in that part of Italy which has already been or will later on be restored to the Italian Government by the Allied Military Government."

As an Allied intelligence memorandum put it, one question remained: "the ability of the resistance leaders to maintain discipline among their followers."

Calendario del Popolo

Stalinist gravediggers of the Italian revolution. Palmiro Togliatti (second from right) was joined by PCI lefts Luigi Longo and Pietro Secchia (right) in disarming partisans in Milano.

The Popular Front Strangles the Revolution

As the Allied armies marched into the Po valley in April 1945 they were anticipated by days, sometimes by hours, by mass popular insurrections in every town, large or small, from Venice to Torino. The scenario was everywhere the same: mass strikes, popular insurrections, storming of barracks, seizure of strategic buildings, freeing of political prisoners, sharp clashes with German and fascist troops who were forced to surrender or flee. Partisan bands, reinvigorated since their nadir the previous winter by tens of thousands of recruits escaping the Nazis' labor and military conscription, were the military vanguard. Everywhere the fascist scum were routed and expedited popular justice was administered to thousands of fascists. Factory committees, local committees, cooperatives, district, neighborhood and even street CLNs sprung up in the hothed of revolution. The situation in the factories can be gauged from a U.S. State Department report on Fiat in Torino:

> "Here workers have to all extents and purposes taken over the factory.... Factory is patrolled by armed liberationists. Management is virtually ignored."
>
> —David Ellwood, *Italy 1943-1945* (1985)

The insurrectionary masses were in no mood to place their confidence in the quisling government in Rome. The workers had not taken up arms to drive out the fascists and their Nazi backers only in order to be subjected to fascist-become-democrat prefects and bureaucrats acting as stooges of Wall Street. The climate was clearly in favor of a break with the capitalists and for a government of only the Communist and Socialist parties. Soviets—workers councils—were on the order of the day, backed up by workers militias, to uproot the fascist scum, set up popular tribunals to try them, prepare fraternization with the troops of the occupying Allied armies (to win their support or at least neutrality in the upcoming class battles), resume production in the plants (which they had already seized) and reorganize the shattered economy on the basis of socialist planning.

Far from providing the leadership required for these tasks, with the Stalinists in the forefront the CLN went into high gear to sabotage the struggle which threatened the very foundations of the capitalist system. The first task was laid out by the British government representative: "Nothing matters except disarmament" (Harold MacMillan, *The Blast of War* [1967]). In order to find the most effective way to disarm the partisans, the Allies had taken different tacks. Initially, in Rome and southern Italy, they tried to use force, arresting partisan groups and turning them over to (fascist-dominated) tribunals. Ultimately it was decided to rely on the partisan leaders themselves. To oversee this rotten maneuver a new government Ministry of Occupied Italy was set up, and a leader of the PCI, Mauro Scoccimarro (a leftist who had opposed Togliatti's *svolta*), was brought in to run it.

The Allied officer in charge of disarming the partisans has left a graphic description of how he used the PCI leadership to carry off this cynical machination:

> "At the end of the parade route were placed several empty army trucks and some local spielers who continuously plugged the example of Garibaldi in discarding his weapon and returning to the plow when his work as a soldier was done.
>
> "Carefully coached bellwethers in the vanguard tossed their weapons into the trucks, and the rest followed suit.... In retrospect, it seems unbelievable that the scheme could have worked, yet it did."
>
> —Alfred Bowman, *Zones of Strain* (1982)

It almost didn't work, at least in some places. In Venice the first attempts to get the partisans to hand in their arms were met with a blank refusal. In Parma the partisan fighters vented their bitterness and frustration by standing shoulder to shoulder 6,000 strong in the town square firing their machine guns, rifles and tommy guns into the air—while the Allied officer at the podium feared for his life.

The indignities meted out to the partisans were calculated to demoralize them and break their combativity. In many cities, they were obliged, before disarming, to pass in review before the despised Crown Prince Umberto, symbol of the fascist regime. After turning in their arms, all the partisans were sent to concentration camps ("patriot centers") where for up to three months they were turned over to Allied military intelligence for interrogation. Those who needed clothing were provided with outfits with a large yellow "V" (for veteran) sewn on them. Most were then used for special work details, including demining operations. However, the army refused at first to supply them with mine detectors, so they had to use what the official British military history contentedly calls "the highly dangerous method of prodding" (C.R.S. Harris, *Allied Military Administration of Italy 1943-1945* [1957]).

The Allied authorities garnered from the partisans dozens of truckloads of small arms, some light artillery and two tanks. However, they estimated that over a third of the arms had not been turned in. So the army and police went on a rampage, searching out arms and arresting hundreds in what "quickly took on the appearance of an anti-Communist crusade" (Tony Judt, ed., *Resistance and Revolution in Mediterranean Europe 1939-1948* [1989]). It was not just Togliatti who pushed through this betrayal. In an article on the 80th birthday of Luigi Longo, Arrigo Boldrini writes: "Thus it would be wrong not to recall what a role was played by Luigi Longo, along with other leaders, during the demobilization of the partisan formations imposed by the Allies, to prevent a general disbanding or worse, a counterrevolt, as some attempted to organize in the heated postwar months" (*Calendario del popolo*, August-September 1980).

The next task on the popular front's counterrevolutionary agenda was to bring to heel the workers committees which in factories throughout northern Italy had been thrown up spontaneously in the course of the insurrection. Recalling the movement of revolutionary factory councils which swept the north in 1920-22, these factory committees were provoking yelps from the bourgeoisie, including forces participating in the CLN. As Stalinist historian Gastone Manacorda frankly admitted, the PCI's policy was "to prevent the factory liberation committees from going so far in the course of the insurrection as to expropriate the capitalists." It was, he writes, "a concrete case—perhaps the most conspicuous—of the conscious self-limitation of the revolution, a political intervention aimed at preventing the spontaneous movement of the working class from reaching towards socialist objectives" (quoted in Guido Quazza, *Resistenza e storia d'Italia* [1976]).

The Stalinists sought to keep the factory committees centered on economic issues to prevent them from becoming

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A. Mondadori

Greek monarchist butchers display severed heads of leftist partisans, 1945. In Greece as well, Stalinists' popular-front policies ensured defeat of workers revolution.

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soviets, organs of working-class power. However, in the mass upsurge against the hated fascists, the factory committees burst the bounds set for them by the reformist working-class leaders. In plant after plant the workers threw out the bosses and management, who had all worked hand in glove with Mussolini's thugs, and took over the operation of the factories. With the factories in the workers' hands, the question was posed point-blank: *Which class would rule?*

Yet for the CLN popular front the task that was now on the agenda was to increase production in order to aid in the reconstruction of the "new" (capitalist) Italy. The CLN issued frantic calls for "discipline," "responsibility," and above all a "rapid return to work," admonishing the factory committees "in the name of the higher objective of reconstruction" (Fabio Levi, Paride Rugafiori and Salvatore Vento, *Il triangolo industriale* [1974]). In order to break the back of the revolutionary factory committees, the Stalinists and their popular-front partners undertook to dissolve them into class-collaborationist organs which would participate with management in determining production schedules, etc. This provoked heated opposition among the workers at the base who accused their leaders of "double-cross," "bootlicking."

Over the next year, as the factory committees' class-struggle axis was gutted, the capitalists were able simply to sweep them aside. Fascist bosses and managers who had been thrown out of the plants were brought back by "appealing" their cases to special worker-management "tribunals" in which the bosses had the deciding vote. As the official British army historian puts it, the "damage" was thus "to a large extent repaired." At the end of June the CLN, as previously agreed, passed to the Allied military commanders the administration of northern Italy. This is the "New Italy" the Stalinists had helped to create:

> "The larger figures in Mussolini's party —all except the greatest hierarchs— returned in full force and began to occupy leading positions in the administration and in private economic activity."
> —H. Stuart Hughes, *The United States and Italy* (1965)

Back in the summer of 1944, the new Rome government had sought to defuse popular fury over the fascist criminals by announcing that the phony "purge" of Mussolini fascists would be partly administered by a PCI leader, the ubiquitous Scoccimorro. By June 1946 the last nail was driven into the coffin of the anti-fascist "purge" by the notorious amnesty law—drafted by Minister of Justice Palmiro Togliatti. And by the early '50s it was the partisans themselves who were being arrested for so-called "terrorist" actions committed against the fascists!

Militant

International News Photos

Rome, Juna 1944—Partisans rooted out fascist criminals and dispensad summary justica. Mussolini's body (along with henchmen) was strung up by anti-fascist fighters in April 1945.

The Italian Working Class in the Shadow of Yalta

The international context in which the revolutionary situation developed in Italy was dominated by the agreements between Stalin and the Allied imperialists centered on the February 1945 conference at Yalta. There Stalin agreed to a deal with the capitalist powers, Britain and the U.S., on a division of postwar Europe into spheres of influence. In return for a predominant influence of the Soviet Union in the East European "buffer" states (which were expected to remain capitalist), Stalin agreed to the capitalist restabilization of Western Europe. Boasting of his "iron link" to the Soviet Union, Togliatti ruthlessly carried out this program. Yet Stalin's Italian henchman, who was idolized in the PCI as "*il migliore*" (the best), was in fact handcuffed both to domestic bourgeois masters and to the Kremlin. The Yalta deal sabotaged proletarian revolution in Italy and West Europe, and thereby also criminally undermined defense of the Soviet Union and of Soviet workers.

Even this sellout deal did not stand up to the imperialists' rage to "contain" the USSR and ultimately restore capitalism in the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state. Under the pressure of the imperialists' Cold War, Stalin was eventually pushed to carry out a bureaucratic overthrow of capitalism in East Europe. But the Kremlin did keep its part of this treacherous bargain, by strangling the revolutionary possibilities which surged forth in Europe at the close of the war. On the eve of WW II, Trotsky had predicted that, if the Soviet Union survived the coming Nazi-German onslaught, workers revolutions would arise in the aftermath, as happened following the first imperialist world war. But thanks to Stalinist treachery, these revolutions were strangled (Italy), stillborn (France) or crushed (Greece).

Neither the origins nor the impact of the Italian revolution were nationally limited. The fall of Mussolini and the August strike wave unleashed antiwar fever among Italian occupation troops in Greece, who began to fraternize with the Greek workers. This led to a general strike in Athens and a mutiny in the Greek army and navy in Egypt, soon followed by the uprising of the Stalinist-led EAM partisans. But with Stalin's permission the British brutally occupied the Greek mainland, and rejecting EAM offers to sell out they proceeded to devastate every center of revolt. This was then used by the PCI to intimidate those who desired revolution. Thus a party leader in Milano argued in early 1946: "If we want to go into action with machine guns, we will be opposing armored cars, planes, and the Allied gentlemen will do to us what they did in Greece."

The main "argument" of the Stalinists was and is the assertion that revolution was impossible. A prime example of this was from Pietro Secchia, a leftist PCI leader of the *Resistenza* in the north who claims: "Today young people who read certain romanticized histories of our war of liberation have the impression that we had the *power* and that we were not able, or worse, we didn't want to hold it...to carry out, I won't say proletarian revolution, which was absolutely beyond all possibilities, but even a regime of progressive democracy" (*Annali dell'Istituto Giangiacomo Feltrinelli* [1971]). Similarly, a CP leader at the Fiat Mirafiori plant explained: "We knew that [the workers] were pushing for a movement with revolutionary characteristics, but this would also have been in the interests of America, a pretext for intervention" (Liliana Lanzardo, *Classe operaia e partito comunista alla Fiat* [1971]).

Far from being impossible, or "romanticized" stories, or simply a pretext for intervention, the revolutionary possibilities were palpable for *all*. The discredited, divided Italian bourgeoisie and the Allied imperialists were scared to death, and as their memoirs quoted above recount, they were utterly amazed at the lengths to which the Stalinists went to give up power which was in their hands or there for the taking. The key element missing was a genuinely revolutionary party for which "communism" was not an empty name but a living program. The Trotskyists had such a program, which was why they were seen as a mortal threat by the Stalinists and ruthlessly "liquidated." This was the fate of Pietro Tresso (Blasco), former PCI leader and leading Italian Trotskyist, who in 1943 was murdered in France by the Stalinists with whom he escaped from the fascist prison of Puy.

The depths to which these unspeakable wretches would sink is shown by Togliatti's grotesque comment on Leon Trotsky after this comrade-in-arms of Lenin and co-leader of the Russian Revolution was murdered by Stalin's agent: "the little Judas Trotsky belongs to the race of apologists and servants of capital" (quoted in Paolo Spriano, *Stalin and the European Communists* [1985]).

The loss of precious Trotskyist cadres at the hands of Stalinist and Nazi repression was a cruel blow to the working class. It meant that in Italy the Stalinist traitors, after having stabbed the revolutionary proletariat in the back, could emerge virtually unchallenged as the postwar leaders of the working class. In learning the lessons of its own history, the Italian working class will learn to vilify the Stalinist gravediggers of the socialist revolution and reappropriate the revolutionary heritage which is its birthright. It is to this task, the forging of a truly Leninist party, that the International Communist League and its Italian section, the Lega Trotskista d'Italia, are dedicated. ■

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Divorce Italian Style...

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the mounting crisis in the Soviet Union. Among the supporters of Rifondazione Comunista, the big majority undoubtedly are passionately opposed to capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR. Not so for Garavini/Cossutta, who look to the Gorbachev and hardline "patriot" wings of the Kremlin bureaucracy that have also committed themselves to restoring capitalism, although at a slower pace than Yeltsin's "democrats." Likewise over the Persian Gulf War, the PCI ranks wanted to strike against the bloody imperialist intervention while Garavini wrote that perhaps force was necessary against Saddam Hussein.

This breach between the ranks who see themselves as "reds" and the tops nostalgic for the Brezhnev-Stalin "good old days" must be widened by the intervention of authentic Trotskyism. Recently there have been articles on the centenary of the birth of Antonio Gramsci, the PCI founder who died after ten years in Mussolini's prisons, as a "national" alternative to Stalinism. But to "refound communism" it is necessary to learn the lessons of the history of the degeneration of the Soviet Union and the Comintern, and the bloody anti-revolutionary consequences in Italy and worldwide. The answer, for those who would be communists, is not an "Italian road to socialism" or turning poor Gramsci into an icon because his imprisonment removed him from the decisive Stalin-Trotsky battle, but rather in returning to the internationalist road of Lenin and Trotsky. ■

Rail Strike...

(continued from page 12)

amount of material to the Persian Gulf."

The whole process of contract negotiations has been one big charade among the union chiefs, the railroad bosses and the government boards. As one angry striker at the Burlington Northern yards in Chicago told *WV*, "The government is always going to say the workers are in the wrong. They just tell us to cool off, negotiate, cool off, and by the time it's settled it's just the same old thing."

The companies and the government did their best to heighten the sense of crisis. The *Wall Street Journal* (19 April) noted that the railroads "decided to stop all service, including some commuter-rail and Amtrak operations, which the unions didn't strike.... That helped create a national emergency that prompted Congress to end the walkout quickly."

The *Journal* quoted a gloating "industry official" who said after Bush and Congress intervened against the strike that "it's not far from a mandate" for the emergency board's report, adding, "I can't see why we would feel too bad." The *Journal of Commerce* headlined: "'Thank You Very Much,' Surprised Shippers Express Relief Over Brevity of Strike."

This has become an all too familiar pattern for the unions. Just ask the Greyhound, Eastern and *Daily News* strikers who showed plenty of combativity and got plenty of support from the rank and file of labor, but couldn't win a decent contract with their pro-Democratic Party sellout leadership.

As the rail strike began, the union bureaucrats were begging Democrats in Congress for yet another review board. So Ted Kennedy and his bipartisan cronies in the House and the Bush administration cooked up with the acquiescence of the rail union chiefs the same rotten deal that over 200,000 rail workers thought they were striking against.

They had the power. The national trucking contract ran out on April 1. If the rail unions and the Teamsters had joined in a national transport strike it could have reversed a decade of cutbacks and union-busting under Carter, Reagan and Bush. But far from appealing for joint strike action and militant labor solidarity, the rail union honchos tried to curry favor with bourgeois "public opinion" by limiting the strike.

In Chicago, they were so concerned the strike would "inconvenience" yuppie suburbanites that these sellouts offered to keep the Metra commuter trains running. When the picket lines went up, the rail union tops outrageously herded the Metra workers into work!

As we wrote in our article, "From the Railway Labor Act to Taft-Hartley: Anti-Red Hysteria and Anti-Labor Laws" (*WV* No. 473, 17 March 1989):

> "The only times workers have successfully defied anti-labor laws are when they have overridden their pro-capitalist misleaders. In 1977-78 striking coal miners tore up the Taft-Hartley injunction issued by Democrat Jimmy Carter while driving the despised union president Arnold Miller—originally touted as a liberal reformer—from the coal fields. But spontaneous acts of rank-and-file militancy are not enough. The workers need to place at the head of the unions a leadership that will fight the bosses' government and the Democratic and Republican parties, leading the way toward a workers government." ■

82-Year-Old Peace Activist Dies After Police Beating

L.A. Cops Strike Again

With all the triumphalism over the U.S. devastation of a Near Eastern semicolonial country, bourgeois politicians are seeking to impose their "New World Order" on minorities and the working class at home. In Los Angeles, outrage over the videotaped cop beating of a black man, Rodney King, has sharply polarized the city. Hoping to chill out the situation, the mayor-appointed police commission suspended notorious racist LAPD chief Gates, with pay. But Gates went to court and got a temporary reinstatement, and the conservative city council is backing him in his bid to block the suspension. Meanwhile, governor Pete Wilson described calls for Gates' resignation as an "attempted lynching"!

Diaz/L.A. Times

Persian Gulf protest was his final battle. After clubbing by federal marshals, veteran CIO organizer and peace activist William Gandall later died in the hospital.

A little-known example of L.A. cop brutality was recently revealed, in the death of 82-year-old William Gandall on March 23. Gandall, a former CIO organizer and Spanish Civil War veteran, continued to be active in antiwar protests and anti-Klan demonstrations, despite his advanced years and the pacemaker he wore after triple bypass heart surgery. On January 16, as Bush rained bombs on Baghdad, Gandall joined protesters at the L.A. Federal Building. Federal cops moved in, clubs swinging, when the demonstrators rushed to block the doors with a sit-in. Gandall was beaten to the ground and, when the cops belatedly brought him to the hospital, required emergency surgery for a ruptured duodenal ulcer.

William Gandall died in the hospital two months later. As the *Los Angeles Times* (13 April) reported, "The crowning moment of 'Wild' Bill Gandall's final campaign found him on his hands and knees, crawling up the steps of the Federal Building in downtown Los Angeles in protest against the Persian Gulf War." Gandall's daughter Kate is pursuing legal action against the feds, saying he told her that his treatment was "the worst he had seen since his early organizing days with the CIO."

Kurds...

(continued from page 12)

diseases take hold. TV news broadcasts are filled with images of mothers burying their infant dead in shallow graves.

What the American media still refuse to show is the horror and devastation visited on the rest of Iraq's 17 million people—*by the U.S. terror bombing*. Throughout the country, people face mass starvation and the threat of widespread epidemics. Meanwhile the arrogant American conquerors are even refusing Baghdad's requests that the country be allowed to export a billion dollars worth of oil in order to be able to import food for its starving population. And the draconian cease-fire terms imposed by the U.S. on Iraq mean that after laying waste to the country they're now plundering it: billions in "reparations" to the filthy rich Kuwaiti ruling family, guarantees that Baghdad will pay its more than $40 billion foreign debt, etc.

There is a lot more to Bush's sinister operation than bombarding the Kurds with inedible U.S. Army surplus MREs (Meals Ready to Eat). Having appointed itself imperialist sheriff of the Near East through the slaughter of more than 100,000 men, women and children, the U.S. is out to bully all the peoples of the region into its "New World Order," including the Kurds. This isn't about refugees, who are to be found just about everywhere. The aim, as one observer put it, "is to make sure this population of Kurds will be a controlled population." And to keep Iraq under Washington's thumb.

The whole business ripped the "UN" veil off U.S. aggression. While UN relief agencies worked through the Iraqi regime to provide aid to the Kurdish refugees, and even the Kurdish nationalist groups which led the U.S.-instigated uprising are negotiating with Baghdad, the U.S. is intent on imposing its *diktat*. Even house-trained UN secretary general Pérez de Cuéllar said the U.S. move violated Iraqi sovereignty. But Bush was interested in imperial suzerainty, and blithely seized 1,500 square miles of Iraqi territory.

The first of some 10,000 U.S. troops, with thousands more British and French soldiers to come, have already begun to move into northern Iraq. The entire region above the 36th parallel has been declared off-limits to the Iraqi army, while UN ambassador Thomas Pickering arrogantly dictates that "Baghdad will facilitate the implementation of international relief services." The imperialist troops are supposedly going to "protect" Kurds from the Iraqi army. But right now it is Turkish soldiers who are firing on and killing Kurdish refugees. And the camps will be located well away from any present concentrations of refugees, up to 60 miles inside Iraqi territory.

This military occupation has nothing to do with defending the Kurdish people. As one international relief worker put it, "Nobody wants a Kurdish state, let's not kid ourselves." Certainly none of the imperialist powers nor their regional lackeys do. The International Communist League, which has consistently upheld the Kurds' right to self-determination and calls for a socialist republic of united Kurdistan, warns that getting rid of the imperialist occupiers is a *precondition* for any serious struggle for Kurdish liberation. U.S. out of Iraq and the Persian Gulf!

At best the Kurds face the prospect of a tightly policed bantustan. More likely, as one international relief official said, is that they will be subjected to "the worst of the West Bank and Gaza Strip and Beirut," forced to be permanent inmates of concentration camps surrounded by barbed wire and U.S. or other imperialist "peacekeeping" forces. The White House has already made clear its intentions of suppressing Kurdish militants, as it "warned Kurdish opposition groups not to use the proposed refugee camps as a staging area" to continue their struggle. Yet the same Kurdish nationalist groups who led their people to the slaughter in the hope of imperialist support suicidally continue to pander to Washington.

We wrote last issue that the U.S. had set up the Kurds for suppression at the hands of Saddam Hussein, calling for an uprising (including on the CIA's Voice of Free Iraq) only to have it drowned in blood. After being on the receiving end of Saddam Hussein's terror, the Kurds are being set up once again by Bush's "purely humanitarian" ploy. Anyone who looks for protection to the deadliest enemy of the world's peoples should look at the history of how U.S. imperialism has cynically played the Kurdish card in the past, or how it has used other mountain peoples as mercenaries, like the Hmong in Laos.

If Ba'athist Iraq has been a hellhole for the Kurds, Kurds in Turkey, Syria and Iran have even fewer rights. NATO Turkey, with some 12 to 15 million Kurds inside its borders, put particular pressure on Washington to move into Iraq out of fears that a massive influx of refugees or ongoing concentration of Iraqi Kurds on its border could lead to an explosion of struggle by Kurds throughout the region.

"Operation Provide Comfort" will provide about as much comfort to the long-suffering Kurdish people as "Operation Just Cause" meted out justice for the Panamanians it slaughtered over a year ago. The only road to national salvation for the Kurdish people lies in united revolutionary struggle with all the toilers of the region. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Bush's "Humanitarian Aid"—Another Set-Up

Pax Americana Means Hunger and Death for Kurds

Having bombed Iraq back to a "pre-industrial age," mass murderer George Bush is trying to pass himself off as a "humanitarian" to the downtrodden and desperate Iraqi Kurds. Following a clamor from Washington's European allies and its Near East clients, Bush announced "Operation Provide Comfort," supposedly to provide food and shelter for an estimated 700,000 Kurds stranded in the mountainous areas along the Turkish border. "At Last, the Kurds Find Friends," cheered a *New York Times* (18 April) editorial. With friends like these...

For weeks now, hundreds of thousands of Kurdish refugees have been stranded along the freezing mountainsides of northern Iraq. United Nations refugee officials say it is the largest movement of refugees ever in such a short space of time. Almost half are estimated to be young children, many of them dying as they grow weak from hunger, diarrhea and dysentery. Relief workers claim that several hundred, perhaps a thousand, Kurdish refugees are dying every day, and that will increase sharply if epidemics of measles, cholera and other

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Aral/Sipa

Kurdish refugees, pawns and victims of Bush's "New World Order," trapped and dying in mountain passes.

Bush, Democrats Ban Rail Strike

"A rail strike that took any period of time to resolve would be devastating," declared House Speaker Thomas Foley, as Congress met late into the night to rush through a bill to stop the rail strike after only one day. The strikers had the power to throw a huge monkey wrench into the transportation system, especially now that many industries like auto are increasingly dependent on "just in time" rail deliveries. Yet the union tops had no intention of using that power.

After working over three years without a contract or pay raise, finally on April 17 eleven unions representing over 230,000 workers struck the railroads which handle over a third of the country's freight. As pickets went up at yards from coast to coast, rail shipments of coal, grain and automobiles ground to a halt. But after Bush was awakened in the wee hours of April 18 to sign the anti-strike bill passed almost unanimously by the Democratic-controlled Congress, the heads of the striking unions immediately ordered the pickets down.

The *Boston Globe* (18 April) reported that the bill demanded by Bush to halt the strike was "secretly devised over the last two weeks by Sen. Edward M. Kennedy."

During three years of negotiations, the union bureaucrats first turned to a federal mediation panel, then last May submitted to an "emergency board" hand-picked by Bush. The board's "compromise" announced in January calls for workers to start paying a big chunk of their health insurance, and offers a measly 3 percent wage "increase" for skilled workers who make under $30,000 even with plenty of overtime.

WV Photo

Los Angeles Taylor Yard, April 17—Eleven striking rail unions put up picket line for 24 hours before union heads caved in to Congress.

While the railroads have been raking in billions in profits, the government board calls for a net 16 percent *cut* in real wages! This union-busting plan would also let the bosses tear up crew size limits and change work rules to increase the mileage traveled by conductors and brakemen. And it's a frontal assault on safety. To cut train crews to just *two men*, getting rid of all 22,000 brakemen, as the board's plan provides, will mean many more workers and passengers injured and killed.

When Bush signed the bill, David Gray, president of Chicago's United Transportation Local 528, meekly promised "we always comply with the law." That goes without saying for the craven misleaders of the rail unions. But you *can* fight the federal government. When the rail workers struck in 1946, Truman "outlawed" the strike, threatening to send the army in to run the trains and to draft strikers into the military! The unions told Truman to drop dead, and 48 hours later they had their pay increase.

In February, heads of the rail unions proved their loyalty to their imperialist rulers by agreeing to a 90-day "cooling off" period (instead of the usual 30 days) explicitly so that Bush could carry out undisturbed the massacre of Iraq. Even now a rail strike would affect the Pentagon, as UPI reported: "for the military, a looming nationwide rail strike comes at the second worst possible time. Last year the stakes were clearly higher, as the Pentagon avoided the worst case and successfully deployed an enormous

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 526

10 May 1991

German Spartakists at 8 May 1945 Anniversary

Red Army Smashed Nazi Rule

On May 5, our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) and the Spartacist Group of Poland (SGP) held a forum on the subject: "The Red Army Smashed the Nazi Regime! For Workers Mobilization Against Fascism, Chauvinism and Anti-Semitism!" The event, in celebration of the Red Army's victory in Germany on 8 May 1945, was held at the barracks club of a Soviet Army base south of Berlin. The Trotskyists of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) spoke there to 300 Soviet officers and non-coms. After the presentations of Renate Dahlhaus of the SpAD and a comrade of the SGP, there was a discussion period.

Also attending the event were some Kurdish friends and a Vietnamese who fought as a soldier in Saigon against U.S. imperialism, and who together with fellow Vietnamese workers recently beat back a skinhead attack on their Berlin dormitory. On April 20 (Hitler's birthday), the SpAD joined with the Vietnamese and coworkers in standing guard at the dormitory in case of another fascist assault. There have also been a series of Nazi attacks on Poles traveling to Germany.

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Yevgeni Khaldei

Raising red flag over the Reichstag marked Soviet Army's liberation of Berlin from the Nazis.

Yugoslavia Splintering

A New Balkans War in the Making?

The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia was forged through the victory during World War II of the Communist partisan movement of Josip Broz Tito over the Nazi German army of occupation, the Nazi-backed Croatian Ustashi fascists and the Serbian royalist Chetniks. But today Yugoslavia is threatened by inter-ethnic slaughter as competing nationalisms tear the country apart in the obscene scramble to rejoin the capitalist world market. Last week, there was a bloody clash in the town of Borovo Selo between Serbian militias and Croatian police that left a dozen dead and a score wounded. As civil strife spread, Croatian president Franjo Tudjman thundered, "the war has begun."

Tensions have been at a maximum for weeks as the richer northern republics of Croatia and Slovenia—more Westernized, traditionally Roman Catholic regions where anti-Communist nationalists were installed in last year's elections—have been arming their own militias and declaring virtual independence from the federal government. Opposing them is Serbia's Slobodan Milosevic, head of the remnants of the Communist (now Socialist) party who has managed to hold sway in that republic by whipping up Serbian nationalism. In recent weeks the federal army—direct descendant of Tito's partisans—has repeatedly intervened to quell murderous gunbattles in Croatia between police and rebellious Serbian militias demanding unity with "the mother republic."

Further inflaming the situation is the collapse of the grotesque and primitive Stalinist rule in neighboring Albania, which likewise could explode into full-scale civil war at any time. Added to this is the continuing political turmoil in Bulgaria and Romania, and the spread of nationalist conflicts in the wake of the collapse of Stalinist rule in East Europe and the escalating crisis in the Soviet Union.

Some right-wing forces in the West are licking

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WV Map

Weco

Yugoslav Army holds government building in Slovenian capital of Ljubljana. "Market socialism" heightened antagonisms between more prosperous and poorer republics. As capitalist-restorationist forces wave nationalist banners, Yugoslavia is ripping apart.

Hispanic Community Explodes Over Racist Cop Shooting

Perkins/Washington Post

Squad car burns es cops move against protesters, Washington, D.C., May 6.

Washington, D.C.

In response to the wanton police shooting of a Hispanic man on May 5, several Washington neighborhoods have exploded in outrage. Phalanxes of heavily armed police fired tear gas at protesters as helicopters swooped overhead and more cops with attack dogs waited on the sidelines. Operation "Desert Storm" has come home with a vengeance to the nation's capital, as gas-masked attack squads storm areas heavily populated with refugees from Central America, many of them Salvadorans. But the invading army of police was met by crowds of over 1,000 and over a dozen cop cars and vans were torched on two nights running by crowds chanting "*queremos justicia*" (we want justice). In the face of this brutal police invasion, the Spartacist League demands: Get the cops out! Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers!

D.C. police had been harassing people celebrating the Mexican holiday of Cinco de Mayo in the mostly Hispanic neighborhood of Mount Pleasant. Cops regularly go after the Central American and Mexican immigrants, demanding to see their papers. A policewoman arrested a Salvadoran, Daniel Gomez, 30, for the "crime" of drinking beer in public, and then shot him in the chest at pointblank range. The cops claim Gomez brandished a knife, but numerous eyewitnesses saw no knife and said that Gomez was handcuffed at the time. He lay there bleeding for over half an hour before an ambulance arrived, and is still in critical condition two days later. A swelling crowd of hundreds of outraged residents surged into the streets, heaving bottles and bricks at motorcycle cops and squad cars, driving out the police as throngs on the sidewalks cheered.

The next day police vowed that they were going to keep things quiet in the area just two miles north of the White House. But the opposite happened. Hispanic community leaders angrily left a meeting with city officials early on the 6th that was boycotted by black Democratic mayor Sharon Pratt Dixon. In the early evening, Dixon tried to walk through Mount Pleasant but was met with a mixture of boos and cries of "we need jobs." Meanwhile the cops soaked the area in tear gas. "Dozens of officers in riot gear confronted several hundred youths, some with bandanas covering their faces, marching south on Mount Pleasant Street" (*Washington Post*, 7 May). The elemental explosion of rage spread to the Adams-Morgan area as youths—Hispanic, black and white—shut down 16th Street and kept police at bay for several hours. Scores were brutally beaten, hundreds burned by the gas and 50 arrested.

At midnight a state of emergency was declared and police prepared for mass arrests. The call "cops out" was on everybody's lips. There is widespread outrage at these thugs in blue uniforms who ride herd on the ghettos and barrios. Two weeks ago, police brutally beat a black man, dragging him out from under a car where he had hidden and mercilessly clubbing him to the horror of onlookers. Salvadoran immigrants compare the cops here to the jackbooted National Guard of the U.S.-backed death squad regime at home. One man told the mayor, "We won't take it anymore. We came to this country in search of justice, and still there is no justice." The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have demanded that all charges be dropped against the arrested protesters.

The curfew was clamped on as official Washington was as jumpy as President Bush's heartbeat (and quaking at the prospect of Dan Quayle III at the helm). The White House has long feared a repeat of the explosion of black anger when the city burned following the assassination of Martin Luther King in 1968. The imperialist rulers of this country have nightmares about the fact that 70 percent of the population of their capital is black, and now another 10-plus percent is Hispanic, many fresh from the guerrilla war zones of Chalatenango. As Salvadoran youth with bandanas over their faces run through the streets, both they and the government see Mount Pleasant as the Guazapa Volcano of Washington, D.C.

Yuppie black Democrat Sharon Pratt Dixon is the darling of the racist ruling class. She was brought into office after the FBI sting (entrapment) of Mayor Marion Barry in their "war on drugs" which is really a war on the black community. Dixon has vowed to be a more effective overseer of the D.C. plantation for Bush and the Dixiecrats in Congress. Since her inauguration last January, she has been chomping at the bit to close homeless shelters, lay off municipal workers, cut welfare programs. She has publicly called for corporal punishment (beatings) in the schools. There is also a strong anti-Hispanic racist component, as she calls to "bring discipline" to the Latino community. One of her boosters, black columnist Courtland Milloy, wrote a vile racist diatribe against Hispanics saying (*Washington Post*, 7 May), "They make me feel like white people must have felt" about "sharecropping blacks" bringing their ways to the northern cities!

The American imperialist ruling class wanted to strut its stuff after its murderous "victory" in "Desert Storm." But the videotaped cop beating of a defenseless black motorist in Los Angeles which flashed around the world caused an uproar over racist cop terror at home. Now the attempt to impose "discipline" in the streets of the capital has produced a racially integrated explosion of anger against rulers who would ride roughshod over the people who serve their food, wash their dishes, clean their houses and take care of their children. But the new immigrants have brought a new militant component to the heavily black D.C. labor movement, which must take up their cause. It's time to organize that anger in a powerful revolutionary struggle. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

For Revolutionary Unity of the Balkan Peoples

In the period leading up to World War I, Leon Trotsky explained how the Balkan peoples were being murderously set against each other by the contending imperialist powers and local monarchies. He called for a revolutionary struggle to forge a Balkan federal republic. It took a social revolution in Yugoslavia, albeit one deformed by Stalinism, to achieve a limited south Slavic federation. Today, as Western bankers and reactionary nationalists are driving Yugoslavia toward civil war, the working class must raise as its banner: For a socialist federation of the Balkans in a United Soviet States of Europe.

The frontiers between the dwarf states of the Balkan Peninsula were drawn not in accordance with national conditions or national demands, but as a result of wars, diplomatic intrigues, and dynastic interests. The Great Powers—in the first place, Russian and Austria—have always had a direct interest in setting the Balkan peoples and states against each other and then, when they have weakened one another, subjecting them to their economic and political influence. The petty dynasties ruling in these "broken pieces" of the Balkan Peninsula have served and continue to serve as levers for European diplomatic intrigues. And this entire mechanism, founded on violence and perfidy, constitutes a huge burden weighing upon the Balkan peoples, holding back their economic and cultural development....

The only way out of the national and state chaos and the bloody confusion of Balkan life is a union of all the peoples of the peninsula in a single economic and political entity, on the basis of national autonomy of the constituent parts. Only within the framework of a single Balkan state can the Serbs of Macedonia, the [Turkish-ruled] sanjak, Serbia, and Montenegro be united in a single national-cultural community, enjoying at the same time the advantages of a Balkan common market. Only the united Balkan peoples can give a real rebuff to the shameless pretensions of tsarism and European imperialism.

State unity of the Balkan Peninsula can be achieved in two ways: either from above, by expanding one Balkan state, whichever proves strongest, at the expense of the weaker ones—this is the road of wars of extermination and oppression of weak nations, a road that consolidates monarchism and militarism; or from below, through the peoples themselves coming together—this is the road of revolution, the road that means overthrowing the Balkan dynasties and unfurling the banner of a Balkan federal republic.

—Leon Trotsky, "The Balkan Question and Social Democracy" (August 1910)

The Massacre of MOVE

May 13 marks the sixth anniversary of the police bombing of the radical MOVE commune in West Philadelphia. Eleven black people, including five children, were devoured in the fiery inferno, and a black neighborhood turned to ash. Democratic mayor Wilsnn Goode gave the order, the FBI supplied the C-4 explosives, Philly cops dropped the bomb on the house, then opened up with 10,000 rounds of machine-gun and rifle fire to drive back into the flames those who sought to escape. Reagan's top cop Ed Meese cited this state terrorism as a "good example" for other police to follow.

The Mother's Day 1985 siege of Osage Avenue began as a cop bullhorn delivered the message: "Attention MOVE. This is America." Racist capitalist America, where mass murder of black people is officially sanctioned. Today, the criminals who carried out this state murder are free while Ramona Africa remains behind bars for the "crime" of surviving the massacre, as do more than a dozen other members of the Africa family jailed earlier. Free the MOVE prisoners! The American workers revolution will avenge the MOVE martyrs!

13 May 1985

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions $7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

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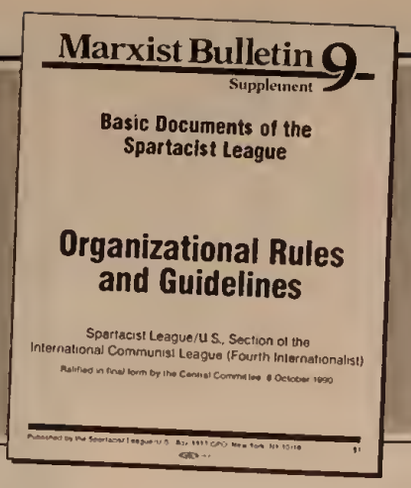
No. 526 **10 May 1991**

Spartacist League Organizational Rules—Bolshevik Heritage



We are pleased to announce the publication of the Organizational Rules and Guidelines of the Spartacist League/U.S. as a supplement to Marxist Bulletin *No. 9, the Basic Documents of the Spartacist League. The* Marxist Bulletin *series contains the historical and theoretical material that we deemed most important in the unfolding of the international Spartacist tendency, now the International Communist League. The* Marxist Bulletins *reveal, through our practical political work and development, that there is nothing exotic or esoteric in the SL as a Trotskyist organization. We simply refused to succumb to the numerous programmatic departures that ultimately led the balance of the post-World War II Trotskyist movement to destruction as an agency of internationalist and revolutionary politics within the working class. We print below the introduction to the SL Organizational Rules and Guidelines.*

The Organizational Rules and Guidelines of the Spartacist League/U.S., section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist),...were accepted in draft form by the Eighth National Conference of the SL/U.S. on 20 September 1987. Additions and editorial changes were ratified by the Central Committee on 6 October 1990. Minor corrections and changes were made through 17 March 1991 under the supervision of the Political Bureau.

These Organizational Rules and Guidelines are revised from the "Provisional Organizational Rules and Guidelines" adopted at the Second National Conference of the SL/U.S. on 31 August 1969 and extended at the Fifth National Conference on 25 June 1977 (see *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9, Part II).

Prior to the Second National Conference, the Spartacist League did not have its own written organizational guidelines. From our inception as an independent organization following the expulsion of our predecessor, the Revolutionary Tendency (RT), from the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) in December 1963 and continuing through the Founding Conference of the Spartacist League in September 1966, we simply stated that we were guided by the best standard practice and historical precedents, qualified to the extent of their particular relevance, of the Communist (Leninist) and Trotskyist movements.

Following the adoption of our provisional rules, various points of unclarity arose, as did the need for certain amplifications. Those which have come to light are addressed in these new Organizational Rules and Guidelines. Such rules always reflect the living reality of an organization with new demands and new problems. Therefore, given the flux of the revolutionary Marxist movement, one can hardly believe that the statutes printed here can be the last word.

The Organizational Rules and Guidelines of the SL/U.S. are in accordance with the thrust of the 21 Conditions of Adherence adopted at the Second Congress of the Communist International and stand on the foundation of the "Guidelines on the Organizational Structure of Communist Parties, on the Methods and Content of Their Work," adopted at the Third Congress of the Communist International.

In "The Declaration of Principles of the Spartacist League," adopted at our Founding Conference (see *Marxist Bulletin* No. 9, Part I), we spell out the guiding criteria of our organizational practice:

> "The organizational principle of the Spartacist League is *democratic centralism*, a balance between internal democracy and functional discipline. As a combat organization, the revolutionary vanguard must be capable of unified and decisive action at all times in the class struggle. All members must be mobilized to carry out the decisions of the majority; authority must be centralized in its selected leadership which interprets tactically the organization's program. Internal democracy permits the collective determination of the party's line in accord with the needs felt by the party's ranks who are closest to the class as a whole. The right to factional democracy is absolutely vital to a living movement. The very existence of this right helps to channel differences into less absorbing means of resolution."

One of the striking features of the SL from its inception has been the explicit recognition of the right of factional division within the organization. The underlying principle is that intraparty struggle is both necessary and permitted among members, subject to reasonable regulation. However, one can struggle inside the organization or outside of it, but not both; those who wish to propagandize their differences or mobilize outside the organization cannot be members at the same time.

Much of our practice in this regard comes by way of the negative example of the SWP in the years that the RT, as a minority within that party, sought to combat the degeneration of the once-revolutionary SWP into centrism (and rapidly thereafter into reformism). In abiding by the formal organizational rules of the party, the RT impelled the revisionist Majority to bring the SWP rules into line with its rightward-moving political practices. Thus the RT was expelled under the following syllogism: (1) factions are permitted in the SWP; (2) factionalists are disloyal people; (3) disloyal people are expelled. (The SWP's 1965 resolution, "The Organizational Character of the Socialist Workers Party," authorized in the same motion as the RT's expulsion and written as an explicit justification for it, provided the basis for the subsequent elimination of all factions—see "The SWP: A Strangled Party," *Spartacist* [English edition] No. 38-39, Summer 1986.)

In the course of the fight to exercise our factional rights as members of the SWP, comrades in the RT wrote "For the Right of Organized Tendencies to Exist Within the Party" as a rebuttal to an SWP Political Committee motion seeking to victimize the Minority. The document, printed in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 4, Part I, is a historical example of the mechanisms with which a loyal tendency tried to coalesce and struggle within an ostensibly revolutionary organization. Additional material on the exclusion of the RT supporters from the SWP in 1963 is contained in *Marxist Bulletin* No. 4, "Expulsion from the Socialist Workers Party," Parts I and II.

18 March 1991

To obtain a copy of *MB* No. 9 ($3) and the just published Supplement ($1) containing the Organizational Rules, make checks payable/mail to: Spartacist Publishing Co., Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116, USA.

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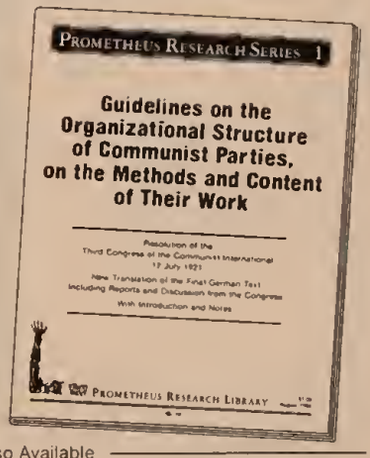

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Letter

MLP and Stalinist "Mistakes"

Detroit, Michigan
April 19, 1991

Dear *WV*,

When last April 12 I read your write-up on the MLP, it quickly brought to mind a lecture I had gone to (here in Detroit) about a decade back. By an RCP speaker.

The lecture, on the Spanish Civil War, was all about Stalin's "mistakes" of the mid-1930s, how he held back on *full* aid for the Loyalists, how he encouraged and supported a pop-front ("progressive" bourgeois) regime, and so forth.

The lecture was actually *amusing*, what with the guy belaboring the obvious. More than once I felt like shouting things like "Really?" "Honest?" "Ya don't say!" "How long did it take ya to find that out!"

Of course he never got back to 1924, when the Stalinist "mistakes" first emerged. And of course he never brought up Trotsky.

Yeah, like a 90-minute lecture on 2 plus 2 are 4! And though it was RCP rather than MLP, it was the same difference, same blind spot toward the *root* of the Stalinist "mistakes." (Likewise amusing is the Maoist habit of calling Khrushchev's swing to the right as back to capitalism, while Stalin's swings as no more than "mistakes.")

S. Colman,
author of "Had Trotsky Not Lost Power; a One-Act In Alternative History"

Red Army...

(continued from page 1)

On May Day in Berlin, the Spartakists distributed a letter calling upon the German trade unions and mass organizations of the working class, together with other anti-fascists, to mobilize in united-front actions to stop the Nazi scum.

At the conclusion of the event, several Soviet officers joined with Polish, German, American, Kurdish and Vietnamese comrades in laying a wreath in honor of the Red Army men and women who gave their lives in crushing the scourge of Nazism. We print below a translation of the speech by the SpAD and excerpts from the Polish comrade's presentation to the Soviet Army men.

Renate Dahlhaus for the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany

Dear comrades and friends,

We greet you comrades who for years and years stood at your posts against NATO imperialism. May 8, 1945 was a decisive day for humanity. The Red Army smashed the Nazi regime and thus ended hell on earth for millions of people. This was a truly proletarian internationalist act. Without the struggles of your fathers, mothers and grandparents we would not be here today. When the Red Army withdrew from the Soviet memorial at the Brandenburg Gate in West Berlin, an experienced comrade from our American section thought perhaps we should say to you: "Red Army, *Aufwiedersehen* [until we meet again], we may need you back soon."

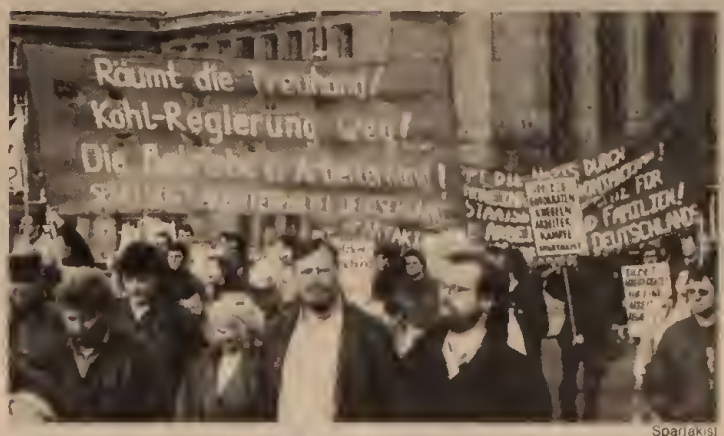
Our party is proud of having initiated the Treptow demonstration of 3 January 1990. It was the largest anti-fascist demonstration against the desecration of the Soviet memorial, at which over 250,000 people honored the Red Army. It must not be that 20 million Soviet citizens died in vain fighting Nazi barbarism. But comrades, for nearly two years now that is precisely what is being called into question.

We saluted the Red Army in Afghanistan and after the Red Army withdrew, we said it would have been better to have fought imperialism in Afghanistan than to be fighting it today in the Soviet Union. The withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan at the beginning of 1989 tremendously encouraged Western imperialism and prepared the subsequent collapse of Soviet power in East Europe, which led to the founding of a powerful Fourth Reich which dominates Europe.

Ultimately, "peaceful coexistence" means support for the imperialist war in the Gulf. Yet it was Soviet pilots who on February 8th said "*nyet*" and thus prevented German Roland missiles from being sent to southeastern Turkey. Their courageous action was a concrete step in defense of the Soviet Union as well as Iraq against imperialism and thus an inspiration for the international working class. The imperialist victory over Iraq means genocide of the Kurds and strengthening the imperialist bourgeoisies, who are attempting to undermine the Soviet Union economically. The fight against a new imperialist world order, whether it be in the guise of American, German or Japanese imperialism, is on the agenda today. So we have tremendous tasks facing us and perhaps not very much time.

We Trotskyists call ourselves the party of the Russian Revolution, because we want to defend and extend the gains of the 1917 October Revolution. The fate of the German working class has always been linked to the Soviet Union. From the very beginning of the October Revolution, Lenin and Trotsky fought to spread the revolution and to get aid from the German Revolution.

Stalinism is a product of the unresolved tasks of the international workers revolution, beginning with the German Revolution in 1923. This enabled the Stalinists to conquer the Soviet Union by destroying workers democracy and instituting the nationalist dogma of "socialism in one country." Ten years later, this led to capitulation by the Stalin/Thalmann-led KPD to the German fascists. This was followed by Stalin's popular-front policy, in which the proletarian struggle for power was abandoned in favor of diplomatic alliances with the imperialists.



Spartakist

Leipzig, April 8—Workers protest massive unemployment stemming from capitalist unification. Spartakist banner reads, "Sweep Away the Trusteeship Agency/Kohl Regime! Factories to the Workers!"

For us, drawing the lessons of the capitalist reunification of Germany means not allowing capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union. You can see daily, just as we do, what the so-called "gains" of the market economy are. Recently fascist attacks on Soviet citizens have become more frequent, an officer in Rathenow and a young soldier in Wittstock were brutally murdered. Soviet citizens have told us about Nazi graffiti on your houses and the destruction of your cars.

Today in Germany five million are unemployed, abortions are outlawed, children's nurseries and hospital clinics are being closed. The nationalist frenzy over "Germany, One Fatherland" turns into racist terror against workers from Poland, Mozambique and Vietnam. Roma and Sinti [gypsies] are driven away and Soviet Jews are supposed to be shunted off to Israel.

We of the Spartakist Workers Party fought for political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist bureaucracy in the DDR and against the capitalist unification of Germany. This battle was lost, but the decisive battleground will be in the Soviet Union. Today we are trying to mobilize workers in eastern and western Germany to fight against the catastrophic consequences of capitalist restoration. And there have in fact been workers' demonstrations in Leipzig and now strikes in the west. We hope that an echo of these struggles will be heard in the USSR. Today friends tell us that Soviet workers are more interested in bread than in talk of political revolution. But the only way to ensure enough bread and to achieve prosperity for the masses is workers political revolution. The capitalist "market economy" brings with it soup kitchens in Poland and unemployment lines in Germany.

Spartakist

8 May 1990—Spartakist comrades lay wreath at Soviet war memorial in Treptow Park, East Berlin. Ribbon says: "Honor Red Army which smashed Nazi regime."

The Stalinist bureaucracy, with Gorbachev and Yeltsin in the lead, prepared the path for capitalist restoration in Germany, as they are doing today in the Soviet Union. This is also true of the so-called "patriots," although they differ over the question of timing.

If today we call for workers mobilization against fascism, chauvinism and anti-Semitism, it is because that was the model of the 1917 October Revolution which put an end to tsarist pogroms against the Jews, expropriated the capitalists and installed a government of workers, soldiers and peasants soviets.

We support the vision of Trotsky's Red Army. Marshals Tukhachevsky, Blücher and their comrades fought for a strong Soviet state as a bastion of international proletarian revolution. Their goal was not to make Soviet Russia into yet another world power that would for decades push for peaceful coexistence with the imperialist powers. Stalin tried to exterminate the internationalist traditions of the Red Army by murdering Tukhachevsky, Blücher, Gamarnik (the brilliant Jewish political high commissar) and the other Red Commanders from the Civil War, just as he murdered the surviving leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution. With these blood sacrifices to "peace" with imperialism, Stalin criminally sabotaged the defense of the Soviet Union and greatly facilitated Hitler's invasion. And then there are the Stalinist lies about May 8th and the victory of the "Anti-Hitler Coalition," although everybody here knows that it was the Red Army and not the imperialist powers from the USA to Britain.

In the same breath in which he formally dissolved the Communist International, Stalin took away the proud name "Red Army," because this name stood for international communism. Today the Soviet Army is not the army of Lenin and Trotsky, and there are appeals to Great Russian chauvinism which lead to undermining the multinational character of the Soviet Army. There are ethnic blood feuds among the soldiers and between soldiers and officers, and this plays a large role in the growth of pogromist "national" militias.

Nationalism is the weapon of the enemy. The USSR must become internationalist, otherwise it may cease to exist. The existence of the Soviet Union is at stake. Soldiers and officers of the military who want to defend the Soviet Union on a socialist basis must take as a model the communist internationalists of Trotsky's Red Army, not the Stalinist criminals who seized all power for themselves and murdered the earlier revolutionary generation.

Comrades, as proletarian internationalists we know that the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz must be stopped, as must the imperialists from Washington to Tokyo. To do that we need a communist International like the one led by Lenin and Trotsky up to 1924. The SpAD, as the German section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), fights here to mobilize workers against the Fourth Reich, against its racism and anti-Semitism.

For a red Germany of workers councils which has unconditionally committed itself to the defense of the Soviet Union against imperialism and internal counterrevolution! For the revolutionary unity of the German, Polish and Soviet working class! For workers mobilizations against chauvinism, Pamyat and anti-Semitism! For a government like that of Lenin-Sverdlov based on workers democracy! What we need in the Soviet Union is a party in the spirit of Lenin and Trotsky which fights for a truly socialist Union of Soviet Republics! Forward to the Fourth International!

A comrade of the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski

I came here from Poland. Two days ago we visited Soviet officers in a little town. They will move back to the Soviet Union soon. Now they are called "occupiers." Later their empty flats will be shown on TV to intensify anti-Sovietism. All this is happening while Solidarność governs.

In the fall of 1981 the ICL, formerly the international Spartacist tendency, correctly called to "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" At that time the majority of the Polish working class supported the reactionary nationalistic and clerical movement, heading in the direction of restoring capitalism. It was the biggest crime of the Stalinist bureaucracy that the Polish proletariat, historically committed to the struggle for socialism, after some tens of years of bureaucratic rule were lined up behind the slogans of American imperialism's Cold War against the USSR. During the time of its rule, the bureaucracy killed political activity of the proletariat and pushed it into the arms of clerical reaction and the imperialists.

We Spartacists honor the 600,000 soldiers of the Red Army who died liberating Poland from the Nazis. Polish Trotskyists seek to reclaim the best traditions of the Polish workers movement, forged in the struggle against national chauvinism. This is exemplified by Rosa Luxemburg, a Polish Jewish communist and leader of the revolutionary German proletariat.

Today in the Soviet Union the Kremlin bureaucracy is dissolving and polarizing. As was written in *Workers Vanguard*, "On one side are the pampered children of Stalin's apparatchiks who want to live like American or German yuppies. These 'free marketeers' want to sell off the factories, mines and oil fields—built by the sweat and blood of the workers—to Wall Street and the Frankfurt banks, and pocket the proceeds. They call themselves democrats.

"On the other side are conservative Stalinist apparatchiks, military men and KGB operatives who want to return to the days when they gave the orders and everyone kowtowed, when no one questioned their right to a dacha, ZIL limousine and the other privileges of the ruling caste (the *nomenklatura*). They now appeal to Great Russian nationalism and even vile anti-Semitic demagogy. They call themselves 'patriots'."

What is missing in the present ideological division is the Soviet working class. While the October Revolution has been eclipsed in the political consciousness of the masses, working people take for granted the tangible gains of October: the right to a job, cheap food, subsidized housing, free medical care and schools for their children. And these gains are under attack by all wings of the bureaucracy.

It is possible that both wings will unite in the struggle against the workers. Both are enemies and oppressors of the working class in the interests of world capitalism. The working class must take political power into its own hands and reconstruct society in its own interests. ■

Furor Over Gorbachev's Tokyo Visit

Oppose Japan's Designs on Soviet Kuril Islands!

The following is condensed and adapted from Spartacist *offprint No. 9, published by our comrades of the Spartacist Group Japan.*

By Spartacist Group Japan

TOKYO, April 20—Soviet president Gorbachev, hat in hand, spent four days in Japan trying to pry loose about ¥3 trillion (over US$20 billion) in economic aid for the disintegrating Soviet economy. But he left empty-handed. The Japanese bourgeoisie, sensing political instability in Moscow and a slowing down of perestroika, hardlined it on the Kuril Islands dispute, closed their pocketbooks and decided to wait and see. At the beginning of April, Gaisha Hiraiwa, chairman of the powerful Keidanren business association, told the press, "Particularly after the '500-day plan' for economic reform was dropped last October, I had the feeling that economic assistance by Japan to the Soviet Union would become difficult." So prime minister Kaifu had his marching orders and tied, as a *precondition* to all economic aid and a peace treaty, recognition of Japanese sovereignty over all *four* of the southern Kurils (generally referred to in Japan as the "Northern Territories").

Japanese bankers, like their Western counterparts, are worried about the reduced pace of capitalist restoration in the USSR on the one hand, and the real catastrophic existing economic conditions on the other. Japanese capital is certainly interested in the development of natural resources in Siberia, especially oil, but they're uncertain over the profitability of such ventures right now. The Keidanren is insisting upon a free-market system, decentralized economic decision-making and ownership of natural resources, and the ruble becoming an internationally traded currency with the USSR joining the IMF. A Japanese trading house spokesman summarized this problem when he said, "There is no business where there is no money." Economically Japan holds all the cards.

The Kurils are hardly central to Japan's economy and many business interests would not want this remote real estate to stand in the way of profit. But the Japanese government, representing the interests of the bourgeoisie as a whole, seeks title to the southern Kurils to reverse some of its losses in the Pacific War (World War II) and reassert its imperialist appetites. The fact that they hold the upper hand economically has been consciously used, as a Liberal Democratic (LDP—the ruling party) member of the Diet (parliament), Yukio Hatoyama, said after returning from Moscow in October 1988: "I was considering the problem [Kurils] as something separate from the bilateral economic issue at first, but now I have changed my mind because Japan can take advantage of its economic strength and use it as a lever to pry some concessions from the Soviet Union on the issue" (*Japan Times*, 19 December 1988).

The Japanese bourgeoisie has been trying to get the southern Kurils back since the end of World War II. Tokyo has refused to sign a peace treaty with the USSR formally ending the war precisely because of this territorial "dispute." And the demand "Return the Northern Territories" is a main battle cry of the Japanese fascists. The Japanese bourgeoisie has been miffed that while Gorbachev's "new thinking" has led to the withdrawal from Afghanistan, the capitalist reunification of Germany, dismantling of the Warsaw Pact, they haven't reaped any benefits in Asia yet. Japanese imperialism wants similar concessions and troop withdrawals in the Far East and is demanding the southern Kurils today, and probably the capitalist reunification of Korea tomorrow, as its price for extended economic aid to the USSR.

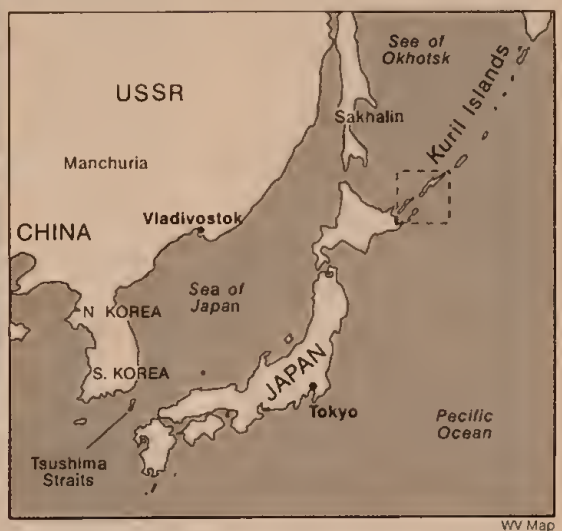
Japan's revanchist drive to take back the Kurils has the rest of Asia pretty worried; they remember well the last time Japan set out to expand its territory. Even China, which for years supported Japan's territorial claims to pursue its border dispute with the USSR, backed off to a more neutral stance when there was a likelihood of a deal.

In the wake of the U.S. destruction of Iraq in the Persian Gulf War, the Soviet military has taken a harder line against further concessions to world imperialism, especially the ceding of *strategically important Soviet territory*. Nonetheless, Gorbachev certainly tried to appease Japanese imperialism while he was in town. He offered phased troop withdrawals from the Kurils and reductions in Soviet Far East forces. In a speech before the Keidanren, Gorbachev offered an economic free trade zone in the port city Nakhodka, promised to make the ruble convertible into hard currency and proposed a "Soviet-Japan development bank" to help finance a plethora of projects for Siberia and the Soviet Far East. The Japanese reply was always: yes, we are interested in these proposals—but give us the islands first!

Gorbachev engaged in a series of marathon negotiation sessions with the Kaifu government to trade "interpretations" of who really has "rights" to the Kurils. Prior to Gorbachev's arrival the bourgeois press launched a media blitz rewriting history to suit Japanese imperialism's revanchist claims and preparing public opinion to blame Gorbachev if a deal wasn't cut. But for communists the Kurils have nothing to do with the national question, historical "claims," or interpretation of the fine print in imperialist documents. The Kurils are part of the USSR's Pacific defense and while Gorbachev & Co. are willing to undermine this to curry favor with imperialism, the proletariat's interests are quite the opposite.

AFP

Japanese prime minister Kaifu (right) tells Gorbachev: give us Kuril Islands (boxed area in map shows islands demanded by Japan). Imperialists want to bottle up Soviet fleet in Vladivostok and Sea of Okhotsk.



WV Map

The "Interim Preliminary Agreement for Common Work in Japan," between the international Spartacist tendency (now the International Communist League) and the Rekken group (now the Spartacist Group Japan), signed on 26 October 1986, says:

> "The main enemy is at home! In Japan it is therefore the elementary duty of revolutionaries to oppose Japanese imperialism's revanchist and chauvinist claims to the four so-called Northern Islands, now part of the USSR. For the right of unrestricted passage of all Soviet ships through the Tsushima, Soya and Tsugaru Straits and all other passages connecting the Sea of Japan to the Pacific!"
>
> —see *Spartacist* No. 41-42 (Winter 1987-88)

Kondakov/Moscow News

Okura Kengo

Soviet border guard on Kunashiri in the Kurils (above). Ultrarightist demonstrators in Tokyo (right) demand that Japanese imperialism take back the Kurils and southern Sakhalin.

Japanese Imperialism and the Kurils

The Kurils are a subarctic archipelago, consisting of more than 30 islands strung in a 1,200-kilometer arc between the Kamchatka Peninsula in Siberia and Hokkaido, the northernmost island of Japan. The mid-17th century brought explorers from Russia, Japan and West Europe, but permanent colonies, although attempted, were never successful. The history of the Russo-Japanese Kuril boundary, which for nearly two centuries was a relatively unexplored and vague frontier, had nothing to do with

continued on page 11

Young Spartacus

An Exchange with Jailed Black Panther

On Integrated Education and Black Liberation

For nearly 20 years Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa (David Rice) has been in jail, the victim of a frame-up under the notorious FBI COINTELPRO conspiracy against the Black Panther Party and its supporters. Mondo was a leader of the Omaha, Nebraska Committee to Combat Fascism and of the Omaha Panthers. Despite five volumes of COINTELPRO papers documenting the government's vendetta against this freedom fighter and a letter of regret from the "witness" on whose perjured testimony Mondo was falsely convicted of killing a cop, a recent petition for habeas corpus was denied. Despite this latest setback, Mondo remains unbroken and unwilling to cut a deal for anything less than a declaration of innocence on the charges which have robbed him of nearly half his life. We demand freedom for Mondo and his co-defendant Ed Poindexter—now!

Behind bars, Mondo, an award-winning writer, is a frequent contributor to the *Lincoln Journal* and *Milwaukee Courier* newspapers. The Partisan Defense Committee received a letter from Mondo in response to our *Young Spartans* article "For Quality, Integrated Education for All!" (*WV* No. 517, 4 January). Excerpts from Mondo's letter and our reply are printed below.

* * *

7 January 1991

I just got through reading "For Quality, Integrated Education for All" in the latest *Workers Vanguard*. The article attacks/is critical of the idea of African folks having schools for African people and schools that teach African males and African females separately. Without going to specific words and phrases in the article, I will say that the tone of the article is one which smacks of arrogance, racist at worst and ethnocentric at best.

Nat Weinstein

Jailed Black Panther Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen wa Langa (David Rice).

African people are a minority in *this country*, a subjugated minority. What integration has typically meant for us is a losing of ourselves in the predominant caucasian culture. When one is a member of the majority group, the group whose members hold power, it is quite an easy thing for him or her to speak favorably of integration, unless that person is a blatant and extreme racist, he or she has nothing to lose. African folks have something to lose however, and many of us have lost it in these various integration schemes—namely, a sense of the African self.

Essentially, American culture is caucasian culture. This is meaningful because there are things about caucasian culture that are dangerous for caucasian people and much more dangerous for African people. Caucasian culture is marked by a philosophy of expedience, materialism, individualism, competitiveness, both an obsession with and fear of sex, and racism.

Traditional African societies were/are communal, spiritualistic, and were neither afraid of nor obsessed with sex. European colonialism in Africa altered seriously the characteristics of our societies and European enslavement of African people in America altered our ways and ways of looking at things. When you add to that the impacts upon African people of the commercial media, schools, churches, etc., you wind up with a whole hunch of African people who are African physiologically but European or Euro-American psychologically and intellectually. Let me give an example—Colin Powell. He appears to be an African, but he sees things through the eyes of the caucasian power structure. He is quite willing to subvert the interest of his own people for sake of the furtherance of the aims of his bosses.

Since the *Vanguard* article speaks of integration, let me take us back to Brown v. Board of Education. You may recall that, at the trial, an experiment was conducted in which African children were presented with brown dolls and white dolls and asked to pick dolls they associated with certain favorable traits and to pick dolls they associated with certain unfavorable traits. The results were clear—the African children associated the white dolls with the favorable traits and the brown dolls with the unfavorable. The results were replicated in two separate studies just a few years ago—one here in the States and the other in the Caribbean, I believe.

The major institutions of this society have either the designed or latent function of programming people to believe in the supremacy of caucasians. Integration is not going to change this. Some African people—myself included—believe that we ought to be establishing our own institutions and wresting control over others so that we can bring our people back to an African consciousness. That is our business. We have a right to want to protect our people from further debilitating effects of a majority society's sickness.

Look at what's going on around us—Bush threatening thousands of lives, not only because of U.S. corporate interests, but because of his threatened "manhood"; thousands of teenage girls getting plastic surgery to get "ideal" bodies and faces and men getting breast and calf implants in order to look more muscular; a whole bunch of folks suffering from sexual identity crises; parents neglecting their children while they hustle for economic status; corporations poisoning our foods for profits; audiences that applaud all kinds of dumb entertainment because they are directed to by applause signs; etc.

I am not saying that there is only sickness in caucasian society or that caucasians have cornered the market on sickness. I am saying that African folks have a right to want to remove ourselves from a culture that is killing us and that we ought to be able to do so without being attacked as being backward or "reverse racists," and other such madness. When caucasians who are progressive can successfully treat caucasian institutions, then it might make some sense for Africans to speak of integration.

America has done terrible damage to African people. We would be foolish to depend on others to repair that damage.

AP

Spartacists fought for labor/black defense of busing and its extension to the suburbs. While racist mobs attacked blacks in the streets, liberals in city hall and Congress killed school integration.

Forman/Boston Herald American

The *Vanguard* article I'm speaking of is but one of many in which it has been suggested that African people are unqualified to make our own decisions, when those decisions are not in agreement with the Spartacist League's "correct line." Caucasians who claim to be progressive must learn to expunge arrogance from themselves, to expunge from themselves dogmatism. I'm going to cut this short to mention a couple of other things. By the way, if you wish to print the above, you are welcome to....

Mondo

Young Spartacus replies: Mondo argues that black survival necessitates a withdrawal from "caucasian culture" and

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Defend Gays Against Fascist Attacks!

University of Chicago

Gay students at the University of Chicago are being terrorized by an ominous gang of fascists called the "Brotherhood of the Iron Fist."

• In February, Andrew Ross, president of the Gay and Lesbian Alliance (GALA), and several other students began receiving death threats by mail. Posters appeared on campus threatening "Death to Fags and Fag-Lovers."

• On March 17, graduate student Chris Bauer was attacked in a campus building by two self-proclaimed members of the "Brotherhood" wearing ski masks and screaming anti-gay epithets. Bauer, who walks with a cane, was knocked to the ground and kicked in the head, legs and kidneys. The attackers then brandished a syringe and threatened to inject air into his bloodstream and kill him.

• On April 15, Ross, Bauer and another student received death threat letters that were no idle threat. The letters were laced with the lethal neurotoxin acrylimide which can be absorbed through the skin.

These cowardly fascist scum want to *kill* gays and they had better be stopped now! Hundreds of students have rallied on campus to protest the anti-gay attacks. But the liberal organizers of the protests are wasting time by calling on the administration, cops and FBI to take action against the fascists. The allies the students need are not the administration, cops and G-men, who have proven they will shield these masked would-be murderers, but the campus workers, city labor and the surrounding black community.

Young Spartacus

May 3—U of C students rally to demand an end to anti-gay attacks.

In 1987 when campus brownshirt Russell Miller and his "Great White Brotherhood" targeted gays, leftists and liberal professors with death threats, the administration collaborated with Miller in a McCarthyite "investigation" of gays and leftists who Miller claimed were harassing him. The administration's dirty work included a 2 a.m. raid on the offices of the campus newspaper led by Assistant Dean Andrew Turkington during which staffers were interrogated about being "gay or communists." Last week, the same Dean Turkington unilaterally canceled an "open" forum scheduled to discuss the recent attacks because newspaper reporters were to be present!

Providing safe haven for bush-league Nazis is small potatoes for a university that counts among its crimes the development of the A-bombs that obliterated Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and headquartered the "Chicago Boys" Arnold Harberger and Milton Friedman who brain-trusted the starvation economic policies of Chilean dictator Pinochet.

Speaking at a May Day rally on campus, a Spartacus Youth Club member explained:

> "It's crucial that you not hold any illusions in the administration or the cops. Their job is to run this university as a training ground for the leaders of this decaying capitalist system, that just

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CUNY...

(continued from page 12)

CUNY students turned out in support of the unionists and for common action against Cuomo's killer cuts. But for the bureaucrats who control the unions, talk of "solidarity" with the student strikers was a cruel hoax.

CUNY chancellor Ann Reynolds was brought in to get rid of open admissions. If the cuts go through, *tens of thousands* of predominantly minority, poor and working-class students will lose their chance at a college education. When City College students—with their backs to the wall and the cops breathing down their necks—asked Local 1199 president Dennis Rivera for help, this reputed "militant" offered nothing and instead told them to give up their building occupations to "educate the community"! Rivera, a vice chairman of the state Democratic Party, said in an interview (*New York Newsday*, 6 May): "I have not lost faith that we can get the governor to come back to traditional Democratic values"! And on May 1, when campus workers at Hunter College were ordered to show up in street clothes and take the doors off the occupied East Building, union leaders went along with this grotesque Operation Storm!

Also to blame are the self-isolating tactics of student government junior bureaucrats, who appointed themselves "delegates" elected at secret meetings, and deliberately narrowed support, excluding both "outside agitators" and interested students from joining the takeovers. This left the building occupiers alone on the campuses, so that when they were ejected from Hunter all they could do was throw stale bagels at the administration's cameramen (for which CUNY charged them with assault). At an April 26 Barnard College forum, New York Spartacus Youth Club member and CCNY student Leticia Candia described what followed:

> "In a predawn raid this morning, 200 riot-equipped cops stormed into Bronx Community College and arrested 19 students. At BMCC students are separated from their communities, isolated in yuppie lower Manhattan. There the dirty work was done by several hundred nursing students (we called them the 'candy-stripers from hell') who smashed the glass and took back the building. Chancellor Ann Reynolds was at the scene of the crime, crowing about how it made her proud to be a woman. It made me sick. These are serious setbacks to our fight."

Now kangaroo courts have been set up, and student protesters face expulsions, suspensions or the possibility of "probation" for the rest of their college careers.

Estrin/NY Times

April 27—Students from Lehman College in the Bronx forced out of occupied building by the cops.

The Spartacus Youth Club demands: No reprisals! Drop all charges against CUNY student protesters!

Cuomo's vicious budget cuts target not only students, but all working people. Mayor David ("They'll take it from me") Dinkins has just announced 27,000 planned layoffs of city workers, as well as closings of clinics, schools, libraries, swimming pools and even the zoos! The angry director of the Staten Island Zoo threatened "to loose his homeless snakes, crocodiles and parakeets on City Hall," warning that "We'll have to put our stock up for sale or on the steps of City Hall, and a rattlesnake wouldn't look very appropriate there" (*Newsday*, 30 April). The only city employees who won't be cut, of course, are the racist police, who routinely murder black and Hispanic youth.

Faced with the anger of the union ranks, New York's labor leaders—Rivera, Stanley Hill of AFSCME District 37, Teamsters head Barry Feinstein, and Sandra Feldman of the UFT—called a demonstration for April 30 (explicitly *not* May Day, the international workers holiday). Some tens of thousands of black and Hispanic workers marched from the Battery to the World Trade Center, filling the streets of the financial district protesting Cuomo and the cuts. Yet four days later, Hill, Feldman and Feinstein (sporting a "Desert Storm" cap) were munching on chicken tarragon and asparagus with Dinkins at Gracie Mansion, plotting how to shove cutbacks down workers' throats.

April 30 was the day the Transport Workers Union Local 100 contract expired. This powerhouse of city labor should have said "No Contract—No Work" and shut down all subway and bus traffic in NYC. If the unions had even held their demonstration during working hours, the Big Apple would have been shut down tight. But that wasn't the intention of Dinkins' and Cuomo's loyal "labor lieutenants." They just wanted the ranks to blow off some steam.

They made no secret of it: the speakers platform at the rally had a sign reading, "Unions, Bankers, Politicians, Students, Brokers, Seniors, Corporations, Parents... Let's work together to save New York!" But we're *not* "all in this together"—we're on one side of the barricades in the class struggle, the bankers and corporations are on the other! The whole thing was a big slap in the face to the courageous CUNY students, hundreds of whom showed up only to be stuck at the end of the march. When several angry students burned a flag on a pile of anti-Cuomo posters, they were jumped by nightstick-wielding cops, and two were arrested. These students face felony charges of "assaulting an officer." The SYC demands all the charges be dropped!

Throughout the CUNY protests, the Spartacus Youth Clubs fought to link the students with class-struggle militants in the unions. Transit workers fought in their union meeting for strike action against the TA's new cutback contract, putting up a motion concluding, "we resolve to strike to defend our jobs, safety and livelihoods and we recognize that our struggle is part of the struggle of all of NYC labor and the CUNY students." The response of the TWU bureaucracy was to immediately rule the motion out of order—and to hoot out a contingent of CUNY students, who had come in hope of labor support, from the union hall!

To prove their loyalty to Dinkins, Cuomo and Wall Street, the misleaders of labor who hide behind the no-strike Taylor Law again seek to lead the workers like sheep to the slaughter. Stanley Hill intones, "We must all share the pain." To hell with that—we're for *inflicting* pain on Wall Street, through canceling the debt and expropriating the banks! We need a workers party to ally the militant students and oppressed minorities with the working class in struggle to sweep away this decrepit capitalist system which is today throwing students out of school and workers out of their jobs. ■

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Balkans...

(continued from page 1)

their chops at the prospect of regaining full control of the Balkans. "Yugoslavia: Breaking Up Is Good to Do," proclaims a column in the *Wall Street Journal* (8 March). The *U.S. News & World Report* (1 April) notes that "the renewed turmoil in the Balkans could even serve as a pilot for demolition of the Soviet Union, where the crisis of the republics resembles Yugoslavia's on a grander scale." But others are worried. "The Balkans, Once Again the Powder Keg of Europe," headlined the Italian daily *La Repubblica* (4 May).

The violent breakup of Yugoslavia could ignite a new Balkan war and even draw in the major powers. For example, both Bulgaria and Greece have territorial claims on Macedonia. Croatia's anti-Communist leader Tudjman has openly appealed to Bush and British prime minister John Major to support his secession bid against the Yugoslav federal army. U.S. imperialism, puffed up by its victory in the Persian Gulf War and believing the Soviet Union is now prostrate, could move to extend the "new world order" to the Balkans. Every European schoolchild knows it was a wild act of terrorism by a Serbian nationalist in Bosnia in 1914 which triggered the mass slaughter of the First World War.

Titoist Yugoslavia Unravels

Yugoslavia in its original form was the direct outcome of that war. It was established in 1918 as part of the Wilsonian imperialist reconstruction of Europe. Headed by a Serbian king, Yugoslavia was quickly consumed by the conflict between the Roman Catholic Croats, who had been part of the Habsburg Empire, and the Eastern Orthodox Serbians, who had earlier broken from the Ottoman Empire. Croatian nationalists formed the Ustasha, which ran a puppet government for the Nazis in World War II, murdering hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Jews and Roma (gypsies).

The Communist partisans under Tito (whose father was a Croat and mother a Slovene) were able to mobilize the workers and peasants of Yugoslavia against both the Nazi German forces and homegrown genocidal nationalists of all sides. After the war, capitalism was thus overthrown in Yugoslavia through an indigenous social revolution, unlike the rest of East Europe where the bourgeois order was smashed by the Soviet Red Army as it drove back the Nazi German Wehrmacht. This gave the Tito regime the enormous popular authority to break with Stalin in 1948 and proclaim its own independent "Yugoslav road to socialism." Nonetheless Yugoslavia, like the East European "People's Democracies," was from the outset a workers state *deformed* by Stalinist bureaucratic rule. And herein lay the seeds of its present disintegration.

Within the nationalist framework of Stalinism, the Tito regime went about as far as it could to establish a genuinely multinational federation. But national divisions could not be overcome on the basis of building "socialism" in one relatively backward Balkan country. In fact, the economic decentralization and "market socialism" which Tito made his trademark enormously intensified the inequalities between republics and

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Integrated Education...

(continued from page 6)

rediscovering "traditional African values" through nationalist separatism. Fighting the internalized race-hatred which poisons the minds of black youth into believing that they and not society are to blame is an essential part of combatting oppression. But our aim is not merely to change *perceptions* of race and class but to change *reality*. The fight for freedom is not ultimately a psychological struggle but a political one.

The root cause of the desperate conditions of black America—entrenched poverty, homelessness, unemployment, poor schools, racist cop terror—is the capitalist economic system which keeps blacks isolated at the bottom as a race-color caste, the better to keep the multiethnic working class from uniting against the exploiters. America is one nation with a rigid color line—with white on top of black. The educational system and bourgeois "culture" necessarily perpetuate this racist status quo, but the mechanism of white domination and black oppression in the U.S. is *not* forced assimilation but *segregation*.

There is no separate black nation in the U.S.; no separate economy, language, or land. Since the promise of equality was betrayed in the defeat of Radical Reconstruction, black people have suffered Jim Crow discrimination in all spheres of life and have been manipulated as a reserve army of labor for the capitalist class—the last hired and first fired. At the same time, blacks were integrated into strategic sectors of the economy. As the most militant sector of those who produce the wealth in this society, black workers have tremendous potential social power and can lead the ghetto masses and even backward, racist white workers in struggle against the owners. But with the decay of American capitalism, blacks are increasingly pushed *out* of industry and other areas of potential power. And the call for separate black education, no matter what the motivation, *necessarily feeds into the racists' campaign to drive blacks even further back into a powerless and precarious existence*

The defeat of busing for school integration, the *enforced ghettoization* of blacks in poverty, the military and prisons, fuel a nationalist mood today. Against black nationalists and the "Uncle Tom" black Democrats, we fight to build a multiracial communist vanguard party to lead *all* the working people and oppressed. Racial oppression is so deeply built into the American class structure that only the *destruction* of existing class relations and the change in class rule—the passing of power into the hands of the working class—will strike at the heart of racism and bring about equality through *revolutionary integration* into a socialist society.

The separatism that Mondo espouses does echo today among a layer of alienated black youth who rightly hate this racist society and bitterly resent the betrayals of black freedom struggles by leaders preaching accommodation to the status quo. The danger in this is that it's not a program for *struggle* but a utopian and reactionary *withdrawal* from the fight at the very moment the ruling class is carrying out genocide against the black ghetto!

Historically, the ideas of black separatism have found an echo in periods of *defeat* when united struggle seemed impossible. Marcus Garvey's "Back to Africa" movement peaked in the 1920s when the Klan had millions of members nationwide. But black workers swept aside this reactionary escapism as soon as the possibility for successful struggle was felt, and joined the fights to organize the CIO in the '30s. In New York City today, CUNY students (overwhelmingly black and Hispanic) are fighting a racist economic purge of minority youth from the university. They know that separate necessarily means inferior and unequal in a racist society.

Ebony

Struggle for freedom requires smashing racist segregation. Civil rights activists in 1960s demonstrate ageinst Jim Crow education.

The American ruling class no longer needs or wants educated black youth—they're considered an "expendable" surplus population. The White House is now scheming to liquidate public education into the "free market." Rich white people already send their children to well-financed private schools or suburban "public" country clubs that the black population has no access to, while the poor clock time in urban holding pens where little education can take place because there's no money for teachers, books or equipment—and little in the way of jobs promising a future for minority youth as a motivation for study. Now Bush wants to make it official; let public funds "follow the students" to private schools—which will duplicate on a national scale the "white flight" to racist "academies" in the South following the Supreme Court's 1954 desegregation decision. This is a program to wreck the entire public education system.

This attack cries out for a massive fight back on behalf of all working-class youth! Instead, what we're getting from middle-class black elected officials and black nationalists is an accommodation to the rollback of black rights dressed up as proposals for "Afrocentric" schools exclusively for black males. This not only lets the racist white ruling class off the hook, it's a proposal to ghettoize the teaching of some of the most important history that *all* fighters for social justice must learn. White schoolchildren as well as black schoolchildren need to learn about Denmark Vesey, Frederick Douglass, John Brown, and Karl Marx. But we're Marxists, not idealists, and understand that education is a class question. True quality education for the masses will be possible only with the expropriation of the bourgeoisie and the establishment of working-class rule.

The real purpose of segregating young black males—already stigmatized as the "problem element" in society—has nothing to do with education, but *repression*. If compulsory segregation used to be the means by which a Jim Crow society deprived blacks of attaining any economic or social power, it is now increasingly the means for social *control*. Black sociologist Kenneth Clark hit the nail on the head in denouncing schools for black males as "prep schools for correctional institutions" (*New York Times*, 10 January).

There is a basic reality that Mondo does not want to face: blacks in America are not Africans, but black Americans. But Mondo also argues an idealized conception of race and culture and traditional African societies. The whole history of humankind has been a bloody saga of the domination of one group by another, and Africa is no exception. Some pretty gruesome practices—including war, slavery, sexual mutilation of young girls (clitorectomies)—were present in African societies even before the continent was raped by white colonialists. European colonialism destroyed the traditional African communities, but African peoples were not then integrated into Western culture. The colonial regimes utilized tribal chiefs as overseers in exploiting their own people.

This is especially clear in South Africa. The bantustan system was an attempt at the enforced *retribalization* of South African blacks. Those seeking to implement "Afrocentric" education are the Buthelezis, the black front men for racist rule. Whereas the overwhelming demand of blacks fighting for freedom from apartheid slavery has been for full access to the best, most comprehensive education possible.

It is not clear just what Mondo considers to be "caucasian culture." The musician Wynton Marsalis has made enormous contributions to *world culture*, drawing not only on the black jazz tradition but a rigorous study and mastery of classical music. Marsalis could not achieve the greatness that he has if his education was self-limiting "Afrocentrism." The natural sciences are also part of the universal culture of mankind. It was the Nazis who dismissed Einstein's theory of relativity and quantum mechanics as a Jewish invention and promoted their own "theory" of "Aryan physics." As the term algebra indicates, much of the math taught in American schools was developed by the Arabs. And during the European Middle Ages, it was Arab scholars who preserved the heritage of classical Greek philosophy.

Not only General Colin Powell but the whole panoply of black politicians who serve as mayors and police chiefs of this country's major cities (and whose election to office is presented by black nationalists as a step toward "black empowerment") are *betrayers* of the black masses. Mondo presents Powell as some kind of victim of the "caucasian" educational process. No!—he and his kind are conscious servants of the bourgeois power; they have signed on as overseers on the capitalist plantation.

As Richard Fraser emphasized in a 1953 lecture on "The Negro Struggle and the Proletarian Revolution": "The concept of race has now been overthrown in biological science. But *race* as the keystone of exploitation remains. Race is a social relation and has only a social reality." There's no necessary correlation between ethnicity and human behavior. People are not fundamentally different from one another because of their skin color, hair texture, or other physical variations. Race has significance in the U.S. because it is the basis for injustice, a means to order the relations between people based on the needs of a capitalist economy. There is no separate road to black freedom in this country. What's required is building an integrated party to *finish the Civil War* by smashing the capitalist mode of production. Then discrimination, segregation, and racist cop terror will go the way of the slave auction block—relics for a museum of the history of a particularly barbarous society. ■

regions. Per capita income in Slovenia is *ten times* that of Albanian-populated Kosovo! In addition to "market socialism," Yugoslavia pioneered mortgaging its collectivized economy to Western bankers, who are now squeezing the country dry with a savage austerity program. In the month of February alone *7,000* state-owned enterprises were forced to declare bankruptcy.

While seeking to overcome national antagonisms within Yugoslavia, the Tito regime adopted a nationalist stance toward its Balkan neighbors. Tito and his colleagues were committed to preserving the state borders established by the 1918 Versailles Treaty of the victorious imperialist powers. Thus the Belgrade Stalinists quarreled with Bulgaria over Macedonia and did not recognize the right of self-determination for Yugoslavia's Albanians. Nonetheless, for three and a half decades the Tito regime, based on the organization and authority of the partisan victory, held together Yugoslavia as a multinational state based on collectivized property. But with the passing of the partisan generation, signaled by Tito's death in 1980, all of the old nationalist crap has returned with a vengeance.

Horvat/Picture Group

Steel workers strike in Montenegro in 1988. United working class under genuine communist leadership can stop intercommunalist slaughter and breakup of Yugoslavia.

"Slobo" and the Rise of Serbian Nationalism

Today, the pro-Western Croat and Slovene nationalists are in the vanguard of the forces seeking to break up Yugoslavia. But the current disintegration was set into motion by the rise of Serbian nationalism with the ascendancy of Slobodan Milosevic (known as "Slobo" to his followers). The Milosevic regime in Serbia is usually depicted and denounced in the Western bourgeois media as the last Stalinist holdout in East Europe. Yet Milosevic in his own way decisively broke with and attacked the Titoist system.

Tito sought to overcome traditional national loyalties and enmities by promoting a higher pan-Yugoslav nationalism. He attempted to cut back the predominance of the Serbian republic by granting autonomy to the Albanian-populated region of Kosovo and also to Vojvodina with its large Hungarian population. By contrast, Milosevic rose to power by exploiting and fomenting anti-Albanian Serbian chauvinism. He has openly allied himself with the Serbian Orthodox church while downgrading Tito's memory.

The roots of the enmity between Serbs and Albanians go back to the conquest of the Balkans by the Ottoman Turks in the 15th century. The Albanians converted to Islam and acted as Ottoman loyalists against the Serbs, who preserved their own national church as focus of resistance to Turkish domination. An Albanian historian in Kosovo told an American journalist:

> "The Serbian Orthodox Church boasts of Serbia's role in stopping the advance of 'the dark culture,' by which it means Islam. Its outlook is narrow and provincial, and as Communism has declined that cast of mind has grown more powerful, promoting an angry Serbian nationalism."
>
> —*New Yorker*, 18 March

Beginning in the early 1980s, Albanians—who constitute the third largest national group in Yugoslavia—demanded that Kosovo be granted full republican status equivalent to Serbia or Croatia. Albanian agitation was met with massive repression, and in 1989 Milosevic eliminated what little remained of the region's autonomy in his drive to create a Greater Serbia. The present crisis of Stalinist rule next door in Albania can only inflame the Kosovo question. In the more fluid situation, the question of unification of the Albanian people is directly posed. As proletarian internationalists, we have called for the right of self-determination for the Albanian people within the framework of a socialist federation of the Balkans.

Unlike the nationalist leaders in Croatia and Slovenia, Milosevic has not declared his intention to restore capitalism immediately. For this reason, he is branded as "still a Communist" in the Western press. But this former head of the Yugoslav state bank has long proclaimed that he favors the transition to a "market economy," and for the past few years he has served as the agent of Wall Street and Frankfurt financiers in imposing a harsh austerity on Serbia's working people.

In order to win the elections last December, Milosevic adopted a more "populist" economic posture and pumped millions of dinars into faltering state enterprises. But since then the money has run out. Paychecks are arriving two to three months late at state-owned companies, and when they do arrive the checks are only a fraction of what's owed the workers. A young machine operator in a Belgrade engine plant exclaimed: "Before the elections everything was fine. We got our money. After that they forgot about us" (London *Guardian*, 22 March).

The economic desperation has boosted the right-wing opposition to Milosevic, led by Vuc Draskovic's Serbian Renewal Party. Draskovic identifies himself with the royalist Chetniks, suppressed by Tito's partisans, and is demanding a referendum on restoring the monarchy! In mid-March Draskovic's boys staged violent protests in central Belgrade to which Milosevic responded with a mixture of repression and concessions. It is by no means unthinkable that Milosevic and Draskovic can come to terms on a program of Greater Serbian nationalism.

Federal Committee for Information, Belgrade

Victims of Nazi-backed Croatian Ustashi fascists during World War II.

Showdown in Croatia

While Draskovic seeks to resurrect the Serbian royalist Chetniks, the new leaders in Croatia hark back to the Ustashi fascists. Croatian president Franjo Tudjman is a former general and university professor who in his writings apologized for the Ustashi government, describing it as "the expression of the historical aspirations of the Croatian nation for its independent state." Under Tudjman, a newly formed "special security unit" is sporting the resurrected Ustashi red-and-white checkered crest on their caps. One of his first acts after being elected last year was to rename the Square for the Victims of Fascism in the capital of Zagreb...now it's the Square of the Croatian Giants.

All this has naturally alarmed the Serbian communities in Croatia—15 percent of the republic's population—for whom the genocidal atrocities of the Ustashi are still a living memory. A 50-year-old schoolteacher in Petrinja recalls that as a child, "I watched my house burn down, and I'd like to save my son from enduring the same thing" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 12 April). It was from such Serbian villages in Croatia that Tito recruited many fighters for the Communist partisans. And now that anti-Communist Croat nationalists are back in power in Zagreb, the Serbian communities are in open rebellion.

For a Socialist Federation of the Balkans!

The only force still holding Yugoslavia together is the federal army, whose officer corps is 70 percent Serbian. As a last-ditch defense, early this year army generals formed the Communist League—Movement for Yugoslavia, dubbed the "generals' party." A document issued by the army's Central Political Commissariat vowed:

> "Neither in Yugoslavia is socialism finished and brought to its knees. Though paying a high price, it has managed to overcome the first strike of the anti-communist hysteria wave. A real possibility has been kept to preserve the country as a federal and socialist society."
>
> —London *Guardian*, 2 February

At the present time, proletarian internationalists would give military support to the Yugoslav federal army against the counterrevolutionary Croatian regime. But the Stalinist military cadre cannot preserve Yugoslavia, especially since the army command is susceptible to Serbian nationalism represented by the vile demagogue Milosevic. At most the army can hold off the forces of intercommunalist slaughter for a while and buy time for the emergence of a *proletarian* pole, which alone can stop the headlong drive toward a new Balkan war.

That the potential for common class struggle exists was demonstrated a few weeks ago when 700,000 Serbian textile, metal and leather workers staged a one-day protest strike against the austerity program ordered by Western bankers. They were joined by 10,000 coal miners in Bosnia. This was the biggest labor protest since World War II. What is desperately needed in Yugoslavia is a genuine communist party which can channel the workers' economic resistance against the forces of murderous nationalism and their imperialist godfathers in the struggle for a socialist federation of the Balkans.

But socialism cannot be built in isolation in the relatively backward Balkan lands. Indeed, the powerful and unrelenting pressure of the world capitalist market is a prime cause for the present disintegration of Yugoslavia and also the nationalist fissuring of the Soviet Union. Clearly the fate of Yugoslavia is tied to that of the Soviet Union, as well as to class struggle in Western Europe. As Trotsky wrote in a discussion with his Greek supporters in the early 1930s: "A revolutionary perspective is impossible without a federation of the Balkan states, which obviously will not stop here, but rather will extend into the federation of the United Soviet States of Europe." ■

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California...

(continued from page 12)

demanding that Wilson and the legislature under black liberal Democratic Assembly Speaker Willy Brown fork over the funds! In the meantime, let the labor movement impose a few draconian austerity measures of their own—there's a drought, after all, so cut off water to the state capitol buildings! And power blackouts—let the legislators and the governor make do with candles until they "see the light."

Right-Wing California Dreamin'

It's not only an attack on the working class as a whole—there's a racist edge as well. The Richmond school district has apparently been chosen as a test case because it's 70 percent minority, and faces a fiscal crisis as a result of a deficit run up by the former superintendent Walter Marks, "who attempted to integrate the district" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 29 April). The ruling class not only does not want to pay for educating the masses anymore, but wants to put an end to "race mixing."

Wilson's 1990 gubernatorial platform was indistinguishable from that of his Democratic opponent Dianne Feinstein. Both spelled out their racist ideologies in wholehearted support for the death penalty (no idle question in the state with over 300 on death row). The eight-year reign of Wilson's predecessor, George Deukmejian, was a Reaganite orgy, with the building of 15 new prisons and a 250 percent increase in the state's prison population (which now exceeds that of Britain, Germany or Italy).

Wilson's campaign appealed to law-and-order racism, calling for longer prison terms and ever more severity in the "war on drugs." In an election marked by the lowest voter turnout in at least 48 years, conservative white Californians voted in Wilson, the former San Diego mayor and U.S. Senator who has all the charisma of a slice of Wonder Bread.

Upon his inauguration in January, Wilson unveiled his early proposals to address the budget deficit, including an increase in taxes on alcohol—a measure which had been resoundingly voted down two months earlier in the state elections! He announced a plan to cut welfare payments for single mothers by 9 percent. In case you didn't catch the malice in it, Wilson commented, "I am confident they will be able to pay the rent, but they will have less for a six-pack of beer." The cuts would mean a mother with two kids would get a monthly check of $633.

Both capitalist parties find it expedient to denounce welfare programs as "habit-forming crutches" that discourage pulling oneself up by the bootstraps. Urban blacks correctly see this bipartisan attack as a policy of slow genocide. A study released by the Food Research & Action Center in Washington, D.C. shows hunger among children in California above the national average of 12.7 percent—and this in the state that produces more food than any other in the U.S.

Education Down the Sinkhole

Wilson's attack is part of a White House scheme to *liquidate* the public school system, a historic gain of the working class. Under Bush's plan for "freedom of choice," rich kids get to go to exclusive (racially and otherwise) private "academies" and everybody else can fend for themselves. It is a sign of the decay of capitalism that conditions are being rolled back to the *19th century*, when public education was a vital demand aimed at breaking the old aristocratic *private* school system and the hold of the church. Indeed, the tenth demand of Marx and Engels' famous Communist Manifesto of 1848 called for "Free education for all children in public schools." This was also aimed at undermining the child labor system in industry. Public schools fueled the growth of dynamic American capitalism as wave after wave of immigrants arrived and went to school, hoping to improve their lot. Now the "American dream" is targeted for destruction in the twilight of capitalism.

The Richmond schools debacle has attracted nationwide attention because across the country public education is being gutted by the ruling class. Pete Wilson, his eye on the White House, is doing what every bourgeois politician does: going after unions and minorities with venom. "As for the kids [of Richmond school district], who cares? They're mostly not white and not rich," writes Rob Morse in the *San Francisco Examiner* (1 May). "Wilson...has attempted to nail the doorway shut, put the schools up for a yard sale and reduce teachers and students alike to careers at McDonald's." Besides Richmond, at least 25 other school districts in the state are about to go belly up, and some 500 districts are scrambling to find funds. Virtually all, including Oakland and San Francisco, are being cut to the bone. Ten thousand notices of possible layoff have been sent out so far statewide.

The education ax in California will cut particularly viciously at minorities, now composing an estimated 43 percent of the state population. Hispanics now make up about 25 percent, blacks over 7 percent, and Asians almost 10 percent—and those proportions are even higher among school-age children. The Asian population alone has increased 127 percent over the last ten years. Of more than 200,000 students entering the public schools each year, about 20 percent speak little or no English. The proposed cuts will mean virtually wiping out bilingual education. So hundreds of thousands of immigrant children will receive virtually no instruction they can comprehend. Wilson openly scapegoats immigrants for the state's financial plight, declaring that California "has more than its share" of refugees from Mexico, Central America and Asia. Of these, however, many are not even eligible under immigration laws for most of the welfare programs, such as food stamps, that Wilson so deplores.

Sander/Gamma-Liaison

Empty reservoir in Los Padres National Forest. If governor wants to turn the tap off the schools, workers should shut off water to state capitol.

Fight or Starve

The wrangling in Sacramento provoked by the budget crisis is a predictable bourgeois response. On April 3, Jesse Jackson led a rally of teachers, parents and students at the state capitol, pushing tax-the-rich schemes and pleading for "some mercy in leadership," while hinting of his own presidential aspirations for 1992. In March Jackson addressed teachers and parents in the Richmond school district, blaming Republicans for the mess and calling to "change the priorities." What cynical hype! The priorities of capitalism are, in order: profit, profit, and profit. S&Ls get bailed out, not schools.

In 1978, Democratic California governor Jerry Brown hopped on the petty-bourgeois "tax-revolt" bandwagon, as Prop 13 (the Jarvis-Gann amendment) cut local property taxes, shifting the burden of funding schools away from local governments onto the state. Prop 13 rode in on a wave of racist reaction against "big government" including funding for social programs. Despite providing some tax relief for older homeowners, the real gains fell to holders of big property—big-time landlords and capitalists.

In the current crisis, both Democrats and Republicans are hatching schemes that call for transferring some state health and welfare programs to local governments and raising local taxes to pay for them. That will provide neither jobs nor increased social programs but simply shuffle the bureaucracies that dole out the misery. Public health programs, already a cruel joke in the ghettos as well as among the rural poor, will be further decimated, *and more and more people will die*, on the street and in public hospital corridors.

Yet so far there's virtually no resistance—the unions are whimpering helplessly and filing lawsuits. They're tied to the bosses' Democratic Party and *politically disarmed*. Having bought the Reaganite anti-Communist lies about the wonders of "free enterprise" (with the help of that leading Cold Warrior, Albert Shanker), the teachers unions and the intelligentsia in general have no answer when Bush calls for the wonders of the "free market" to be applied to public education. Public education has supposedly been "discredited"—essentially sabotaged via a starvation of funding combined with the lumpenization of the working class and its children, particularly blacks.

A labor movement that fights strikes to *win* rather than engaging in useless consumer boycotts and lobbying campaigns could make short shrift of Wilson's killer cuts—and win hundreds of thousands of unorganized workers, including many undocumented immigrant workers, to its ranks. A small taste of the power of the working class was in the 1989 Los Angeles teachers strike, when 23,000 teachers drew in thousands of students and community sympathizers angry at the school board's attacks. High school students staged "jumpouts" to get out of the locked buildings and join the picket lines.

To really mobilize it's necessary to clear out the craven, corrupt bureaucratic misleaders who exist to channel the anger of the working people into votes for the Democrats. The urgent need all over racist, capitalist America is for a workers party—black, Hispanic, Asian and white—and a victorious socialist revolution.

It is tempting to simply revive the slogans of the 1848 Communist Manifesto, as the issues have suddenly come alive (another demand was "a heavy progressive or graduated income tax," now undermined by numerous so-called "reforms"). But that was written before Marx and Engels had completed their understanding of the bourgeois state. "Tax the rich" schemes are a cruel hoax, for in the end it all comes out of the workers' hides. After the Paris Commune was drowned in blood in 1871, Marxists realized that it was necessary to smash the old state apparatus and establish the rule of the workers in order to make progress. That remains true today. ■

Chicago...

(continued from page 7)

> murdered 100,000 Iraqis and stamps out anyone who opposes the way things are run. The cops you call on are the same ones who harass black students and black youth in Hyde Park."

The real role of the cops, to defend the capitalist order and terrorize black people, was brought home graphically to the millions who saw the videotaped LAPD beating of Rodney King. As for the FBI, these are the criminals who murdered Black Panthers like Chicago's Fred Hampton under the deadly COINTELPRO program. And if there was one group of people J. Edgar Hoover loathed as much as communists and blacks, it was homosexuals.

The fascists think gays are a "soft target" whom nobody will defend. They need to be taught otherwise in a "school" of hard knocks. On 27 June 1982 the Spartacist League initiated a labor/black mobilization that brought out some 3,000 unionists, blacks, leftists, Holocaust survivors, gays and students to stop the genocidal Nazis from staging an attack on the annual Gay Pride march in Chicago's Lincoln Park. It's those hard-core forces that must be mobilized again today to drive the fascist "Brotherhood" off campus and into Lake Michigan! ■

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Kuril Islands...

(continued from page 5)

resident Russian and Japanese populations and everything to do with the growing rivalry between tsarist Russia and imperial Japan over which power would dominate the region stretching from eastern Siberia through Manchuria into Korea and northern China.

The 1875 Treaty of St. Petersburg gave Russia exclusive right to the mineral-rich Sakhalin island off Siberia, and in exchange Japan got the Kurils. Today the Japanese bourgenisie proclaims this deal as further proof of their "inalienable" right to the Kurils. But this "historic" 1875 Treaty of St. Petersburg was bitterly opposed by sections of the Meiji ruling class who thought the exchange of Sakhalin for the frozen Kurils was a rotten deal for Japan.

Japanese imperialism launched its first war for territorial expansion in 1894 against China in which Formosa (Taiwan) was seized along with economic control of Korea and other concessions. Japan resolved its Russian border "dispute" during the 1904-05 war in which Port Arthur and the southern part of Sakhalin were seized. In 1910 Japan annexed Korea. In an attempt to block the extension of Bolshevik rule to the Soviet Far East, Japanese imperialism occupied Vladivostok in 1918 and maintained a strong military presence in the Soviet maritime district until 1922. Japanese imperialism only withdrew to southern Sakhalin in 1925 when relations between Japan and the Soviet Union were normalized.

The interwar period in the Far East was marked not only by Japanese expansion into Manchuria and China, but also by a fervent hostility, especially on the part of the Japanese officer corps, toward the Soviet Union. The Soviets, however, defeated Japan's Kwantung Army at Nomonhan (on the Mongolian border) in 1939 and subsequent Japanese expansion in Asia was directed at their Western imperialist rivals.

The 20th century, with its tremendous expansion of naval and air power, now casts the Kurils as a strategic military outpost. While the Japanese expanded their fishing and developed summer cannery operations in the 1920s and 1930s, the only year-round expansion achieved in the Kurils was the fortification and garrisoning of Japanese military units prior to World War II. The attack on Pearl Harbor was dispatched from the Kurils, and during the war one of the reasons the U.S. decided not to attempt bombing raids on Japan from the Soviet maritime district was the understood inability of the American navy to resupply, through the Kurils, any bases in the Soviet Far East.

At Yalta, Roosevelt and Churchill sought Soviet military intervention against Japan and offered no objection to their then ally taking control of the Kurils. So at the end of WW II the Red Army not only liberated Manchuria and North Korea from Japanese domination, but also seized this strategic island chain in an important act of self-defense to ensure access of the Red Navy to the Pacific:

> "Japan's ownership of the Kurils in the years prior to 1945 prevented the full development of Vladivostok and other Soviet Far Eastern ports. But for occupation of the Kurils, Soviet vessels would have to exit to the Pacific through the Tsushima straits between Japan and Korea. This strategic waterway is today closely controlled by the US, Japanese and South Korean navies."
>
> —David Rees, *The Soviet Seizure of the Kurils*

Robert/Sipa

Japanese navy on maneuvers. Resurgent Japanese militarism is deadly threat to Asian and Soviet peoples.

The Kurils are today an integral part of the Soviet Union. Property was nationalized in February 1946 and cannery operations have been extended, processing a third of the USSR's Pacific catch. Nearly 30,000 Soviet citizens now reside permanently on these islands. Most significant has been the expansion and construction of aerial and naval military facilities. The Kurils are a strategic component of the USSR's Pacific defense perimeter and the Japanese working class must block any imperialist attempts to undermine this. Japan's revanchist claim to the "Northern Territories" is an attempt to reverse its defeat in the Pacific War and reassert its imperialist ambitions. To support Japanese imperialism's revanchist claims is to undermine the defense of the USSR and once again bottle up the Soviet Pacific fleet in the Sea of Okhotsk.

The Kurils and the Japanese Left

To no one's surprise all wings of social democracy support the bourgeoisie's claims to the "Northern Territories." But the position of the Japanese Communist Party (JCP), which has long since broken with Moscow and seeks to demonstrate its loyalty to the bosses of the Keidanren, rivals that of the revanchist right. In his March 22 public statement, JCP honcho Tetsuzo Fuwa declared:

> "The JCP now puts forward the following proposal to achieve the return of the 'two islands,' Habomai and Shikotan, as an intermediate step, whilst looking forward to the return of the Chishima [Kuril] islands to Japan. We are convinced that if these 'two islands' are returned, it will benefit Japan's national sovereignty and the just interests of the Japanese people."
>
> —*Japan Press Weekly*, 30 March

Some "far left" groups are also calling for the Soviets to vacate the Kurils, however, in the name of establishing there a homeland for the Ainu, the aboriginal peoples of northern Japan. The Japanese section of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat devoted a pamphlet to this proposition in the 1970s. That pamphlet included a few references to defense of the USSR, but today, echoing the bourgeoisie's claims that the Cold War is over and "Communism is dead," the USec has dropped Soviet defensism, proclaiming the national question to be the quintessential Marxist principle. At the time of the first Russian and Japanese colonization attempts in the 17th century, less than a thousand Ainu lived in the frozen, desolate Kurils. Toward the end of World War II, nearly all of the indigenous Ainu were removed by the Japanese authorities and resettled in Hokkaido. When the Soviet Red Army drove Japanese imperialism out of the Kurils, only *three* Ainu were found in the entire archipelago!

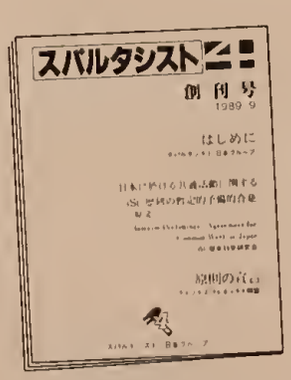
The demand for self-determination for the Ainu is a cruel hoax. Not only does it undermine the military defense of the Soviet Union but it accepts the forced segregation of and discrimination against the Ainu by the racist Japanese ruling class. The sad but true fact is that the dwindling Ainu population (in 1980 numbering only about 30,000) is incapable of creating any independent existence. It could be said that anthropologists are more concerned with the question of extinction than nationhood.

The barbarous samurai feudal ruling class is responsible for the genocidal suppression of the hardy and fierce Ainu people, and the proletariat today can do nothing to reverse this history. A Leninist party in Japan, as a tribune of the people, must fight against the second-class citizenship status and segregation of the Ainu. Communists must demand unrestricted integration of the Ainu into the mainstream of Japanese society, while militantly fighting against any forced assimilation schemes. Ainu people should have the right to live anywhere they want to in Japan, with full civil rights and equal access to jobs, education and housing—and the right to maintain every vestige of their culture. The Spartacist Group Japan fights for a workers republic which will tear the enormously productive Japanese industrial base out of the hands of the racist ruling class, laying the material basis to end the segregation and discrimination against the Ainu, grant full citizenship and civil rights to Koreans, Chinese and immigrant workers, and end the caste discrimination against burakumin ("untouchables") and the stultifying oppression of women.

The Kuril Islands are an integral part of the Russian question in Japan. Those "leftists" who abandon the October Revolution now, at the hour of its greatest peril, are political cowards who will never lead a revolutionary struggle against their "own" bourgeoisie. Only the Spartacist Group Japan fights for the Trotskyist program of proletarian political revolution in the deformed workers states to defend the gains of October, and the urgent defense and extension of those gains through international workers revolution. ■

Mainichi Shinbum

Japanese navy invasion forces march in Vladivostok during Russian Civil War, August 1918.



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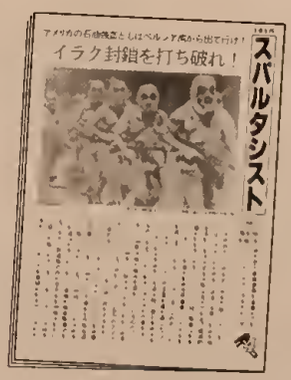

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Young Spartacus

Labor Misleaders Fiddle As

CUNY Students Get Burned

Young Spartacus

After three weeks of occupying campuses, student strikers march in April 30 New York city workers rally.

No Reprisals! For Free Tuition!

The students of the City University of New York (CUNY) system were in the front lines of the fight against Governor Cuomo's proposed cutbacks and tuition hikes. They occupied buildings on over a dozen campuses for three weeks in a valiant struggle for the future of all working people and minorities. Despite pledges of support from city labor leaders, the students were hung out to dry, while the union tops try to cut a deal with the bloodsucking bankers holding the city hostage. Now, in the face of cop attacks, threats of expulsion and suspension, the students have been forced to retreat.

In the first week of the protests, students from City College built support in the surrounding community by marching through Harlem chanting "You over there—We need you over here!" to the cheers of onlookers. Speakers at campus rallies frequently appealed to city labor for joint action. When the home health care workers of Local 1199 had a one-day strike April 17, hundreds of

continued on page 7

For a Statewide Teachers Strike to Save California Schools!

California's new governor Pete Wilson has thrown down the gauntlet to unions, minorities and the entire working class. The opening wedge is his assault on the public school system. At first they were talking "merely" about massive statewide funding cuts of $2 billion. But when the Richmond school district comprising 31,000 students in the Bay Area faced bankruptcy last month, Wilson announced that the condition for a bailout loan was tearing up union contracts for teachers and other school workers, and suspending collective bargaining for at least three years! Otherwise, he would force the district to *close the schools for the remainder of the term.*

This almost happened, but a Contra Costa County judge intervened at the last minute to force the state to fund the schools temporarily. Wilson countered by imposing a state administrator with virtually dictatorial powers to set teachers' salaries and conditions. If the unions don't agree by June 30 to commit suicide, the administrator would impose his plan, including slashing Richmond schools' budget by over 35 percent, possibly laying off over 500 people and imposing 15-20 percent pay cuts. Many teachers are calling this Wilson's PATCO. Just as the defeat of the air traffic controllers union by Reagan set the reactionary pattern for the '80s, a defeat here could open the door to a whole new wave of attacks.

There must be a *statewide teachers strike to save the California schools!* Wilson wants to target the Richmond school district using the excuse of a "fiscal crisis"? OK, so shut down the entire state school system, from grade school to college, and organize a massive cavalcade of teachers and other school workers, students, parents, unionists, minorities to descend on Sacramento

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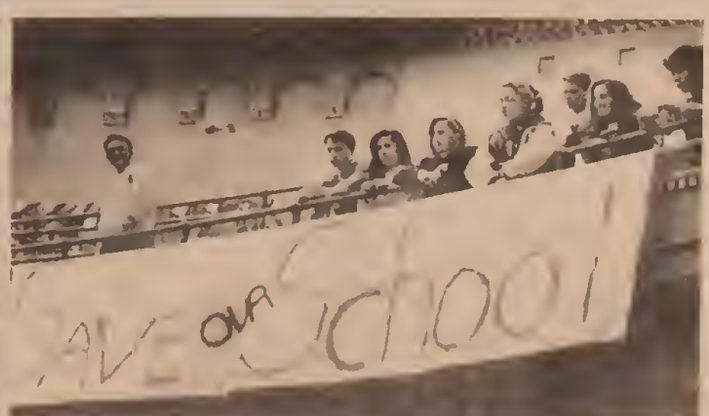

Ward/SF Chronicle

Governor Pete Wilson charts war on California schools and unions, as San Francisco high-schoolers protest threatened closings.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 527 | 24 May 1991

Rabid Bankers Take Another Bite Out of NYC

Dinkins' Budget of Doom

Michael Kamber/Impact Visuals

Norcia/NY Post

Democrats Cuomo, Dinkins supervise Wall Street's war on New York's working people: more cop terror, layoffs, misery and homelessness.

Break with the Democrats!
For a Fighting Workers Party!

Hungry predators, red-rimmed eyes glowing with insane malice, are holding NYC hostage—and we don't mean just the rabid Connecticut raccoons taking on the growing population of native rats in the city's sewers and subways. Foam-flecked bankers, driven to distraction by collapsing profits and the fallout from the savings & loan rip-off scandals, are mugging NYC's already highly stressed population. As the U.S. continues in deep recession, the Big Apple is increasingly becoming a city of the very rich and the totally dispossessed.

For weeks Democratic governor Mario Cuomo has been laying down the law to NYC mayor David Dinkins to cut and cut big. Dinkins' May 8 TV speech outlining his horrifying list of bizarre cuts topped the ratings charts, and floored the millions of shell-shocked New Yorkers who tuned in. Dinkins and Wall Street literally intend to turn out the lights on the Big Apple, cutting power to one out of four street lamps to save a few bucks. From pulling lifeguards off the beaches to slashing shelters for the homeless and cutting pest control, Dinkins painted a nightmare for NYC. The threat to close the Central Park Zoo spurred even Manhattan yuppies to protest. "Great speech,"

continued on page 3

Debt and Death in Latin America

Cholera and Capitalism

Since January an epidemic of cholera has ravaged Peru. So far, over 1,450 deaths have been recorded in the South American country and more than 182,000 have come down with the dread disease, in which victims are seized by explosive diarrhea and vomiting. During the first two months cholera spread along the Pacific coast, with the largest number of cases in the capital, Lima. By March it had reached the central highlands, and in April it crossed the Andes into the Amazon basin. Now Peru's epidemic has spread to neighboring Ecuador and Colombia to the north, Chile to the south, and east to Brazil. There it is expected to travel along the Amazon River and eventually reach the vast *favelas* (slums) of the Atlantic coast cities. The death toll is expected to reach the tens of thousands.

During the Persian Gulf War, massive U.S. bombing and devastation of Iraq caused cholera to raise its ugly head in Basra and the north. The U.S. imperialist butchers deliberately laid waste to the civilian waterworks and electrical grid claiming that they were military targets because the military benefited from clean water. Eyewitnesses reported how some waterworks were bombed over and over again as Schwarzkopf and his ghouls sought to add pestilence and disease to their arsenal of "smart" weaponry. Most recently, a hundred cases of cholera have been reported among the Kurds who languish in refugee camps in Turkey.

Virtually wiped out in the 20th century, large-scale epidemics of cholera have reappeared in direct proportion to the increasing poverty and backwardness inflicted by the Wall Street bloodsuckers upon their semi-colonial slaves. It started with flare-ups in the 1960s in Indonesia, the Philippines, the Middle East and North Africa. In recent years, cholera has become an almost regular plague in Africa, and today epidemics are

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Lentz/NY Times

Victims of Peruvian cholera epidemic in Lima hospital.

Philly TV Station Retracts Deadly Smear Against Jamal Supporters

The Partisan Defense Committee and other participants in last July's Philadelphia rally to save death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal have won a retraction of a deadly "terrorist" smear. On 14 July 1990 Philadelphia's WCAU-TV (Channel 10), a CBS affiliate, reported that Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) president Richard Costello branded Jamal's supporters as a "misfit terrorist group." Costello's remarks were made at a sinister cop counterdemonstration to demand Jamal's immediate execution held the same day as the defense

Partisan Defense Committee Statement

rally. To drive home the point Costello added, "If you don't like it you can join him. We'll take out the electric chair, we'll make it an electric couch."

WCAU-TV's retraction is a small but significant victory for the campaign to save Jamal's life. The station's broadcast of Costello's threat was an invitation to cop terror against the more than 200 trade unionists, civil rights activists, socialists, students and church leaders who rallied at Philadelphia's historic Church of the Advocate as part of the international campaign to demand "Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!" Expressions of outrage from unionists and community activists who participated in the rally immediately followed the WCAU-TV broadcast. The black weekly *Philadelphia Tribune* (20 July 1990) denounced the smear: "Fry FOP's Costello Over 'Electric Couch' Remark."

On December 6 the PDC filed a libel lawsuit against WCAU-TV. Joining as plaintiffs were rally speakers State Representative David Richardson; Mumia Abu-Jamal's wife, Wadiya Jamal; Ray Martinez, Jr., of the Philadelphia Chapter of the Pennsylvania Social Services Union SEIU Local 668; Charles Valenta, president of Retail, Wholesale and Department Store Workers Union Local 1034; Pamela Tucker of the Western Pennsylvania Coalition Against the Death Penalty; Father Paul Washington, rector emeritus of the Church of the Advocate; and spokesmen for the PDC and Spartacist League.

WV Photo

Philadelphia, 14 July 1990—As over 200 rallied to save the life of Mumia Abu-Jamal, Philly cop association president smeared Jamal supporters as "misfit terrorists."

In settlement of the lawsuit WCAU-TV is airing the following retraction: "Abu-Jamal's supporters were described by Fraternal Order of Police President Rich Costello as misfit terrorists. Channel 10 was not suggesting that the Partisan Defense Committee, which sponsored the rally, is a terrorist organization. Nor were we suggesting that any rally participants, including Abu-Jamal's wife, Wadiya Jamal, were involved in terrorist activities."

Costello's "terrorist" smear underscored the political nature of Jamal's frame-up. As we said when filing the lawsuit:

> "The PDC undertakes this lawsuit as a necessary component of defending Jamal from the state's executioner. A 'terrorist' smear from the bonapartist kill-crazy cops is a death sentence in and of itself. By retailing this vile slander labeling Jamal (and his supporters) as terrorist, WCAU-TV is declaring him to be an individual without rights, someone to whom the state can do whatever it wants. What does it mean to be branded a 'terrorist'? Ask the brothers and sisters of the 38 Panthers blown away during the COINTELPRO campaign. Ask the MOVE organization whose home was bombed on May 13, 1985, killing eleven blacks, five of them children. Now they want to finish the job on former Panther and MOVE supporter Jamal, foremost among that 'new breed of journalist' whom Frank Rizzo threatened after the August 1978 raid on the MOVE home."

For more than 20 years Jamal has been a target of Philadelphia's racist cops—from his days as a teenage spokesman for the Black Panther Party to his presidency of the Philadelphia chapter of the Association of Black Journalists. In the 1970s, when Jamal was becoming known as the "voice of the voiceless," Philadelphia's cops were gunning down unarmed "suspects" at a rate *37 times higher* than even their NYC counterparts!

While the cops carry out summary executions on the cities' streets the Supreme Court accelerates the assembly line of death. In the 1987 *McCleskey* case the Court endorsed the racist application of the death penalty. In the last couple of months, one week after another Rehnquist & Co. have chopped away at the rights of those on death row to challenge the legality of their sentences. To this country's rulers they are just "dead men walking," for whom, as Jamal wrote in the January issue of the *Yale Law Journal*, "the actual execution is a *fait accompli*."

Our successful challenge to this deadly libel was made possible by the widespread support Jamal has won in his fight against the racist death sentence. Around the world nearly 40,000 people have written Pennsylvania's governor Casey demanding Jamal not be executed. Trade unions representing millions more have also taken a stand for Jamal. The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal is becoming known as the Scottsboro case of today. It is the rallying cry of the fight against racist "legal" lynching. But like the Scottsboro defendants Jamal will not be saved by legal fights alone. It will take a mass campaign of protest to save Jamal's life. We call on trade unionists, opponents of the racist death penalty and civil rights activists to join the campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Readers who can should make a financial contribution. This lawsuit alone—a small part of the continuing campaign for Jamal—cost several thousand dollars. The state has vast resources, we don't. For more information please contact the PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013, (212) 406-4252.■

The Struggle for Science

TROTSKY

LENIN

Despite the great scientific and medical breakthroughs of the 20th century, most of the world's people remain impoverished and, in this epoch of imperialist decay, increasingly at the mercy of epidemics like the present cholera outbreak in Peru. As Leon Trotsky noted in his 1925 address to the USSR's "Mendeleyev Congress," socialist society will create favorable conditions for the development of scientific knowledge and its application for the benefit of all humanity.

So long as science as a whole remained a "handmaiden of theology," it could produce valuable results only surreptitiously. This was the case in the Middle Ages. It was during the bourgeois regime, as already pointed out, that the natural sciences gained the possibility of wide development. But social science remained the servant of capitalism. This is also true, to a large extent, of psychology, which links the social and natural sciences, and philosophy, which systematizes the generalized conclusions of all sciences....

Human society has not developed in accordance with a prearranged plan or system, but empirically, in the course of a long, complicated, and contradictory struggle of the human species for existence, and, later, for greater and greater mastery over nature itself...,

A development of the productive forces that would lead us to attain extreme simplification of the methods of obtaining food, clothing, and shelter would also clearly lead us to reduce to a minimum the element of coercion in the social structure. With the elimination of completely useless greediness from social relations, the forms of labor and distribution will assume a communist character. In the transition from socialism to communism no revolution will be necessary, since the transition wholly depends upon the technical progress of society.

—Leon Trotsky, "Dialectical Materialism and Science" (1925)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions $7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 527 **24 May 1991**

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"Hands Off Korean Workers and Students! U.S. Troops Out!"

SL Protests Seoul Repression

MAY 20—Dozens of demonstrators picketed the South Korean consulate in New York to denounce the Roh Tae Woo government's brutal repression against a wave of militant student protests. Called on short notice by the Spartacist League, the demonstration demanded: "Down with Government Repression! Hands Off Korean Students! Hands Off Korean Workers!" and "U.S. Troops Out of Korea!"

Huge protests against the Roh Tae Woo government have convulsed South Korea since the police murder of 20-year-old student Kang Kyung Dae on April 26 and the supposed "suicide" of 30-year-old labor leader Park Chang Soo in police custody early this month. Workers have downed tools and joined the students in strike action demanding the ouster of this brutal, blood-soaked U.S. puppet regime, as demonstrators shout, "Overthrow the murderous regime of Roh Tae Woo!"

On May 14, the police and army were sent in to attack funeral processions for the martyred student, and again four days later as over a quarter of a million people took to the streets around the country to commemorate the 1980 Kwangju massacre when South Korean troops, with the assistance of U.S. occupation forces, mowed down hundreds in the repression of a popular insurrection against military dictatorship.

WV Photo

NYC protest outside South Korean consulate, May 20.

AFP

Seoul, May 14: riot police move to suppress funeral procession for student killed by cops.

South Korea's rulers are U.S. creatures and have been since 1945. Since the imperialist attempt to conquer the whole country in 1950-53 was repulsed, South Korea has been the forward position of the U.S. anti-Soviet war machine in the northern Pacific, with over 40,000 U.S. troops stationed below the 38th parallel which divides the capitalist police state of South Korea from the deformed workers state of North Korea. *Three million* Koreans were massacred in the Korean War—like the war against Iraq, a U.S. slaughter carried out under the "fig leaf" of the United Nations flag.

The U.S. has *saturated* South Korea with nuclear weapons—three per every 100 square miles of territory. The peninsula is literally a trip wire for World War III. As part of its services for U.S. imperialism, South Korea has repeatedly ordered civilian aircraft to overfly strategic Soviet military installations; in 1983 one such provocation caused the deaths of over 200 people. Protesters carried signs reading: "Remember Reagan's KAL 007 Atrocity—Defend the Soviet Union!" With the decomposing Stalinist bureaucracy in Moscow acquiescing to every *diktat* from Washington, Soviet aid to the beleaguered North Korean workers state (as to Cuba) has been cut drastically. Now, fresh from the civilian mass graves of Baghdad, U.S. warmakers are pointing to North Korea as possibly the next "renegade state" for destruction by Bush's "New World Order."

Demonstrators carried signs calling "For Military Defense of North Korea Against Imperialist Attack!" and "For the *Revolutionary* Reunification of Korea" through socialist revolution against the brutal capitalist dictatorship in the South and proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist Kim Il Sung regime in the North.

At least eight South Koreans have immolated themselves in the present wave of protests against the Roh Tae Woo government. These protest suicides indicate the conviction *and the desperation* of the opposition movement. The current protests remain overwhelmingly student dominated. But the South Korean proletariat has a history of militant struggle, not only against the dictatorial regime, CIA/KCIA repression and the *chaebol* (monopolies) but against the government-sponsored corporatist trade unions, spawned and lavishly supported by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy and its CIA "labor" front. A similar student-centered upsurge four years ago soon drew in the powerful working class and led to the downfall of the previous strongman regime of Chun Doo Hwan. And last year, more than 20,000 workers at Hyundai's Ulsan shipyard staged a three-day occupation and battled thousands of heavily armed cops.

As Spartacist League speaker Alison Spencer said at today's demonstration: "International class solidarity with the embattled South Korean workers and students is an urgent necessity, especially by American and Japanese workers whose bosses own huge chunks of South Korean industry. Especially American workers, whose union dues to the 'AFL-CIA' go to finance counterrevolutionary anti-labor activities in South Korea (and a lot of other places), have an obligation to our embattled class brothers in South Korea! Concrete solidarity action by the American and Japanese workers movements would go a long way to undercut virulent anti-Korean chauvinism, which has expressed itself in racist protectionism here and in violent racism against the Korean minority in Japan. Key to resolving this crisis in favor of the long-suffering South Korean masses—and to resolving the crisis here where the labor movement has rolled over while the bosses wage war on the oppressed—is the construction of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party, a world party of socialist revolution." ■

NYC...

(continued from page 1)

cheered the Teamsters' Barry Feinstein, while telling city workers they have to "share the pain." But Feinstein's vicarious masochism didn't speak for most of New York's working people, whose sentiments were better captured by one woman's reaction: "I felt the Mayor just looked me in the eye last night and said no more, all gone."

New Yorkers are normally pretty jaded about anything that comes out of City Hall, and it was hardly a secret that Dinkins' "nightmare budget" was intended as a blackmail budget. As a column in *Newsday* (19 May) put it, "Everyone understands that his 11th-hour tales of horror are meant to squeeze more aid from the governor and concessions from the unions." Financier Felix Rohatyn, chairman of the "Big MAC" (Municipal Assistance Corporation), was supposed to cough up a billion in bond refinancing to ease the way for the union bureaucrats' givebacks. But Rohatyn and the bankers have decided to hardline it, and now one city official moans that "the worst case scenario is clearly going to be a worst case." Worst case or not, Dinkins, Cuomo and the bankers are talking about making this Death City, USA.

Campaigning for election as a proponent of fiscal "responsibility," Dinkins and his popular-front union allies promised Wall Street that New Yorkers would "take it from me." And now he's dishing it out. Forget about such "amenities" as nurses in public schools, weekend hours at outpatient clinics, city-run pharmacies, dental clinics, regular housing inspections. These cuts, in a situation where infectious diseases like measles and tuberculosis are again ravaging the poor, are a recipe for disaster. Already half of the one million NYC public school children live below the "official" poverty line. Some kids might see it as good news that summer schools are going to close down, but most of the time the public swimming pools they might have gone to are going to be shut down too, as well as half the city's beaches. And they won't even be able to cool out in an air-conditioned library, because a lot of those are also going to be locked up (in contrast, during the Great Depression the libraries stayed open seven days a week). Some 30,000 unionized city workers may get pink slips, including 10,000 teachers and school aides.

It's not like things weren't already bad enough. Along with the continuing AIDS epidemic, there were 3,000 new cases of tuberculosis in the last year. In Harlem of every thousand live births more than 23 babies die—the same infant mortality rate as Malaysia. Minority and working-class students are being purged from the CUNY system by tuition hikes. Workers who still have jobs face having their wages slashed and union contracts ripped up as joblessness surged to 300,000 last month. Tempted to escape from New York? Better watch it on the bridges—70 percent of them aren't considered capable of bearing the loads they were designed for, and a concrete collapse recently opened a four-foot hole on the Manhattan Bridge.

Of course, not everybody can escape from New York—and not everybody wants to. While ruling-class yahoos have been telling New York City to "drop dead" for years as this became overwhelmingly a town populated by blacks, Hispanics and other minorities, some sections of the bourgeoisie understand that this is still the finance capital of America. They may not want to see New York reduced simply to an island penal colony for its predominantly minority population. And they know you can't run

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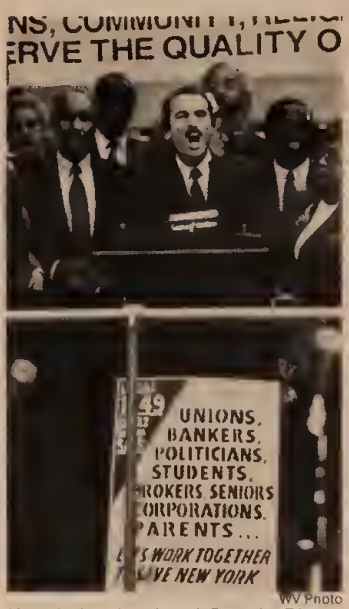
NYC...

(continued from page 3)

the financial and cultural center of the country on handouts from philanthropists looking for a tax break. Even as unemployment and homelessness are skyrocketing, this year New York City regained its title as headquarters of the highest-paid chief executive officers in the U.S., whose median salary is a cool $1.67 million.

Cop Terror and Prisons: Growth Industry

The only increase working people, blacks and Hispanics will get out of Dinkins' budget, besides misery and taxes, is more cop terror. NYC is bleeding, and the ruling class wants lots more racist, armed thugs in blue to protect their property and profits. New York City already has the largest municipal prison complex in the world, with a jail population of 22,000—twice as many as in 1986. The number of cops being added to the city's payroll exceeds the combined total of the Dallas, Baltimore, Denver and San Francisco police forces. NYC's "finest" have been caught planting evidence and pistol-whipping mostly minority detainees, according to a recent *Newsday* exposé of the TNT drug-bust squads in Brooklyn. That's when they're not busy killing, in and out of uniform.



WV Photo

Hospital union head Dennis Rivera wants workers and students to "work together" with greedy bankers and union-busting politicians.

WV Photo

New York City, April 30: city workers and students protest bankers' plans to make NYC "Death City, USA."

On May 4 Grady Alexis, a Haitian artist from the Lower East Side, was killed in Greenwich Village by off-duty cop Richard Frazier. Alexis was a talented artist who also taught a weekly workshop to homeless mentally ill adults in East Harlem; his body is being flown back to Haiti for burial. The cop is charged with a misdemeanor! A week later, 27-year-old Doris Cruz of Queens was shot to death by transit cops after she was nabbed for "fare-beating." Meanwhile the TA is spending millions on "jump-proof" turnstiles and new 9mm semi-autos for transit cops.

For a Socialist Fight to Save New York!

The U.S., with a decaying industrial base, is paying for the world's most expensive military machine, while the big cities have been systematically starved of funds for decades. The new "American dream" our rulers offer us is a cheap video-game substitute for the old illusion that the "average worker" could actually support his own happy little family in his own home. Today the "dream," as seen on TV commercials, seems to be successfully bombing some small country back to the Stone Age and then getting a big hug and thank you victory parade, like the one Dinkins promises to hold in NYC—though we wonder who's going to sweep up the filthy, dark streets before and afterward.

"The fiscal crisis of the mid-'70s was precipitated by financial gimmicks and budgetary tricks," Dinkins said. "The fiscal challenge today is largely the direct result of a failing national economy." But why on earth should the working people pay for the utter incompetence, greed and savage anarchy of the capitalist profit system?

Across the country, the cities are being turned into ever grimier hellholes. Chicago is slashing its pitiful welfare payments and eliminating almost all medical care for the poor. California is threatening teachers in Richmond that they have to give up their union rights if they want to have any schools in which to teach. And in Boston, 20,000 city and state workers turned out on April 13 for the largest labor rally there in years, protesting layoffs, pay cuts and up to 80,000 unpaid "furloughs."

Over the past year, tens of thousands of working people in New York have turned out repeatedly for protests against cutbacks and for labor solidarity demonstrations, particularly during the immensely popular *Daily News* strike. Thousands of CUNY students demonstrated and occupied campuses to try to preserve some semblance of higher education for the city's working-class and minority youth. But the union bureaucrats—acting on behalf of their Democratic Party bedfellows and their Wall Street overlords—knife any attempt at militant struggle.

Today the most basic defense of workers' livelihoods demands challenging capitalist property rights, and for that we need a labor leadership that's not afraid to unleash the unions' power, and a workers party committed to waging the class struggle to victory for all the oppressed. It's going to take a socialist fight to save New York for the people who built it, who live and work here. Even at the turn of the century, amid the teeming slums like Hell's Kitchen and the Lower East Side, there was a nurse in every public school. Today not only are the nurses gone, but there's not much left of the schools. The money's there to rebuild the cities, but we're not going to get at it with empty pleas to "tax the rich." To rip the wealth out of the hands of the bankers and the rest of this corrupt ruling class is going to take nothing less than socialist revolution. Unlike the crazed proposals from Wall Street and City Hall that threaten to reduce what was once the most fabulous city on earth to disease-ridden rubble, this is a sane proposition. ■

Transit Cuts Kill Workers and Riders

New York's Transit Authority is trumpeting its "good news" that it may not raise the already outrageous $1.15 fare this year. The bad news is that they intend to kill us as the price for this largesse. On top of across-the-board cuts and the already deadly working conditions on the tracks and in the shops and barns, the TA is now moving to eliminate all train conductors during "off peak" hours—18 hours a day! This action comes soon after the TA axed hundreds of provisional track and structure workers with the TWU leadership's acquiescence. New York *Newsday* subway columnist Ellis Henican revealed that "quiet tests have already been performed" to begin "one person train operation."

This proposal is not only vicious, but insane and dangerous for workers and passengers alike. The New York subway system already kills riders at twice the national rate. In the recent Clark Street tunnel fire, where toxic PVC fumes killed two riders, it was only the courageous and cool-headed actions of the motorman and conductor which saved scores of lives. And who hasn't looked for the conductor's center car taking the subway late at night? Or seen countless times when riders were caught in the closing doors? Under the TA's plan, they will be dragged into the tunnels to their death—and you can be sure the motormen will be hauled in for "drug tests" and disciplined, just as they are every time TA cuts have led to death on the tracks. Instead of cutting train crews, there should be platform conductors hired to make the system safer.

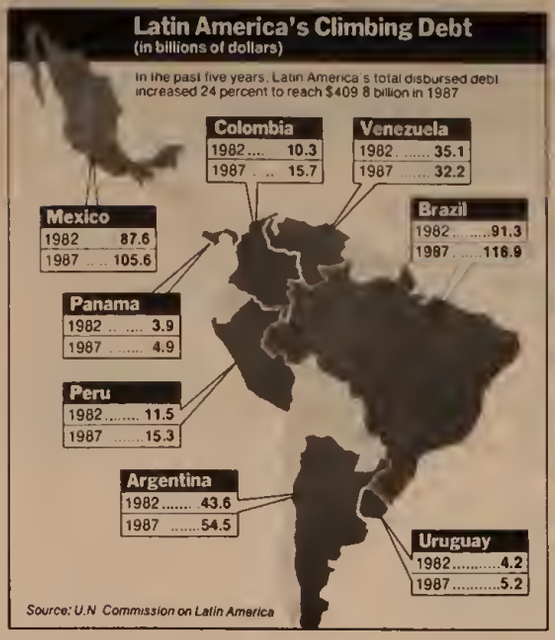
The TA's plan has been met with outrage among transit workers, who have initiated petitions against the job-slashing and demanded union action. But the position of the Sonny Hall bureaucracy in TWU Local 100 remains the same as always—prone. To keep the ranks divided, the union tops don't even allow motormen and conductors to have joint meetings—workers feel the division like a noose around their necks. The Hall gang not only knew of the TA plan to ax conductors, a TWU staff rep sat on the management committee that drew up the plan while motorman division head James Jefferson was denying anything was in the works!

Sheehan/Newsday

Subway tracks in Gravesend, Brooklyn, where two transit workers were crushed to death by train in May 1990.

The transit system should have been shut down by strike action on April 30, when the contract expired. But Hall ordered transit workers to stay on the job. And the house-trained "opposition-ists" of "Hell on Wheels" who sit on the executive board joined with Hall. Whatever happened to "no contract, no work"? Hall and his "opposition" won't strike because they cringe before the no-strike Taylor Law and want to stay buddies with the anti-labor Democratic Party.

Transit workers can make short work of the TA's murderous cuts and rip up the slave-labor Taylor Law. A union fight for safety for transit workers and passengers would galvanize tremendous popular support—and while we're on the subject, why not rip out the turnstiles and fight for *free* mass transit (which the union nominally stands for already). What's needed is a mass meeting of all Local 100 members which organizes strike action, led by an elected strike committee, to put the TA's plans "out of service." ■



International Herald Tribune Map

Alan Webb

Debt, Cholera and Poverty

Imperialist bankers bleed Latin America dry, while impoverished millions live without safe water or sewage disposal in squalid shantytowns.

United Nations

Cholera...

(continued from page 1)

raging in Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique. In Latin America, even in the poorest areas, the threat of cholera had been *eliminated* long ago. No major outbreaks had been reported in the last *70 years*. But today this pestilence is stalking these cruelly impoverished countries, condemning untold thousands to hideous death.

Cholera is not a natural disaster. Like the waves of famine lashing Africa in recent years, it is a manmade disaster. More specifically, this epidemic is a *capitalist* disaster. It is a direct consequence of imperialism, which squeezes the life out of the poor to fill the coffers of the capitalist bankers. It is one of the prime examples of diseases of the poor which can be stopped by basic public health measures. The disease is caused by bacteria which lodge in the intestine; it is spread by the contamination of water supplies with human feces. Control sewage and make the water safe and you have effectively stopped the scourge of cholera. But in the impoverished shantytowns of Third World countries, there is no sanitary public water supply, and untreated sewage is simply dumped into streams. Unlike the AIDS epidemic, we know how to wipe out cholera—it just costs money.

Moreover, virtually all those who have been infected can be saved. The victims can lose as much as eight quarts of bodily fluid in a few hours. Without medical attention, they suffer acute dehydration and, as their blood pressure fades, can die of cardiovascular collapse or shock within ten hours. But even in advanced cases of infection, death can be prevented by large doses of saline and sugar solution. Yet in the hideous backwardness of urban slums and remote villages, safe water, personal hygiene and medical care are an impossible dream. Scarce dollars are used to pay off the staggering foreign debt. Peru is saddled with a $22 billion debt—*eight times* the country's yearly export earnings. For Latin America as a whole, there is an annual net capital *outflow* of $20 billion, and every year 700,000 people die of hunger.

Cold War ideologues have proclaimed the triumph of capitalism over Communism. Now the Catholic Pope comes out for capitalism with a human face. But what the vast majority of the human population see as they toil under real existing capitalism is the face of death.

Disease and the "Debt Bomb"

The pestilence in Peru made its appearance against a backdrop of general immiserization of the urban and rural proletariat. Since President Alberto Fujimori took office last year, real incomes have been slashed a staggering 50 percent. This is the culmination of a decade of growing debt and deepening impoverishment, called by some the "lost decade," during which "urban poverty rose in Peru from 28 to 44%" (*Excelsior*, 1 July 1990). Today the per capita foreign debt is $1,000—in a country where many workers earn less than half that amount in a year! Needless to say, the money was spent on prestige enterprises like skyscrapers and atomic power plants, where presidents could affix plaques, and not on badly needed public health services and a sanitary infrastructure.

Now cholera is spreading on this breeding ground of imperialist-imposed poverty and filth. At the start of Peru's epidemic, the health ministry cautioned Peruvians to boil drinking water for ten minutes. But the population could not afford the fuel! When the Peru epidemic hit the coastal fishing and metallurgical center of Chimbote, hundreds of people were prescribed intravenous solutions which cost a few dollars a day. But this was far beyond their pitiful means.

In Lima, a city of seven million, the three million people who live in the new *pueblos jóvenes* (shantytowns) and hovels are without running water and sewer systems. The city's harbor is badly polluted, as is its main river, and the city dumps 97 percent of its raw sewage into the Pacific. *Newsweek* (6 May) observed: "Decent water and sewage for all 22 million Peruvians would cost $3.2 billion over the next decade—10 times what Peru spent over the last 10 years."

The cholera epidemic has had a catastrophic impact on the Peruvian economy, slashing the market for agricultural products and fish. A leading exporter of fish meal and fish oil (used for cattle feed and fertilizer), Peru suddenly saw its exports rejected by former clients like France, Italy and Argentina, some of whom burned their stocks. In the space of six months Peru lost almost $1 billion in precious hard currency.

A major factor in spreading cholera has been *ceviche*, a popular snack sold by street vendors that consists of marinated chopped raw fish mixed with onions, lime and peppers. The fish feed near sewers, and are caught and sold by people who can wash only in contaminated water. During the height of the epidemic Fujimori, under pressure from the fishing industry, appeared on TV with his wife happily eating *ceviche*. The next day the number of cholera victims skyrocketed to catastrophic proportions as people followed his example. Fujimori's obscene ad for the fishing interests provoked outrage on the part of medical personnel right up to the health minister—who was then forced to resign. To allay fears, the fisheries minister took his turn at "proudly sampling ceviche," and was "quietly hospitalized with what health workers and the local press reported was a case of cholera" (*Boston Globe*, 28 March).

Alberto Fujimori is a bourgeois populist who last year beat the right-ist candidate of the white elite, the Cambridge-educated pro-British novelist Mario Vargas Llosa, winning the presidential sash. Vargas Llosa's blunt calls for a massive "shock" austerity program drove the frightened electorate to vote for Fujimori. The new president rammed through precisely the same austerity program—dubbed "Fujishock." As the *New York Times* (24 February) reported, Fujimori's attacks meant "removing long-standing Government subsidies and raising prices between 1,000 and 3,000 percent on some products, such as gasoline, electricity and food."

In order to attract imperialist investment, Fujimori abolished labor legislation that protected workers from layoffs—provoking a massive strike wave in the middle of the cholera epidemic. The mounting social misery has provided a fertile recruiting ground for the *guerrilleros* of Sendero Luminoso (Shining Path), whose Maoist program of "the countryside surrounding the cities" leads to the systematic practice of assassinating leftist union leaders. Under the guise of Bush's "drug war," U.S. special forces have been "aiding" Peruvian counterinsurgency units in guerrilla-dominated areas for four years. Now Fujimori appeals for more U.S. military aid and a free trade pact inviting increased imperialist economic penetration. U.S. troops out of Peru!

Capitalism in the Era of Decline

Peru is not the only country to endure the ravages of cholera epidemics imposed by the imperialist jackals. In Mozambique, where the sadistic killers of the South African-controlled Mozambique National Resistance (Renamo) are waging a savage war against the government, a dreaded cholera epidemic is carrying on what imperialist slaughter commenced. Terrorized by Renamo atrocities, which have killed an estimated 100,000, masses of poor peasants flee their lands and villages. The UN recently warned that in Mozambique one half of the population of sixteen million face famine, and fully two million are threatened with immediate starvation.

The cruel inhumanity of the profit system is highlighted by the fact that an effective oral vaccine against cholera has existed for several years. However, it is not being used to check the epidemics which are ravaging Third World countries, because the market is not considered "profitable." According to a spokesman for Pasteur-Mérieux, the French pharmaceutical company which developed the vaccine, "its cost of production is much too high for it to be proposed for the countries which are directly concerned by the risk of epidemic" (*Le Monde*, 6 March). Instead, the drug is being sold to travelers from Europe and the U.S. to prevent annoying diarrhea attacks when they visit Third World countries!

The recent wave of cholera epidemics is the product of a dying social system that spreads death and disease, whether by Bush's smart bombs or by bankers through a stroke of a pen in their plush Wall Street offices. Even natural disasters like floods and hurricanes, which kill relatively few people when they strike industrialized countries, are able to wreak cataclysmic destruction in the Third World only because of the poverty of those countries.

The recent cyclone in Bangladesh left over 100,000 people dead and condemned untold thousands more to slow starvation—or to the ravages of a threatening cholera epidemic. Many of them were landless peasants driven to scrape out an existence in shallow, sandy areas which are regularly swept away by high waves and storms. Many others died because they had no access to cyclone shelters. As the *New York Times* (11 May) reported: "Bangladesh has 302 cyclone shelters, while 5,000 to 10,000 are needed. But each shelter costs $50,000 to build, and Bangladesh already had a budget deficit before the cyclone."

Lenin said that imperialism is capitalism in the era of terminal decay. Capitalism was progressive in the 18th and 19th centuries relative to the feudal system it displaced because it fueled a spectacular development of the productive forces with which mankind increasingly learned to regulate nature. One result was the progressive overcoming of diseases like cholera. However, in the 20th century as capitalism has outlived its progressive role, it has more and more *deprived* the masses of humanity of the benefits of science, medicine and technology, especially in the Third World, leaving them defenseless in the face of resurgent epidemics.

In Latin America glittering showcases of capitalist "development," like fancy shopping centers for the rich, sprout up in the urban centers. Yet in the surrounding slums and shantytowns, in the appallingly impoverished hinterland, the masses are condemned to medieval backwardness and disease. The "lost decade" of the Latin American masses was also the "Reagan decade" of yuppies living high off Wall Street, those would-be "masters of the universe" with their BMWs paid by debt peonage. At the same time, the bourgeoisie has cut vital social services for the poor in the U.S. and pushed them into deepening poverty, provoking (localized) outbreaks of cholera—as well as measles, tuberculosis and other easily preventable diseases.

Only through international proletarian revolution, sweeping away the imperialist leeches and their semicolonial lackeys—will the masses of Latin America and the rest of the world free themselves from pestilence, famine, war and other catastrophes unleashed by the decaying imperialist order. ■

WV Photo

USec's "Crisis of Credibility"

Ernest Mandel vs. Revolutionary Leadership

At a public meeting "On the Future of Socialism" in New York City on April 8, United Secretariat leader Ernest Mandel spoke grimly of the "crisis of credibility" of socialism. "Stalinism on the one hand and social democracy on the other hand have dismally failed to change the world," the USec leader declared. Let's

PART ONE OF TWO

be accurate—the Stalinists and social democrats have *betrayed* the working class for decades, sabotaging and even bloodily repressing revolutions on behalf of the bourgeoisie. This "crisis of revolutionary leadership" led Leon Trotsky to found a new international vanguard party, the Fourth International. In the "epoch of wars and revolutions," an intransigent revolutionary leadership is an indispensable condition for proletarian victory.

Now Stalinist rule has collapsed in East Europe while in the Soviet Union the gains inherited from the October Revolution of 1917 which have survived despite the bureaucratic degeneration are threatened. The ever greater appeasement of imperialism by Stalin's heirs in the Kremlin—from withdrawing Soviet troops from Afghanistan to caving in to the annexation of the DDR by West German imperialism—is brought home in the one-sided imperialist slaughter of the Iraqi people. Imperialist ideologues crow with triumphalism of the "death of Communism." In Germany the Social Democrats acted as the Trojan Horse of counterrevolution, paving the way for capitalist reunification in an expanded Fourth Reich of German imperialism (long the intent of the SPD's *Ostpolitik*). So what does the leader of the self-styled "United Secretariat of the Fourth International" advocate? Well, lately in Moscow, he called for "unity" of the Stalinist and social-democratic parties! Seems like the "crisis of credibility" is in the USec.

The quintessential character of the USec is tailism, and it has deep roots. Forty years ago, Ernest Mandel became a leading and able apologist for the revisionist current led by Michel Pablo. Adapting to apparent stability and geographical extension of Stalinism into East Europe following World War II, Pablo and Mandel projected that the future would be "several centuries" of deformed workers states, and invented a "new world reality" in which the Stalinist parties could be compelled into "roughly outlining a revolutionary orientation." Pablo called for the Trotskyists to enter the mass Stalinist and social-democratic parties to pressure them to the left (see our February 1990 pamphlet, "Trotskyism: What It Isn't and What It Is!").

During the next decades, the followers of Pablo and Mandel discovered myriad "new mass vanguards." In the 1960s, it was "Algerian socialism" à la Ben Bella, the Cuban Revolution and guerrillaism, Mao's "Red Guards," the "Red University" radicalism and many more. In the '70s it was Portuguese military officers, Khomeini's "Islamic revolution" in Iran. You name it, they tailed it—because they had no confidence in the proletariat fighting for power under the leadership of a Trotskyist world party.

But now when it comes to a frontal battle with counterrevolution, these inveterate opportunists don't have much room to maneuver. Mandel cries about "the crisis of credibility of socialism" and desperately looks for some palatable force to tail in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. As for the supporters of "his" majority—a heterogeneous conglomerate running from Greens to state capitalists—they are not too concerned with Mandel's machinations in Moscow. For Mandelite national sections, the main appetite is always at home.

Der Spiegel

USec pushed "Solidarity with Solidarność" and hailed Walesa's "socialist" adviser Jacek Kuron (above), now labor minister responsible for repressing Polish workers' struggles like militant May 1990 rail strike (below).

Spartakist

Meanwhile a significant minority openly hails the advance of capitalist imperialism in Germany and Eastern Europe. They too stand in the tradition of the USec, which over the last decade supported virtually every pro-Western "Soviet dissident" and manifestation of reactionary nationalism, from hailing Polish Solidarność to memorializing pro-Nazi Baltic fascists. Mandel the eternal centrist may draw back from the consummation of his liquidationist program as he has done before. But he surely should not be surprised when his followers, having howled with the imperialist wolves over Afghanistan and Poland, just keep on howling.

Ministers, Cops... and War Credits for Anti-Tamil Repression

At public meetings in the 1980s, Mandel raged against Spartacists as "Stalinist strikebreakers" for our emphatic warnings about clerical-reactionary Solidarność. Mandel declared Solidarność to be the best socialists in the world while the Mandelites made much of their relations with Walesa's "Trotskyist" advisers such as Jacek Kuron. As late as September 1989—five months after the election of a Solidarność-led regime in Poland which immediately began to implement its program for capitalist restoration—the Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire was still calling for a 100 percent Solidarność government (*Rouge*, 31 August/6 September 1989)! Only one month later Mandel was shamelessly announcing that he had written his "last letter" to "comrade Kuron," who was now serving as the labor minister in the Solidarność-led government, repressing the struggles of Polish workers against the brutal austerity and clerical reaction brought in by Solidarność. At a meeting in Montreal in October 1989, Mandel declared, "I don't speak to ministers." And today, at least one member of the pro-USec Kret group in Poland belongs to Solidarność 80, a more militantly anti-Communist split from Walesa, whose leaders push open anti-Semitism.

Would Mandel "speak to" his comrade who is top cop in a region of that socially nasty, complacent little capitalist enclave of Switzerland? In a joint electoral campaign with the Greens, a leading member of the USec's Swiss section was recently elected as Minister of Justice and Police in the Swiss canton of Zug. And what about USec supporter Petr Uhl, who serves as one of the main spokesmen for the Czechoslovakian capitalist-restorationist government of Vaclav Havel, in his capacity as government-appointed director of the Czechoslovak Press Agency (CTK)? So what's wrong with Kuron, whose only crime is success—as the labor minister in a Solidarność government, a formation the USec spent some ten years championing?

But the USec has years of experience in renouncing the forces they have tailed when their crimes against the working class are becoming obvious to all. Take the example of the USec's former section in Ceylon, the Lanka Samasamaja Party (LSSP). In 1960, the LSSP made a popular-front electoral pact with the Stalinists and bourgeois Sri Lanka Freedom Party—the party whose 1956 "Sinhala Only" language act codified anti-Tamil communalism as official state policy and laid the basis for the bloody communalism that now engulfs Sri Lanka. The "International Secretariat" of Michel Pablo didn't object to this pact. It was only after the LSSP had eagerly accepted ministerial portfolios in the SLFP government in 1964 that it was hastily expelled by an embarrassed USec. Now the USec is welcoming into its ranks the New Samasamaja Party (NSSP) whose cadres remained inside the LSSP throughout its participation in the capitalist government, including during that government's bloody suppression of the 1971 uprising of radical Sinhala youth led by the (now fascistic) JVP.

The NSSP is currently engaged along with the Stalinists in a popular-front "oppositional" alliance with the SLFP and has made clear that it would support the anti-Tamil SLFP's Mrs. Bandaranaike, who presided over the bloodbath against the JVP, as a presidential candidate. In his capacity as a Member of Parliament, NSSP leader Vasudeva Nanayakkara *voted for the UNP government's supplementary "defense" budget* raised for renewed bloody suppression of the insurgent Tamil minority!

Political Scandals, Organizational Disarray

When the USec's "13th World Congress" was convened in early February of this year, the bottom line was negative. A desultory report on the congress in the German *Sozialistische Zeitung* written by a longtime USec member says it all in the title: "More Problems, Fewer Members." The membership has shrunk 25 percent in West Europe since the last world congress in 1985 and the organization is particularly weak in the major imperialist powers: Japan, the U.S. and Germany. (At the world congress, all the men were expelled from the Japanese section, following several years of subterranean scandal and the formation by female members of a separate group in response to incidences of sexual violence.) In several countries—like Britain and Italy—the very existence of the section is impossible to detect as they have simply liquidated into social-democratic or other leftist groups.

In Germany, Mandel's forces in the West have spent the last five years in a cold fusion with ex-Maoists, predicated on the condition that the fused group (VSP) *not* affiliate with the USec. And what did the VSP do when an incipient

political revolution shook East German society, and every ideological prop and institution of the deformed workers state was called into question? *The VSP forbade its members to conduct any political work in the East.* Even today, with the two Germanys united into a single state, Mandelites East and West are supposed to stick strictly to their "own" terrain!

Leading up to the congress, the youth organization of the former "star" section, the French LCR, was in open if programmatically contradictory rebellion against the European majority's social-pacifist line on the anti-Iraq war. Hundreds of the more than a thousand paper members of the LCR didn't even bother to vote in the pre-congress deliberative sessions. And then there was the opposition bloc (known as the HCMM) whose main spokesman is the French section's longtime oppositionist Matti, who unabashedly rejoiced in the growth and triumph of the forces of "anti-Stalinist" *capitalist* reaction.

Meanwhile, after having publicly renounced Trotskyism some years ago, the eclectic Fidelista reformists of Jack Barnes' American SWP finally split from the USec last June. But even with the SWP removed from the scene, there are still two and a half organizations in the U.S. claiming adherence to the USec: Socialist Action (SA), the Fourth Internationalist Tendency, and a faction of the state capitalist Solidarity. SA, which was in an informal bloc with the Matti faction during preconference discussion on the basis of virulent Stalinophobia, harkens back to the tradition of the 1970s SWP in which Joseph Hansen ably wielded Trotskyist "orthodoxy" against the vicarious guerrillaists of the Mandelites to cover for the abject reformism and cringing legalism of the SWP.

Weinstein's SA finally didn't go with the Matti opposition, declaring its own "international" tendency which got 1 percent of the votes at the international congress. SA—whose politics are if anything to the right of Matti's—has taken on importance only because of their distance from Europe, North Africa and the Middle East, where the ferment in the USec is currently the strongest. To avoid watching Matti's corrupt maneuvers and sleazy courtship of the French Socialist Party up close, those who are reticent to draw the programmatic conclusions from their disgust with both Mandel and Matti willfully give credence to SA's spurious postures of Trotskyist "orthodoxy." They would like to sustain an illusion that SA has cleaner hands.

Le Bolchévik Photos

France: While International Communist League (above) called for defeat of imperialists in Gulf War, Mandelite LCR joined in popular-front pacifist appeals for negotiated "peaceful solution."

Socialist Action: Case Study in Social-Patriotism

In fact Socialist Action's real appetites have been quite clear since their organizational debut, when they stepped forward during the 1983 U.S. Greyhound bus strike, seeking at the union bureaucrats' behest to block militant workers from stopping scab buses from rolling. During the Persian Gulf War, the USec's American supporters worked to outdo one another (but only SA had much effect) in imitating the SWP's popular-frontist "leadership" of the movement against the Vietnam War. For all of them, that period was the "golden age" of the SWP, the tradition that they look back to fondly as they deplore the degeneration of the present SWP into an eccentric Stalinoid sect.

During the Vietnam era, the SWP threw off its centrist coloration to make a bid for "the big time." They beat the Stalinists at their own time-dishonored games—e.g., attempted censorship through imposition of "official" slogans, manipulation of antiwar committees by hiding their affiliation, all so as to keep the participation of "reds" including themselves as invisible as possible—and thereby became the "best organizers" of the peace movement. It was the SWP's organizing of the *right wing* of that antiwar radicalization—building "mass mobilizations" entirely dominated politically by the Democratic Party—which marked their passage into the camp of outright reformism. Opposing and redbaiting the large numbers of student youth who wanted to oppose U.S. imperialism and championed the victory of the Vietnamese revolutionary forces, the SWP was the incarnation of "peaceful-legal," "single issue" popular-frontism, organizing for the liberal politicians and union hacks against the challenge to the capitalist system represented by the *losing* war and the growth of the heterogeneous New Left. They were *detested* by masses of radicalized youth for their role.

As the U.S. and its imperialist "allies" rained down bloody destruction on the masses of Iraqis, Socialist Action led the pack of "peace activists" crying "No More Vietnams"—in other words, no more defeats for U.S. imperialism. In the name of "unity," in the open attempt to find a common ground with bourgeois and other forces supporting America's war aims—for example, the myriad proponents of securing a better "UN" cover for U.S. imperialism's "liberation" of Kuwait—SA worked consciously to blend its "antiwar" agitation in with the predominant spirit of the moment, which was *support for the war*. Their social-patriotism was explicit and unashamed as they opined that "Support Our Troops—Bring Them Home" should be the main slogan of the "movement" and defended the yellow ribbon as an appropriate symbol for "peace activists." In a centerfold photo spread following one of the big marches, *Socialist Action* even chose to feature a demonstrator holding up a sign: "Vietnam is 56,000 reasons why we need to get out of the Gulf." So the *two million* Vietnamese killed by U.S. imperialism don't count—only the "American lives"? They deliberately appealed to the most right-wing incarnation of the "Vietnam syndrome"—that the problem is "we" lost—incidentally making common cause with the *racist* mindset, so useful to the pursuit of colonial wars, which enabled General Schwarzkopf to say of Saddam Hussein's forces, "They're not a part of the same human race."

Those "clean hands" people of Socialist Action cringed in the face of the duty to oppose "their own" imperialism, which happens to be the biggest gang of mass murderers on the face of this planet. We chose instead to call for the *defeat* of imperialism, whether or not it was "popular" (and it was a lot more attractive to serious youth, black workers and others than some people might think). We stood with Trotsky, who wrote in a "Declaration to the Antiwar Congress at Amsterdam" (1932): "Whoever attempts to put all the programs, all the parties, all the flags into one package in the name of pacifism, that is, of a superficial struggle against war in words, performs the greatest service for imperialism."

Last fall as the U.S. massed its forces for the Persian Gulf adventure, we wrote:

> "Iraq is not Vietnam. Saddam Hussein is not any kind of revolutionary, not even a Stalinist like Vietnam's Ho Chi Minh, who despite conciliating imperialism at several crucial points (and killing the Vietnamese Trotskyists) did lead his people in a revolutionary war which liberated Vietnam from the imperialist overlords.... But what is *not* different in the present conflict is the role of U.S. imperialism. America's rulers are the world's number one war criminals.... *A defeat for the U.S. in the Persian Gulf today would be a blow on behalf of the working masses of the whole world.*"
>
> —*WV* No. 514,
> 16 November 1990

Meanwhile, SA and its similars were quite explicit that they considered the call for *defense of Iraq* to be wholly inappropriate for *their* "antiwar movement." "End the war," they said, and it doesn't matter how it ends. Doesn't it? Is it clear enough now to you now that the ending of the war through the one-sided slaughter of the Iraqi forces, a victory for imperialism in which almost no American blood was spilled, constitutes the deadliest danger to the future of this planet, bringing the next wars a giant step closer? Now that everyone's having their public forums bemoaning the triumphalism of the (highly unstable) "New World Order," it's obvious they all know very well that it matters how the war ended—they knew it all the time that they were waving their yellow ribbons. Cynical, patronizing opportunism.

The HCMM faction has sometimes been able to give an orthodox-sounding cover to its essentially rightist thrust by posing as wanting to build parties and the "International," unlike the Mandelite majority. For example, both HCMM and Socialist Action are capable of sounding leftist in arguing against the majority's sycophantic support for the petty-bourgeois nationalist Sandinistas, whose policies of appeasing Nicaraguan and international capital through the "mixed economy" and "political pluralism" paved the way for the election victory of the pro-contra bourgeoisie around Violeta Chamorro. Having baptized the Sandinista government a "dictatorship of the proletariat," the USec majority now incredibly claims the Chamorro government still heads a proletarian state ("Central America Today," adopted by the USec's IEC in June 1990).

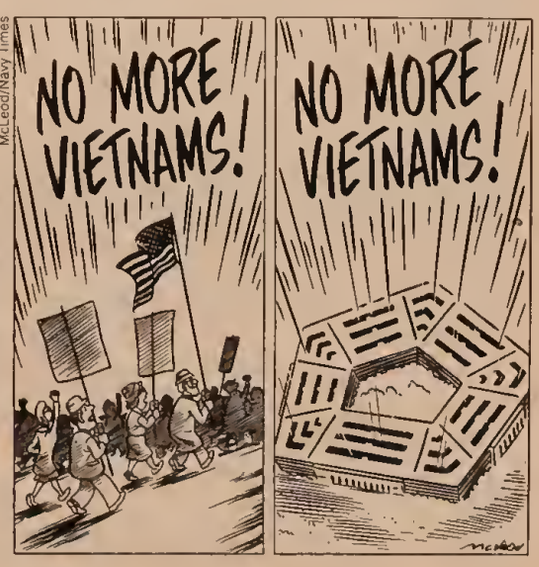
But the visceral Stalinophobia that defines both HCMM and Socialist Action is also the operable factor in their line toward Nicaragua. While HCMM whines at the lack of "socialist democracy" in Nicaragua "even though that country was qualitatively more free than any Stalinist state," SA supported ex-Sandinista Moises Hassan's Movement for Revolutionary Unity which ran in the February 1990 elections. In March, with the contras thirsting for vengeance, Hassan compared the top Sandinista leaders to Romania's Ceausescu and suggested they be put on trial for "corruption, abuse of power and other major crimes."

USec disarray and scandals may make good copy for Mandel's opponents, like ourselves, but it isn't really funny. The erudite professor is running a school for chicanery and gross opportunism, but his "students"—or at least some of them—joined avowedly socialist organizations to fight to free this planet from injustice, exploitation and war, not to take lessons in social-chauvinism, suck up to French SP politicians, and comfort themselves with the "mass influence" possessed by "cothinkers" like Czech "free marketeers" and left apologists for anti-Tamil state terror in Sri Lanka.

German Unity Divides Mandel's USec

Today, Mandel finds it expedient to renounce Kuron. But when it comes to

continued on page 8



Cartoon from *Navy Times* captures common ground between Pentagon warmongers and "antiwar" movement opposed to defeat of U.S. imperialism.

Ernest Mandel...

(continued from page 7)

the Russian question a significant section of the USec's cadres and ranks are no longer so flexible. After a decade of being foot soldiers for Cold War social democracy, when Erich Honecker's regime collapsed in the DDR a whole wing of the USec led by Matti openly greeted capitalist counterrevolution in the name of "German unity."

For the Matti opposition, the bottom line was that the right to German unity is unconditional. Despite the claim to be for a "united socialist Germany," the Matti faction made no attempt to deny that their position was an overt call for capitalist reunification: "To make socialism a precondition for German unity would be to give up getting a hearing from those who are for unification but who reject socialism because of the caricature they are familiar with" (*Critique Communiste* No. 92, January 1990).

Since the 1948 abolition of capitalism in East Germany following the Soviet Army's victory over Hitler's Nazis, Germany was a nation divided along *class* lines. Yet in the face of a barrage of imperialist lies, threats and destabilization aimed at the annexation of the DDR by West German imperialism, for Matti and Socialist Action the question of "self-determination" for the "German nation" was elevated, in the purest Kautskyist tradition, above the class defense of the proletarian property forms and social gains of the former East German workers state.

Matti dismissed as "scholastic" any argument that "Germany is not an oppressed nation." On the contrary, he asserted:

> "East Germany is certainly an oppressed country. It is oppressed by the Soviet Union, which denies it the right to self-determination, maintaining in power for 40 years a regime with no legitimacy and stationing 180,000 troops within its borders."

The former editor of *Socialist Action*, Alan Benjamin, took this one step further by declaring the Soviet forces in East Germany to be an army of "imperialist" occupation with the statement that the German working class "was subject to the occupation of four imperialist armies" (May 1990). This wailing about the "oppression" of Germans by the Red Army puts them in league with the worst revanchist elements of the German right, who yearn to "reclaim" all the German lands lost through the Soviet victory over the Third Reich.

For the Matti tendency support for capitalist counterrevolution is the ticket into the mainstream of Mitterrand's Socialist Party—which is already inhabited by other ex-leaders of the LCR like Henri Weber and Julien Dray (one of Matti's former lieutenants in the LCR leadership), who serve as SP deputies and aides-de-camp in governmental palaces. But the social interpenetration between the LCR leadership and the ruling Socialist Party is pervasive; in the LCR central committee meetings, it is the "shadow" of the SP which determines votes. As for Socialist Action, their appetite is to be water boys for the Cold War labor bureaucracy in the U.S., where capitulation to anti-Communism is a conditioned reflex.

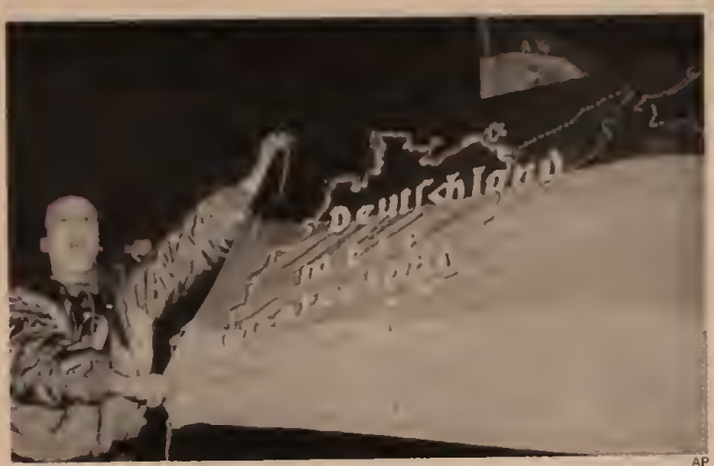
East Berlin, 3 January 1990—250,000 protested Nazi desecration of Red Army monument in Treptow Park. Spartacist banner reads: "Down with NATO! Defend the Soviet Union!"

Enter Stage Right—Pierre Lambert

With Socialist Action taking up Matti's position on the capitalist reunification of Germany, it seems Pierre Lambert's Stalinophobic Parti Communiste Internationaliste turned its attentions to Socialist Action. On the eve of the USec's World Congress, Socialist Action expelled Alan Benjamin and a half dozen or so supporters who had attended a Barcelona conference of Pierre Lambert's "Liaison Committee for a Workers' International" in January.

It is certainly fitting that Benjamin would be attracted to Lambert's organization, whose visceral Stalinophobia led it to hail the CIA-funded Portuguese Socialist Party in 1975 when it was leading anti-Communist riots and trashing CP offices. The Lambertistes had long demanded the unconditional reunification of Germany under the agency of the West German SPD, which was also bankrolled by the CIA to serve the cause of counterrevolutionary "German unity."

Trotsky analyzed the Stalinist bureaucracy as a brittle and contradictory *caste*, whose rule is simultaneously dependent on collectivized proletarian property forms while being the product of, and reflecting, the pressures of world imperialism. The understanding of the *dual nature* of the Stalinist bureaucracy is the cornerstone of Trotsky's position on the Soviet Union: for unconditional defense against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution, and for workers political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist misrulers whose conciliation of imperialism undermines the defense of the gains of October.



Rightists in 1989 Leipzig demo flaunt German-nationalist colors with map of Third Reich and slogan "Germany my fatherland." Matti called for unconditional support to capitalist reunification, while Mandelites talked out of both sides of their mouths.

Matti explicitly renounces Trotsky's position. In an article in Pierre Broué's journal *Le Marxisme Aujourd'hui* (March 1991) entitled "Champagne and Democracy," the Mattistes hail the revolts "from Warsaw to Bucharest, from Sofia to Prague and Leipzig" with the declaration that "these systems...did not constitute progress and did not to any extent or in any way 'go beyond' capitalism." The social gains that were won through collectivizing the economy are reviled by Matti as a reactionary and retrogressive alternative to imperialist "democracy." He writes that these states "were prisons for the peoples. Like animals in a zoo, human beings were supposed to be fed, cared for, protected from predators, but they were behind bars." Deriding Trotsky's program for political revolution as "an idealistic and ultraleftist schema," Matti calls for a "fight to the end" against Stalinism "so that democracy can spread and reign the world over as a precondition for any socialist revolution"! In the 1950s, the heyday of American McCarthyism, Max Shachtman and his organization used exactly the same rationale to enlist in the Cold War against "Stalinism."

Alka-Seltzer or Champagne: The USec's German Hangover

Matti writes: "When the Berlin Wall fell under the blows of the East German people, we said 'Champagne!' Those who hadn't understood the extent of their anti-bureaucratic hatred cried 'Alka-Seltzer!'" The latter is in reference to Mandel and his supporters.

In his pamphlet "When Stalinism Crumbles" (December 1989), Mandel characterized the demand for the "unconditional reunification" of Germany as a "totally reactionary position." Instead, echoing the DDR nationalism nurtured by the regime (building socialism in half a country?), Mandel elsewhere defended the "sovereignty of the popular masses of the DDR."

Lecturing at Humboldt University in East Berlin in November 1989, the USec leader called for a "politically capable vanguard" to "open the way for the victory and consolidation of the political revolution." Of course he wasn't talking about the USec's own supporters in the West German United Socialist Party (VSP)—which incidentally at the time did not even have a paper position of defending the DDR against imperialism. The "vanguard" that Mandel's USec pushed was the United Left (VL)—one of the various left satellites of the remnants of the former DDR Stalinists (SED, later renamed PDS). VL capitulated to the drive for reunification while peddling the popular-front fantasy of a slow, peaceful process of capitalist restoration, a "market economy" in which the gains of the East German workers state could be preserved through legislation. Echoing the Stalinist bureaucracy, VL always talked about defending the "sovereignty of the DDR"...and when that parochial, ersatz nationalist defense of collectivized property collapsed under the West German onslaught, they had no more answers than the Stalinists. VL's own election platform called for a "cooperation agreement" and a "confederation," echoing the SED/PDS which simply sought to slow down the process of reunification.

Today as the West German imperialists are completely leveling the economy in East Germany and dismantling every social gain, a USec majority resolution, "On the Capitalist Reunification of Germany" (November 1990), declares shamelessly that this confirms "the correctness of our determined opposition to German capitalist reunification." But in "When Stalinism Crumbles," Mandel had presented this scenario:

> "Unification of Germany? Of course. But on the condition that the unified Germany

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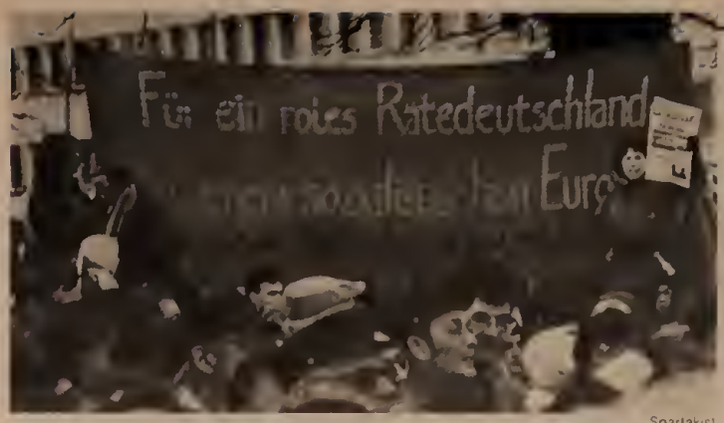
> leaves NATO. That foreign troops first be withdrawn from all of Germany. That the Bundeswehr be reduced to the bare minimum. That the repressive apparatus and legislation be dismantled. That the salaries in the DDR be rapidly adapted to those in the BRD...."

This was the same line as that of the PDS, which accepted the inevitability, if not necessarily the desirability, of capitalist reunification. (One slogan of the PDS at the time of the March 18 elections was "We Are One People—1:1"; thus, their sole condition for unification was a one-to-one exchange rate of the currencies.) Notice that Mandel, like Matti, wants to see the withdrawal of Soviet troops, which had constituted the front-line defense of the DDR against NATO, while urging a reduction in the strength of the armed forces of German imperialism, like reformists everywhere who plead for curbs on "excessive military spending" consistent with "our national defense." Mandel's "conditions" envision a "neutralist" *capitalist* state, like maybe non-NATO Switzerland or the supposedly "nonaligned" nations of the Third World.

The International Communist League was the only tendency whose forces fought tooth and nail against the capitalist reunification of Germany. Intervening into the unfolding political revolution in the DDR following the collapse of the Honecker regime we raised the call for "A Germany of Workers Councils!" under which the "national question" in Germany would be resolved through socialist revolution in the West and proletarian political revolution in the East.



Spartakist

German Spartakists called for "A Red Germany of Workers Councils in a Socialist Europe," campaigned in March 1990 DDR elections for "No to Capitalist Reunification."

Spartakist

Berlin, March 15—Workers with union banners protest ravages of reunification in front of Treuhand offices, hated agency of capitalist dismantling of East German economy.

Despite our small forces we published a very frequent press, distributing millions of pieces of Trotskyist literature to workers, soldiers and youth in the DDR. When fascists desecrated a monument to the Red Army fighters who fell in the battle to smash Hitler's Nazis, the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands and the Spartakist Gruppen (who subsequently fused to form the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany [SpAD]) initiated a call for a massive workers united-front action to stop the fascists. This was met with a positive response at factories and workplaces throughout Berlin, leading the then-ruling Stalinists of the SED to mobilize their forces.

On 3 January 1989 a crowd of 250,000 people rallied at Treptow Park in East Berlin. Our comrades put forward the program of Trotskyism, calling for a workers united front against the fascists, for workers militias and for forging "a new workers party—of equal rights, equal duties—in the spirit of Lenin, Liebknecht and Luxemburg." Our warnings of the danger of capitalist restoration and the SPD's treacherous role, our criticisms of the incompetence of the former Stalinist misrulers, our opposition to Gorbachev's "perestroika," drew boos and heckling from the largely SED crowd.

The West German imperialists and their social-democratic front men in the SPD were enraged at this massive pro-Soviet, anti-fascist mobilization in which they quite correctly saw the forces that could prevail against capitalist *Anschluss*. They belittled the fascist menace and claimed the SED had itself manufactured the provocations. This was echoed by Mandel's allies in VL who demanded the SpAD disavow the Treptow demonstration!

Following Treptow, the imperialists turned up the heat in their drive to annex the DDR for capitalist exploitation. They launched a massive campaign of destabilization which rivaled the CIA's efforts to "make the economy scream" in Allende's Chile. The elections, scheduled for May, were moved up to March 18. More than 20 billion D-marks were poured into the DDR through agencies linked to Kohl's CDU and the SPD. Gorbachev gave the green light and the SED/PDS capitulated to the imperialist onslaught.

In the elections our comrades of the SpAD campaigned under the slogan, "No to Capitalist Reunification—For a Germany of Workers Councils!" The SpAD's election manifesto declared:

> "Today the question is revolution or counterrevolution. We, the working people, built the collectivized economy from the rubble of Hitler's Third Reich. Stalinism has wretchedly demonstrated its bankruptcy. But no one has the right to hand over to capital what millions have created! We must defend our social gains and our workers state. We have much to lose and everything to win.... Today a resolute struggle by workers in the DDR can be the spark for BRD workers to beat back the attacks of the bosses and open the way to real class struggle, for power: *social revolution* in the West."

We fought against a torrent of imperialist lies and destabilization. Millions were intoxicated by the prospect that reunification would bring D-mark prosperity. The SpAD's warnings—that the takeover of the DDR by imperialist West Germany would mean mass unemployment, attacks on women and foreign workers, the growth of fascist forces and of Greater German imperialism—were reviled by the Stalinists, Social Democrats and their various hangers-on.

Today more than 50 percent of the population of the DDR openly regrets support for reunification. The Mattistes and all pieces of the now fragmented Socialist Action—swooning over last year's mass right-wing demonstrations in Leipzig which demanded "Germany, One Fatherland!"—declared that anyone who did not support the unconditional reunification of Germany would be relegated to the sidelines. Now the mass protests in Leipzig march under red union banners, as the East German workers desperately fight to resist the ravages of capitalist reunification. Who's on the sidelines now?

Now the Mandelites are crawling inside the PDS, the burned-out social-democratic leftovers of the former Stalinist regime in the DDR. The Mandelite majority resolution argues "the evolution of the PDS is not finished" and calls for "debate, unity in action, electoral agreements with this party." Indeed, a longtime West German Mandelite, Jakob Moneta, got himself elected to the PDS central committee!

This might have caused some discomfort among the opposition whose leader Matti calls for "trying the Stalinists...as the Nazis were in Nuremberg." But, as we've seen, in this anti-Leninist "International" there's room for everyone. The Leninist norm of democratic centralism corresponds only to a revolutionary program, and to a party which wants to take power at the head of the insurgent and conscious proletariat. This has nothing to do with the USec's appetites.

The German events are a litmus test for any tendency which claims—like Mandel & Co. do now—to stand against capitalist restoration in the former Soviet-bloc states. We Trotskyists of the ICL threw our modest forces into the incipient political revolution in the DDR, fighting to make a difference as a revolutionary leadership in a briefly wide-open situation. We sought to enlist the masses of working people in defending the DDR against the danger of capitalist *Anschluss*, for example through the Treptow demonstration. But the PDS capitulated and the working class, politically demobilized under years of bureaucratic misrule in the DDR, and lacking the remotest faith in the international class struggle, remained atomized and passive.

West German capital, spearheaded by the SPD "Trojan Horse," struck with all its formidable weapons and took back the DDR. This defeat for the world's working people must not be underestimated, nor its apologists and complicitors forgotten. Now that the mood of the masses of the former DDR has turned, the ICL has earned great credit in the eyes of many East German working people for having fought the capitalist reunification with all the modest forces at our disposal. And not only there. It was our intervention into the German events that won to the ICL's banner new recruitment and regroupments. Our fight for political revolution as the only truly potent obstacle to imperialist *Anschluss*, our defense of the social gains of the DDR, our work for internationalist solidarity with Soviet Army soldiers, as well as with Vietnamese, Polish and African foreign workers in the DDR, won fresh forces to the ICL from militants breaking from the orbit of Stalinist or "Trotskyist" currents in Poland, Canada and Mexico as well as the DDR.

{TO BE CONTINUED}

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Kurdish Struggle...

(continued from page 12)

the Crusaders in the 12th century.

Even before the end of World War I, Britain and France set about dividing up the Ottoman areas as the spoils of their impending victory in the secret Sykes-Picot treaty of 1916. While promising the numerous subject peoples of the moribund Ottoman Empire independence in return for their support, they proceeded not only to violate those promises but to deliberately carve up the various peoples of the region into artificially created states. British prime minister Lloyd George cynically wrote afterwards: "There could be no question of a peace conference until we had conquered Iraq and Syria." The name of the imperialist game was "divide and rule."

Having denounced the imperialist secret diplomacy which sent millions to the slaughter in World War I, the Bolsheviks published Sykes-Picot and all the other secret treaties immediately after taking power in Russia. Leon Trotsky, the first commissar of foreign affairs, wrote in introducing the treaties, "To a considerable degree the whole of the present war is a war for the partition of the 'Turkish Legacy,' for the 're-partition' of Turkish lands between the banks, industrialists and merchants of the strongest capitalist powers." The Bolsheviks aggressively sought to foster anti-imperialist upheavals in the region, summoning a Congress of the Peoples of the East in Baku in 1920. The Communist International's call declared:

> "Workers and peasants of the Near East! If you organize yourselves and set up your own workers' and peasants' government, if you arm yourselves, uniting with the Russian workers' and peasants' army, you will beat the British, French and American capitalists, get rid of your oppressors and find freedom...."
>
> —*Baku: Congress of the Peoples of the East* (1977)

Camera Press

Kemal Atatürk, Turkish nationalist leader.

In the same year, the Western imperialists codified their annexation of the region in the Treaty of Sèvres, which laid out vague promises of a highly truncated and impoverished Kurdish state while effectively turning Turkey into a protectorate under imperialist military occupation. Though national consciousness was largely subordinate to tribal loyalties among the Kurds, a British political officer in Baghdad reported that "the idea of Kurdistan for the Kurds was already popular," with four out of five people in southern (Iraqi) Kurdistan supporting independence. "Perfidious Albion" proceeded to grab this oil-rich region, formerly the *vilayet* (province) of Mosul, and attach it to its own mandate of Iraq. In the years to come, British troops and planes suppressed one uprising after another in Iraqi Kurdistan, bombing and gassing towns and villages.

Not surprisingly, the Turks rejected

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1920 Baku Congress, organized by the Communist International to spread revolutionary struggle among Eastern peoples.

Sèvres and, under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, waged a war to drive out the British-allied Greeks and Armenians and secure the borders of the modern Turkish state. Atatürk initially appealed for unity of Turks and Kurds. The 1920 Amasya Protocol, which effectively declared the new bourgeois Turkish state, "recognized the national and social rights of the Kurds." Atatürk's movement, which at the time was backed by Soviet Russia, so frightened the imperialist Allies that they invaded Istanbul and dissolved the legislature. Numerous Kurdish intellectuals, who were responsible for forming the first Kurdish nationalist organizations, joined with Atatürk and the "Young Turk" movement. But Atatürk was a *Turkish* nationalist, and like all nationalists he recognized "equality" for only one nation—his own.

Before adopting his "progressive" nationalist coloration, Atatürk had been a proponent of a greater "pan-Turanian" state, whose pursuit led to the massacre of more than a million Armenians and 700,000 Kurds under the cover of World War I. As soon as he consolidated power, he began to suppress both the Kurds and the workers organizations in Turkey. The day the caliphate was officially abolished in March 1924, all Kurdish institutions, organizations and publications were banned. A year later, all workers organizations were also banned. The new state was formally declared a "Turkish state," and by 1930 the Kemalist minister of justice could proclaim: "Those who are not of pure Turkish stock can have only one right in this country, the right to be servants and slaves."

The escalating Turkish repression was met by a series of Kurdish revolts continuing through the late '30s. Already in 1922, a Committee for Kurdish Independence had been formed by petty-bourgeois intellectuals who in turn subordinated themselves to traditional Kurdish tribal and religious leaders. The first rebellion, in 1925, was crushed with the aid of Turkey's enemy of yesterday, French imperialism. Hundreds of the rebels were hanged and many tens of thousands of peasants died in the subsequent "pacification" campaign, as villages throughout the region were burned to the ground.

Almost immediately, a second revolt erupted, which spread so rapidly that the Turks were ready to enter negotiations. Then, as was to happen so often in the future, the shah of Iran reached an agreement with Turkey to cut off support to the Kurdish rebels and to aid in their destruction. The murderous repression which followed was so widespread and promiscuous that a special law was promulgated decreeing that murders and pogroms by soldiers or civilians which aided "extermination of the revolts...will not be considered as crimes." By the time the last revolt was suppressed in 1938, more than 1.5 million Turkish Kurds had either been massacred or deported. The repression was so savage that it would be 30 years before any significant political struggle reasserted itself in Turkish Kurdistan.

Until 1950, the entire region was under a permanent state of siege: foreigners were not allowed to enter for 15 years thereafter. Though only a handful of Kurds could speak Turkish, all use of Kurdish in public was banned—with violators subjected to a huge fine for each word spoken. Even the words "Kurd" and "Kurdistan" were outlawed, and the Kurdish people were officially pronounced to be "mountain Turks." When the social-democratic Turkish Workers Party became the first legal party to recognize the *existence* of the Kurdish people in 1970 during a brief period of liberalization, it was immediately banned. Only this year was the word Kurdistan again allowed to be used publicly, as part of a cosmetic reform by the Özal regime aimed at appeasing Turkey's imperialist patrons.

When demonstrations again started sweeping Turkish Kurdistan in the late 1960s, U.S.-trained anti-guerrilla commandos (now called "Ramhos" by the Kurds) launched a reign of terror against the Kurdish population along the lines of the U.S. "pacification" program in Vietnam. Armored units and helicopters went from village to village, herding the residents into camps and demanding the surrender of all arms. "Should a peasant declare that he has none, he is severely beaten and humiliated. The Turkish troops force both men and women to strip; often they rape the women. 'Suspects' are hanged by their feet from a gallows," notes an account in the book edited by Gerard Chaliand, *People Without a Country* (1980).

Regional Unity... Against the Kurds

The same gruesome cycle of repression and revolt has been played out in the other capitalist states which rule over parts of Kurdistan. The consolidation of bourgeois nation-states out of the artificial entities carved out by the imperialist powers meant massacres and suppression for the minority peoples of the region. The fact that Kurdistan was a clearly distinct nationality compacted in a relatively well-defined territory only meant that the Kurds were seen as even more of a threat to the new states and were thus subjected to even greater persecution. The one thing around which all these regimes could unite was the need to suppress any serious Kurdish struggle. Over the years, Turkey, Iraq and Iran would all participate in joint military actions—and even sign treaties pledging "mutual military assistance"—against the Kurds.

The bloody suffering of the Kurdish people throughout this century underscores—albeit negatively—the validity of the Trotskyist perspective of permanent revolution. In the epoch of imperialist decay, the weak bourgeoisies of the colonial world—even in the guise of "progressive" nationalists like Atatürk—are incapable of achieving national liberation. The dominant bourgeoisies become oppressors of their own subjugated minorities. And in the Kurdish countryside, powerful landlords and tribal leaders make common cause with the central governments whenever their own class interests are served.

If anything, the most "progressive" nationalist regimes tend to be the most oppressive to the Kurds. Thus, the Kurds in Syria were relatively unpersecuted until the "Arab socialist" Ba'ath party came to power. The formation of the United Arab Republic with Nasser's Egypt in 1959 was heralded with the suppression of the recently formed Syrian Kurdistan Democratic Party. Under the guise of a campaign to "save Arabism" from the "Kurdish threat," the Syrian Ba'athists drove tens of thousands of Kurds from their homes as part of an "Arab Cordon" policy aimed at forcibly removing all the Kurds from the frontier region. Not until 1976 did Syrian leader Assad publicly disown the "Arab Cordon" program.

On the other hand, the Russian Revolution of 1917 was a positive demonstration that only through proletarian revolution can the bourgeois-democratic tasks of agrarian revolution and national emancipation be achieved. The October Revolution inspired uprisings throughout the Near East. In fact, Atatürk's drive to power began with a 1919 military campaign—at the behest of the British and the sultan—to "repress the *choura* (soviets) which were beginning to organize themselves in the north of Kurdistan" (quoted in *People Without a Country*).

Inside the Soviet Union itself, the small population of some 200,000 Kurds was granted full equality with other nationalities. For a short time under Stalin, there was even a rather artificial autonomous republic of Kurdistan, inhabited primarily by Azerbaijani-speakers. While some 70 to 80 percent of Kurds in Turkey or Iran remain illiterate, among Soviet Kurds illiteracy had been completely eliminated by the 1930s. By 1960, 238 Kurdish-language books had been published in the Soviet Union, compared with perhaps a dozen for the overwhelmingly larger Kurdish population in Turkey.

Indeed, the only manifestation of Kurdish independence, the short-lived Mahabad Republic of 1946, came about as a result of Soviet occupation of northern Iran. But the republic had a narrow base of support and, when the Red Army withdrew from Iran as part of Stalin's agreement with the imperialist Allies, Iranian troops rapidly moved in and overwhelmed the Kurds. The leaders of the republic, largely local clerical figures and tribal chiefs, were executed, a printing press donated by the Red Army was shut down, and all Kurdish books were publicly burned. Mullah Mustafa Barzani, who had fled to Mahabad to escape RAF attacks in Iraq, made it to the Soviet border with several

Sygma

Kurdish nationalist leader Mullah Mustafa Barzani.

hundred guerrillas in what became known as the "retreat of the Five Hundred."

CIA Knifes the Kurds

Barzani was the embodiment of the treachery visited upon the Kurdish people by their supposed leaders. While describing itself as "Marxist-Leninist inspired," the Kurdistan Democratic Party (KDP) of Iraq has since its formation in 1946 been dominated almost exclusively by the feudal interests of the Barzani family (the current leader is Barzani's son Massoud). A wealthy landowner and head of the Barzani tribe in Iraq, Barzani devoted his political career to seeking the patronage of one or another imperialist or regional power, who would then dump him and slaughter his people. Only two years before the RAF drove Barzani out of Iraq, he had appealed for support to the British ambassador, offering blind obedience "whatever your orders may be," against the Iraqi government, which was then leaning toward the Germans.

When the monarchy was overthrown in 1958 by a military coup led by Brigadier Abd al-Karim Qassim, Barzani returned to Iraq after 12 years in exile in the Soviet Union. As we have detailed in previous articles, the coup touched off a deepgoing revolutionary upsurge (see "Iraqi Rulers' Bloody Road to Power," *WV* No. 511, 5 October 1990, and "Saddam Hussein's War on Kurds, Leftists," *WV* No. 517, 4 January 1991). A measure of the revolutionary turmoil was the new constitution's designation of Kurds as equal partners with Arabs in society (without of course accepting the Kurds' right to independence). For a brief period Iraq was even called the Arab and Kurdish Republic. The KDP joined with the Iraqi Communist Party in supporting the new regime.

Assured that the CP had kept the powerful working class in check, Qassim soon turned against both Communists and Kurds. Barzani launched another Kurdish revolt, which he initiated by trying to eliminate rival tribal chieftains. He then made approaches to the Ba'ath, which had been attacking Qassim for being *too soft* on the Kurds. According to an article by Peter Sluglett in *Saddam's Iraq—Revolution or Reaction?* (1989), "when the Ba'th-Nationalist alliance eventually overthrew Qasim in February 1963, they had had previous assurances from both Barzani and the KDP leaders that if they were successful the Kurds would announce a ceasefire, which duly materialized." The Ba'ath, not surprisingly, also moved against the Kurds, and the fighting continued on and off through various regimes until 1975.

Throughout this time, Barzani's forces were receiving support from the shah of Iran. In return, Barzani ordered a "freeze" on any Kurdish struggle in Iran. When leaders of the KDP of Iran finally refused to continue this suicidal policy in 1967, Barzani began hunting them down and turning them over to the shah. One of them was executed by Barzani and then handed over to the Iranians, who publicly displayed the body in towns throughout Iranian Kurdistan as a warning to others!

In 1970, another cease-fire was arranged with the new Ba'athist regime which had returned to power in Iraq two years earlier. The March 1970 agreement, which is now the basis for the current deal between the Kurdish leaders and Saddam Hussein, provided for substantial Kurdish autonomy. The sticking point—as it is today—was over who would control the oil-rich area around Kirkuk. Assured of military support by the shah, Barzani hardlined it and the war resumed yet again. When Soviet defense minister Grechko visited Baghdad, he proposed a new agreement, which according to William Safire (who should know), "Barzani rejected on the advice of Iran and the United States." Around the same time, Barzani told the *Washington Post* that he would deliver the recently nationalized Kirkuk oil fields to American companies.

Throughout this time, Mustafa Barzani was working not only for the shah but for the Israelis and the CIA as well. This became so notorious that his eldest son split with him, arguing that Barzani was fighting not for the Kurds but only to "remain absolute ruler" over them. Equipped with modern heavy weaponry by Iran, the Barzani forces were able to tie down much of the Iraqi army. Finally Iraq agreed to cut a deal with Iran in the 1975 Algiers agreement, ceding the Shatt-al-Arab waterway to the Persian Gulf, and Barzani was left hanging high and dry. Barzani in turn left his supporters hanging, telling them they could continue fighting if they wanted, while he took off for Iran and eventually the U.S., where he died in 1979.

In a demonstration of "Arab solidarity," Algeria sent troops to assist Iraq in sealing off the Kurdish frontier areas with Iranian aid. The Ba'athists' campaign of "Arab oil for the Arabs"—nominally directed at imperialist interests—was in fact aimed primarily at the Kurds. Baghdad launched a program of "Arabization" of the Kirkuk area, driving some 200,000 Kurds out of the region by April 1976. All this was dutifully approved by the United Nations, which fulsomely endorsed a 1976 report by Baghdad on "the restoration of peace and national unity following the solution of the Kurdish question in the north of the country."

The cynicism of this whole operation was captured in a 1974 CIA memorandum which stated: "Both Iran and the US hope to benefit from an unresolvable situation in which Iraq is intrinsically weakened by the Kurds' refusal to give up their semi-autonomy. Neither Iran nor the US would like to see the situation resolved one way or the other" (*Independent* [London], 2 March). When Barzani wrote a pleading letter to his former patrons in Washington after the Algiers agreement, Kissinger dismissed it without a reply, snidely observing that "secret service operations are not missionary work." Yet this did not prevent Barzani Jr. from turning to Washington once again during the latest uprising.

One section of the KDP which split from Barzani went on to form the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan (PUK) under Jalal Talabani. While the PUK has pretensions to greater "anti-imperialism" than the KDP, the differences are primarily cultural/tribal, with Barzani's group today based on the Kurmanji dialect speakers in the mountainous areas and Talabani's on petty-bourgeois Sorani speakers in the southern urban areas. Both organizations uphold the interests of the large landowners and are equally prepared to make deals with the imperialists and the regional bourgeoisies—usually against each other. During the Iran-Iraq war, the KDP was supported by Teheran while the PUK made a deal with Baghdad. Recently they have been working together, both in their appeals to Washington and in the negotiations with Saddam Hussein.

Spartakist

Berlin, April 20: Spartakists protest repression of Kurds, calling for Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan, workers revolution to topple all the sheiks, colonels and Zionist butchers.

Der Spiegel

Kurdish rebels in northern Iraq during brief moment of triumph after Gulf War.

For Permanent Revolution in the Near East!

Even the most left-wing of the Kurdish nationalist groups operate within the same framework, seeking allies not among the workers and oppressed of the region but from one or another bourgeoisie. Both the Iranian KDP and the ex-Maoist guerrillaist Komala/Communist Party of Iran hailed Khomeini's Islamic revolution. Today, the CPI/Komala talks of "the suppression of the 1979 revolution by the Islamic regime" (*Bolshevik Message*, February 1989). But the Islamic regime was *installed* in power by the 1979 revolution. And it wasted no time in turning on its leftist and Kurdish supporters, slaughtering some 30,000 Kurds by early 1984. The Iranian Kurdish groups then turned to Baghdad. Martin van Bruinessen reports that "Iraq has given money, logistical support and arms" to both the Iranian KDP and Komala ("The Kurds Between Iran and Iraq," *Middle East Report*, July-August 1986). CPI/Komala statements on the end of the Iran-Iraq war conspicuously make no reference to the oppression of Kurds by Baghdad, calling for struggle only against the Iranian regime.

And in Turkey, the "Marxist-Leninist" Workers Party of Kurdistan (PKK) relies on Syria for support. The PKK has been waging a guerrilla struggle for the past several years against the Turkish army, while simultaneously carrying out a campaign of assassination against its leftist Kurdish opponents. The PKK collaborates both with Barzani's Iraqi KDP and with "patriotic" landlords in Turkish Kurdistan. Committed to the Stalinist dogma of "two-stage revolution," both the PKK and Komala subordinate the interests of the proletariat in alliances with "progressive" nationalists who in turn look to imperialist patronage. In an interview published in the PKK's *Voice of Kurdistan* (August 1990), leader Abdullah Ocalan talks endlessly of "democratic unity" and the like, but does not even make a passing reference to socialism or proletarian revolution.

These groups call themselves Marxist and communist, but in fact they are nationalists. They look to the peasantry as a battering ram for the national struggle. But rent by tribal divisions and dominated by wealthy landowners who are always prepared to sacrifice them for their own interests, the peasantry has neither the social power nor the coherent outlook to lead a struggle for national or social emancipation. So the left nationalists end up tailing the nationalists of more powerful nationalities—who want to destroy the Kurdish struggle.

In the imperialist balkanization of the Near East, some national, ethnic and religious groups came out on top—like the Turks, the Hebrew-speaking people in Palestine, the Persians in Iran, Sunni Muslim Arabs in Iraq. Their nationalist bourgeoisies now oppress the other nationalities, as well as the women and workers of their own countries. The Kurds were among the losers, largely because of their social backwardness, confined primarily to mountainous regions. It is precisely this backward element of traditional Kurdish society that the Kurdish nationalist groups look to. A reflection of that is the huge number of such organizations, which are separated largely by clan, clique, and cultural and regional differences but are fundamentally indistinguishable in terms of their ostensible programs.

As long as they are trapped in this nationalist roulette, the Kurdish people will remain the big losers in the Near East. Under the leadership of petty-bourgeois nationalism, even the highly educated and politically sophisticated Palestinian people have been led only from one massacre to another. But while Kurdistan remains largely a backward area, there is a long history of proletarian struggle in the region. Kurdish oil workers in Kirkuk formed the strategic core of the Iraqi CP; indeed, the first political newspaper in Kurdistan was the CP's *Azadi* (Salvation), which appeared in 1944. As poor peasants left the land in search of jobs, the urban Kurdish population grew enormously. By the mid-1970s, some 300,000 Kurds lived in Baghdad, over 500,000 in Istanbul, and hundreds of thousands more are dispersed throughout West Europe as industrial workers. In Germany alone there are some 400,000 Kurds, strategically placed in the working class.

It is in the urban centers, among the industrial proletariat, that the power exists to lead the Kurdish people to freedom, a struggle necessarily pitting them against the capitalist rulers who oppress them in unison. As our address to a conference of Kurdish militants in 1984 noted:

> "The Kurdish masses must look to an alliance with the Arab, Persian and Turkish proletariats, who in turn must be made to become determined champions of the Kurdish right of self-determination against the great power chauvinism of their own bourgeoisies."

As part of the multinational proletariat of the region, the Kurds can play a leading role in bringing down the whole rotten structure set up to serve the imperialist overlords. The key lies in forging an internationalist leadership modeled on the Bolshevik Party which led the multinational proletariat to power in the tsarist prison house of peoples. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Kurdish Struggle: Near East Flashpoint

Stone/Sygma

Bloody *Pax Americana* in Near East: U.S. Marine helicopter in Turkish refugee camp for stranded Iraqi Kurds. Washington set up Kurdish people for suppression by Saddam Hussein.

For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan!

As hundreds of thousands of Kurds fled their homes in northern Iraq last month, the oppression of the Kurdish people became an unprecedented focus of attention for the Western press. When the imperialist plan for a "safe haven" for the Kurds was first raised last month, we warned that this would be either "a Gaza-style concentration camp or a bantustan" policed by U.S. or United Nations forces. And amid all the talk of humanitarian concern for the plight of Kurdish refugees stranded along the mountainous borders with Iran and Turkey, the U.S. has proceeded to occupy a sizable chunk of northern Iraq. Now the London *Independent* (4 May) reports that a secret U.S. military plan calls for setting up "a permanent, secure autonomous Kurdish region as part of Iraqi reparations."

Washington appears sharply divided about how deep to sink into the Near East quagmire (the new "Q-word"). The Kurdish cause is being exploited by Zionist right-wingers, like former Nixon aide William Safire and Abe Rosenthal, who dubbed the Kurds "the Jews of Iraq." More accurately, they are becoming "the new Palestinians," deprived not only of a homeland, but of their very homes. Kurdistan remains the largest nation in the world without a state of its own, a "people without a country," as one history of the Kurds is titled. Washington's latest ploy will do nothing to advance Kurdish liberation, but only add to the list of their direct oppressors.

When Bush announced "Operation Provide Comfort," the *New York Times* cheered, "At Last, the Kurds Find Friends." The Kurds have a long history of such "friends" who use them for their cynical power plays and then turn on them. Carved up by the imperialists among four capitalist countries after the collapse of the Ottoman Empire following World War I, the people of Kurdistan have been the victims of repression, forced population transfers and massacres by all of the capitalist regimes under which they suffer. Today they are again being used as pawns in interimperialist rivalry, as British, French and American troops occupy northern Iraq, while the resurgent German Fourth Reich seeks to compete in military "relief" efforts in Iran, as the influential *Süddeutsche Zeitung* (25 April) writes, "to demonstrate to Washington that this time Bonn won't shirk its duty."

The imperialist press has conveniently focused only on the repression and savagery suffered by the Kurds at the hands of the Iraqi regime, ignoring the hellish nightmare under which the Kurds live in neighboring Turkey, Iran and Syria. But with Turkish troops terrorizing and stealing food and supplies from the Kurds, even the *Times* was compelled to note that Turkey "has traditionally regarded the Kurds as a restive, potentially subversive minority." Washington's NATO ally in Ankara pushed for the U.S. operation in the first place only in order to keep the refugee situation from igniting rebellion among its own Kurdish population.

Days after Iraq's capitulation before the one-sided U.S.-led imperialist slaughter in the Gulf War, Kurdish nationalist groups, responding to appeals and assurances of support by the CIA's Voice of Free Iraq, launched an uprising against the government of Ba'athist strongman Saddam Hussein. The promised American aid of course never materialized and the Kurdish nationalists were again left to the tender mercies of the Ba'athist army. Now the same nationalist leaders who looked to Bush to back their rising against Saddam have apparently cut a deal with Baghdad behind Washington's back, negotiating yet another "autonomy" agreement. Like the rest, this one will be torn up when it suits the Iraqi rulers.

Kurdish nation carved up by imperialists among four capitalist countries.

The Kurdish people have a history of fierce struggle for their national rights, repeatedly challenging the oppressor bourgeoisies of Iran, Iraq, Syria and Turkey. Just as repeatedly, the feudalist and bourgeois-nationalist misleaders of the Kurdish people have sacrificed that struggle for ephemeral and illusory support from the imperialists or their regional lackeys. As consistent defenders of the national rights of the Kurdish people, we of the International Communist League have stressed the centrality of the Kurdish struggle in the fight for socialist revolution throughout the region.

Today the Kurdish struggle can be key in exploding Bush's "New Order" in the Near East. But for this to happen, the Kurdish masses need leaders who look not to the imperialists who have betrayed and butchered them over the years, but *to the Arab, Persian and Turkish proletarians, to the Palestinians and the other national minorities oppressed in the various prison houses of peoples in the region.* Only when the working class, in league with its class brothers and sisters throughout the region and under the leadership of an internationalist vanguard, takes its place at the head of the Kurdish nation can this long-suffering people finally achieve their liberation. *For a Socialist Republic of United Kurdistan! For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!*

Lies and Slaughter

The hundreds of thousands of Kurds left homeless today are but the latest victims of an unbroken chain of imperialist perfidy and chauvinist oppression against the Kurdish people since the turn of the century. During the height of the Ottoman Empire, the Kurds effectively had "self-rule" under tribal chieftains who owed their loyalty to the Ottoman caliphate. For centuries the Kurdish tribes were distinguished as a warrior people, whose military prowess was exemplified by Saladin's victories against

continued on page 10

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 528

7 June 1991

Free Abortion on Demand! Free Quality Health Care for All!

Supreme Court Tramples Abortion Rights

The Supreme Court has struck another vicious blow for death and oppression. On May 23 the presidentially appointed justices-for-life condemned thousands of poor and minority women to unwanted pregnancies, practically guaranteeing that the bitter tragedy of "back-alley abortion" will again come to the nation's already ravaged ghettos and barrios. In its *Rust v. Sullivan* decision, the high court upheld Reagan administration regulations issued in 1988 that forbid family-planning clinics receiving Public Health Service Act "Title X" funds from even

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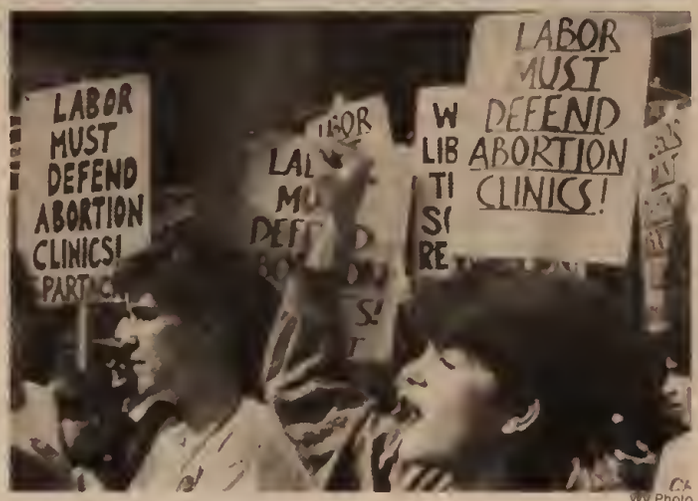

WV Photo

Defenders of abortion rights demonstrate against Operation Rescue bigots outside Boston clinic, May 2.

India: Bloody End of a Dynasty

Late on the evening of May 21 at an election rally in the town of Sriperumbudur in India's southern state of Tamil Nadu, a young woman exploded a bomb, killing herself and 16 others. The terror bombing brought the death toll in India's tenth national election to some 400 people, the bloodiest election campaign in the country's history. But this killing sent shock waves throughout India and the rest of the world. For among the mangle of dismembered bodies lying near the speaker's platform was that of Rajiv Gandhi, former prime minister, head of the Congress (I) party and scion of the dynasty which ruled India for all but 7 of its 44 years since gaining independence from Britain.

And, at least for the foreseeable future, Rajiv Gandhi's bloody end also means the end of that dynasty, founded by India's first prime minister Jawaharlal Nehru. Gandhi met his end much in the manner of many another Congress leader. Nehru's mentor and head of the bourgeois independence movement, Mohandas Gandhi (no relation), was shot by a Hindu ultranationalist in 1948. Only two years after Nehru died in office of a stroke in 1964, his daughter Indira assumed the parliamentary throne. When she was assassinated by Sikh members of her bodyguard in 1984, in revenge for her brutal massacre of rebellious Sikhs at the Golden Temple in Amritsar, it was her son Rajiv who took over as head of Congress and India.

Rajiv Gandhi's assassination highlights the deep crisis of capitalist India. The

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Nickelsberg/Time, above; UPI, Mehta/Contact, Independent

Rajiv Gandhi's funeral pyre. Leading figures of "democratic" India have met violent death. Above, left to right: Jawaharlal Nehru with Mohandas Gandhi; Nehru's daughter Indira; her son, Rajiv.

For Permanent Revolution in India's Prison House of Peoples!

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Free Erik Larsen and All Antiwar GIs!

Hundreds of antiwar GIs, National Guardsmen and reservists face military prosecutions for refusing to join in the U.S.' mass murder of the Iraqi people. At Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, over 30 Marines who filed for conscientious objector status and refused to march off to war are awaiting court-martial. Among them is 23-year-old Lance Corporal Erik Larsen, charged with "desertion" during wartime for refusing to report when his unit was called up for training on February 9 to ready it for deployment to Saudi Arabia, though ultimately they were never sent. The government prosecutors have threatened him with possible application of a *death sentence*.

Larsen is one of thousands of soldiers who refused to take part in the Near East slaughter. With the military maintaining a tight lid on information concerning dissent in its ranks, the precise number of "resisters" is unknown. Some sources estimate that the military received over 2,000 conscientious objector applications since August. Many went AWOL as the Pentagon sat on the applications. According to the *Los Angeles Times* (24 April) over 4,400 deserters are being sought by the military.

The worst treatment has been reserved for those held at Camp Lejeune. While reservists who simply failed to report for duty have gotten short prison terms or discharges, those seeking CO status have faced the full wrath of military "justice." Sleep deprivation, threats of violence, verbal abuse, solitary confinement and continuous harassment are just some of the weapons used by the Marines to force them to drop their CO claims.

Blacks and other minorities, who recognize the "New World Order" of Bush & Co. is just the same old order of racist terror and oppression, are a large component of the Marines in the dock at Camp Lejeune. Black Marine Kevin Sparrock, who missed his troop movement by seven hours, is threatened with a lengthy prison stretch on "desertion" charges. Though Enrique Gonzalez' prosecutor asked for an 18-month sentence, the gung ho military judge, just back from the Gulf, sent Gonzalez to the brig for 2-1/2 years. For Burmese immigrant Samuel Lwin, convicted of missing troop movements and sentenced to four months, opposition to the U.S. military began at boot camp, where he failed rifle qualification after his drill instructor called him a "gook."

Larsen, who spoke at rallies in 22 U.S. cities as well as in Germany, England and Italy, has been a special target of the masters of war. The military chaplain assigned to interview Larsen recommended approval of his CO application. But the brass turned it down because the application was based "solely on political grounds." An appeal from that denial is before the U.S. District Court in San Francisco.

Reportedly, Larsen's black Marine friend Tahan Jones, who also refused to report and like Larsen was a regular speaker at antiwar demonstrations, plans to turn himself in to military authorities. It is expected he will face the same charges. Also among those still facing court-martial is Captain Yolanda Huet-Vaughn, a 39-year-old mother of three. She faces five years of military prison on charges of "shirking" hazardous duty, for publicly abandoning her post. Huet-Vaughn rejected advice to file for CO status: "The point is that the policy is bankrupt, not that I personally should be exempt from the war" (*Nation*, 18 February).

We strongly defend the hundreds of soldiers who courageously refused to take part in the imperialist bloodbath, although we do not share the pacifist and religious stance of many conscientious objectors and "war resisters." On May 28 the Partisan Defense Committee protested to Secretary of Defense Cheney: "The 'New World Order' for which more than a hundred thousand Iraqis were brutally murdered also means increased repression across the U.S.... The Pentagon seeks to make an example of Larsen and the hundreds of GIs facing charges for opposing the war. In doing so the government seeks to stifle its political opponents in preparation for the next dirty military adventure. We demand that all charges against Erik Larsen and all antiwar GIs be dropped."

Simon/Daily Californian

Erik Laraen, Marine corporal who refuaed to fight in bloody imperialist Gulf War.

For more information contact the Jones/Larsen Defense Fund, 4228 Telegraph Avenue, Oakland, CA 94609, (415) 655-1201.

* * *

The racist state authorities will stop at nothing in their vendetta against death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. For nearly eight years Jamal has been in disciplinary confinement for refusing to cut his hair—worn in the dreadlocks style characteristic of the MOVE group. As a death row prisoner, Jamal is confined to his cell 23 hours a day. But this isn't enough for the vindictive thugs who run the prisons. Jamal is often shackled, denied phone calls and books other than legal or religious materials. Last month the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit ruled this did not violate Jamal's Eighth Amendment right against cruel

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Their Cops, Their State

TROTSKY

LENIN

From Karl Kautsky to Ernest Mandel, revisionists have obfuscated the Marxist understanding that in capitalist society the state apparatus—army, police, courts, prisons—is an instrument for the suppression of the working class by the bourgeoisie. This theoretical revision serves the appetite of opportunist "socialists" to administer the capitalist state. In his classic polemic against social-democratic reformism, The State and Revolution. *Lenin reaffirmed that the emancipation of the proletariat requires the smashing of the bourgeois state.*

"Theoretically," it is not denied that the state is an organ of class rule, or that class antagonisms are irreconcilable. But what is overlooked or glossed over is this: if the state is the product of the irreconcilability of class antagonisms, if it is a power standing *above* society and "*alienating* itself *more and more* from it," it is obvious that the liberation of the oppressed class is impossible not only without a violent revolution, *but also without the destruction* of the apparatus of state power which was created by the ruling class and which is the embodiment of this "alienation."...

Like all great revolutionary thinkers, Engels tries to draw the attention of the class-conscious workers to what prevailing philistinism regards as least worthy of attention, as the most habitual thing, hallowed by prejudices that are not only deep-rooted but, one might say, petrified. A standing army and police are the chief instruments of state power....

A state arises, a special power is created, special bodies of armed men, and every revolution, by destroying the state apparatus, clearly shows us how the ruling class strives to restore the special bodies of armed men which serve *it*, and how the oppressed class strives to create a new organisation of this kind, capable of serving the exploited instead of the exploiters.

—V.I. Lenin, *The State and Revolution* (1917)

AP

Antiwar soldiers and reservists, left to right: Keith Jones, Colin Bootman, Wayne McWhite and Sam Lwin (standing).

Geronimo Challenges COINTELPRO Frame-Up

On June 3, attorneys for former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji jaga (Pratt) filed a petition for *habeas corpus* based on new and suppressed evidence. This petition dramatically documents the sinister and deadly machinations of the U.S. government and State of California's relentless drive to destroy him—a racist and political vendetta they continue today. Geronimo's application also presents new evidence of Pratt's innocence and of the sinister details behind the LAPD/FBI's targeting of Geronimo personally for "neutralization" beginning in May 1969, when he became head of the L.A. Panthers.

In retaliation for Pratt's continued fight to expose the FBI/COINTELPRO frame-up which has stolen 22 years of his life, prison officials have thrown him in the hole (solitary confinement) on bogus drug trafficking charges. To fight this outrage PDC staff counsel Valerie West has filed an amended complaint in the 1989 lawsuit which successfully stopped Geronimo's transfer to the notorious Folsom Prison. The amended complaint, also filed June 3, will seek a court order to release Geronimo from solitary confinement and removal of the false allegations contained in his file.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co . 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007 Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions $7.00/24 issues Second-class postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 528 **7 June 1991**

Defend the Moabit Anti-Fascists!

Nazi/Police Provocation at Berlin Trial

BERLIN—At the opening of the trial here May 24 of Renate Dahlhaus, a spokesman of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD), and SpAD supporter Michael Philippsen, the fascists and their state protectors staged a sinister provocation. The chief "witness," Carsten Pagel, Berlin *Führer* of the Nazi Republikaner, marched into the courtroom through a secret passageway with a bodyguard of three hefty men. This entrance, leading directly from the jail, is under police control. In response to protests from lawyers for the two anti-fascists, Judge Muller refused to reveal the identity of the "bodyguards" and defended them as necessary for the "personal protection" of the Nazi Pagel.

Dahlhaus and Philippsen are on trial for the "crime" of self-defense against pistol-waving Republikaner who threatened an anti-fascist gathering held at a popular meeting place for immigrants and leftists in the West Berlin working-class district of Moabit in January 1989.

In response to the provocation, the defense lawyers filed motions for the judge to remove herself from the case because of prejudice, citing the treatment accorded to Pagel and the judge's refusal to transfer the trial to a larger courtroom to allow the numerous supporters of the anti-fascists standing outside in the hallway to attend. The motions of prejudice were ruled admissible by the judge and the proceedings were adjourned pending a decision on them by another judge. Reporting on the trial, *Neues Deutschland* (25 May) asked about the mysterious bodyguards: "Who were these men who anonymously sat down in the witness seats? Was it the Verfassungsschutz [Office for Protection of the Constitution, the political police], or bodyguards, or plainclothes police? The secret was guarded."

The lawyers for the accused anti-fascists said they had never seen such a spectacle in their experience in the Federal Republic. But a 70-year-old anti-fascist of the Berlin district of Treptow exclaimed afterward, "I've seen this before. That's just the way [Hitler's] S.A. did it in Breslau!" The Republikaner fascists' overlap with the police is notorious. Pagel's predecessor as *Gauleiter* of the Berlin REPS, Bernhard Andres, was a cop, and in the 1989 elections, large numbers of the West Berlin anti-riot police supported the Republikaner.

On May 24, more than 100 anti-fascists demonstrated outside the court in solidarity with Dalhaus and Philippsen before the court proceedings began. In addition to the Spartakist Workers Party and the associated Committee for Social Defense (KfsV), protesters included Kurdish, Turkish, Vietnamese and Iranian immigrants, a group of school students, and a delegation brought by the SpAD from the central German industrial area of Halle-Leipzig. Organizationally represented were the Turkish community center Halkevi, the Kurdish groups Kurtulus and Rizgari, the Autonomous Iranian Women's Movement and the Treptow Anti-Fascists. There were also representatives of several local committees of the Party of Democratic Socialism (successor to the SED, the Stalinist ruling party of East Germany); and the KPD, BT and Autonome Kommunisten.

Speaking on behalf of the Berlin state leadership of the PDS, Andre Hermlin said that there should have been many more present. "And I think also it reflects that in Germany there's a certain tradition of playing down blatant fascist danger." Noting the dramatic increase in attacks by neo-Nazis, particularly in the surrounding state of Brandenburg, he pointed to the "number of unemployed that far exceeds the darkest predictions. That party that I represent here, the PDS, will probably go down in history as the party of the whitewashers [*Verharmloser*]. We really downplayed it." "It would be a bitter affair," he said, "if the Nazis, the truly guilty party, were able to win a victory in court against the innocent party. That must not be."

Spartakist

Demonstrators rally outside courtroom May 24 in solidarity with Moabit anti-fascists. Speaking is Renate Dahlhaus, to her right co-defendant Michael Philippsen.

Michael Philippsen thanked the demonstrators for their support, which had already led to the dropping of charges against six of the original eight defendants. "I'm also proud," he said, "that I could help then to beat back this armed provocation of Republikaner against a restaurant frequented by immigrants and leftists." He called for "workers mobilizations, workers actions, defense of gay and lesbian bars, defense of the dormitories of our immigrant coworkers."

Renate Dahlhaus, who was a candidate of the SpAD in the Bundestag parliamentary elections last December, noted that "If the organized workers movement led by the KPD and SPD had come together to fight in mass united-front actions in 1933, Hitler would not have come to power. Twenty million Soviets would not have had to die; six million Jews would not have been gassed, and a million Roma and Sinti [gypsies] would not have been brutally killed in the concentration camps. We've got to stop new Hitlers." Dahlhaus recalled the mobilization of 250,000 anti-fascists in Treptow Park on 3 January 1990, initiated by the Spartakists and taken up by the SED-PDS, that made a powerful protest against the Nazi defacing of the Soviet monument in honor of the victorious Red Army which smashed Hitler fascism.

Armed Provocation in Moabit

The fascist attack in Moabit occurred in January 1989, during the West Berlin election which was marked by rampant intimidation, provocation and violence by the Republikaner. The REPS' racist anti-immigrant TV election spot was set to the background music of "Play Me the Story of Death," and was followed sometime later by the racist murder of Turkish metal worker Ufuk Sahin. On January 14, the Trotzkistische Liga Deutschlands (TLD), predecessor of the SpAD, held a video meeting in a Moabit restaurant where they showed a video of the American labor/black mobilization in Philadelphia which had stopped the fascist KKK and skinheads two months earlier. After the showing, the Nazis aggressively threatened customers in the restaurant by brandishing racist posters before the windows. When supporters of the TLD and others went out to defend against this disruption, they were violently attacked by the fascists.

In addition to the fascist "postering team," including Carsten Pagel, a Republikaner squad of thugs suddenly appeared on the scene. One was armed with a gun (which was later revealed to be a gas pistol) and another with a camera. Within two or three minutes after the leftist protesters had returned to the restaurant to warn the customers, the REP shock troop stormed in, now accompanied by six to eight radio patrol police who had obviously been on call. The police proceeded to take down the names of those present. Now it is the victims rather than the fascist perpetrators who are on trial. The original charge of "*Landfriedensbruch*" (breaking of puhlic peace) through moh action was dropped. But Michael Philippsen is being tried for "bodily harm" and Renate Dahlhaus for defending herself against a Nazi attack, in which she allegedly "forcibly compelled" the fascists to "desist."

Counterrevolution and Resurgent Terror

Capitalist reunification of Germany has given enormous impetus to the gangs of Hitlerite stormtroopers and Nazi/skinhead thugs, particularly in the area of the former DDR. They get their marching orders from the likes of Pagel, who calls for a second revolution for East Germany that "won't be as unbloody as the last one." Before the Repuhlikaner lost their representation in the last election, Pagel was known for his anti-Semitic tirades in the city council. There have heen a slew of similar fascist attacks in the past two months, including repeated mobilization of Nazi bands at border crossing points on the Oder River, where Polish visitors were heaten up and buses going to and from Poland were pelted with rocks.

On May 9, celebrated in Germany as "Father's Day," there was an orgy of fascist attacks in and around Berlin. Some 60-70 skinheads terrorized East Berliners at a popular lakeside restaurant in Köppenick, while another band of fascists violently attacked a party in the former East German army headquarters town of Strausberg. This is also the day celebrated in the Soviet Union as VE Day, marking the defeat of Hitler Germany hy the Red Army, and the latter-day Nazis particularly struck at Soviet targets. Dozens of fascists staged a provocation threatening Soviet soldiers at a barracks near Königs Wusterhausen, and a Soviet tourist was stabbed in the back in a streetcar in East Berlin.

That same night, a Republikaner squad in the town of Zittau, Saxony assaulted a rest home where 40 Soviet children, survivors of the Chernobyl nuclear disaster, were on a several-week visit. The local REP leader stormed the building with a gang of goons brandishing torches and shouting "Sieg Heil" and "Foreigners out!" The fascists smashed windows and knocked down the Soviet guardian who defended the children. Despite calls for help by neighbors, the police showed up a half hour late, made no arrests and filed no charges against the attackers.

The latest incident came on Saturday, May 25, when a gay and lesbian group in the East Berlin district of Mahlsdorf held a spring festival. Scores of fascists assaulted them, burning down a building and badly injuring several people. Again, police intervention was belated and only a handful of the attackers were picked up. A demonstration to protest the fascist attacks and in defense of gays has been scheduled in downtown East Berlin for June 7.

The fascists are but the shock troops of official state terror embodied in the

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Interview with Soviet Miner

From the Coal Fields of Central Asia

In mid-May the last of well over 100,000 striking Soviet coal miners returned to work, ending a walkout which began on March 1. Support for the strike fluctuated from one region to another, though never encompassing a majority of the country's 1.2 million coal miners. While some areas raised purely economic demands, a number of leaders of the Independent Union of Miners (NPG) which called the strikes focused on demands for the resignation of Soviet president Gorbachev and solidarized with the stridently pro-capitalist leader of the Russian republic, Boris Yeltsin.

In the upshot, Yeltsin and Gorbachev struck a deal calling for increasing devolution of power to the USSR's 15 republics. As part of this deal, the central government ceded control over Russian mines, including the rich Kuznetsk basin (Kuzbass) coal field in Siberia, to the Yeltsin regime in the Russian republic. Yeltsin also reached an agreement with Gorbachev and Prime Minister Pavlov on a strike ban. Along with this stick Yeltsin offered the "carrot" of turning the Kuzbass mines into joint stock companies. Miners who recognize Yeltsin as a demagogue for his betrayal of their strike must also oppose this shell game attempt to rob the hulk of Soviet miners and piece off a privileged layer.

As we reported earlier in "Soviet Miners Strike Amid Perestroika Turmoil" (*WV* No. 522, 15 March), the NPG was formed last October in the Ukrainian mining center of Donetsk at a congress of delegates from various mining regions. At least a section of the NPG's leadership is blatantly pro-imperialist and hailed by the AFL-CIO, which had representatives at the congress along with Britain's scab "Union of Democratic Miners." Nonetheless, in large measure due to the active intervention of representatives of the International Communist League, the imperialists' lackeys were stymied in their attempt to enlist Soviet miners in an international anti-Communist witchhunt against British miners leader Arthur Scargill.

Among the numerous delegates who bought Spartacist literature and spoke with us at the Donetsk congress was a miner from Karaganda in Kazakhstan, who was interviewed by *Workers Vanguard* last month. While we clearly have differences with this comrade, in the first place over his illusions in Gorbachev's market-oriented perestroika "reforms," his views on the current tumultuous situation in the Soviet Union will be of interest to our readers.

WV: You were part of a delegation of miners that spoke with Prime Minister Pavlov, and then with President Gorbachev. I understand the discussion was stormy. Can you tell us what happened?

Miner: Well, in the first place, that meeting had been proposed as negotiations with Premier Pavlov and President Gorbachev, but it didn't turn out that way, because first Pavlov sent a telegram to the regions that only delegations from those mines that were working, and not striking, would be invited to the meeting, and that those that were striking would stay on the sidelines.

We decided to invite Gorbachev to a meeting, and if he refused, to simply end the talks. When Gorbachev appeared, immediately some of the comrades made a request, asking for the floor—comrades from Inta [in the Vorkuta-Pechora region]; a comrade from Karaganda spoke. They made their political demands personally to Gorbachev, and then a few more people spoke at the microphone. I asked Gorbachev two more questions. He didn't get around to answering them. One question was about the resources we spend for defense, because as one delegate said at a session of the Supreme Soviet, we spend every third ruble on defense. And therefore I asked Gorbachev a question: Was this really true, and if so, then could not our enormous corps of generals be deprived of their privileges and placed on a common level with all the people in the country?

Der Spiegel

Strike meeting in Donetsk, eastern Ukraine, in April. Leaders of new "independent" union seek to rally miners behind pro-capitalist demagogue Boris Yeltsin.

A lot of questions were asked about the price rises, why the president himself promised—even before our meeting—that along with the price rises all the working people would be fully compensated for their expenditures because of those increases. Fully compensated. So reasonably enough the same question occurred to all of us: In that case, why raise the prices of goods if there's going to be full compensation? As it turned out, enough days have gone by, it's already the 18th—no one has gotten any kind of compensation.

WV: When the miners strike first started, some regions only raised wage demands while others called for Gorbachev's resignation. What were the political differences among the different regions?

Miner: The Russian regions have come out in support of the Russian parliament, because the delegates to the Supreme Soviet also support them; Yeltsin himself urged them on, promised them support and aid. This is why they have come out in favor of Yeltsin and try to put forward political demands, to remove Gorbachev, to replace the USSR parliament entirely. If in the first years of perestroika, in 1985, Gorbachev made the historical record as a great reformer, today he's making an awful lot of mistakes, he doesn't carry out anything to the finish.

WV: Recently workers at the largest mine in the USSR, the Raspadskaya in western Siberia, went back to work after signing an agreement with the government of the Russian Federation to form a joint-stock company which would own the mines, a form of privatization. What do you think about privatization? Do the miners of your region support the idea of privatization?

Miner: The Kuzbass today is the most profitable coal region, where the state doesn't give any kind of subsidy for coal output, where there is coking coal with a small percentage of impurities, where the price of coal is higher than the cost of its production. That is, the Kuzbass works at a profit for itself. The other regions all operate on state subsidies. They operate at a loss, because a ton of coal costs much less than the sum that has to be spent to produce that ton. So that if in the Kuzbass—and more so at the Raspadskaya mines—there is the possibility of creating joint-stock companies, nobody in our particular region shows much enthusiasm on this question. There are one or two mines—the newest ones—which produce rich coking coal, but their success will be temporary; after a few years they will run out of these reserves too, and will end up in the same position as all the other mines.

WV: Many leaders of the NPG support Boris Yeltsin, who is openly dedicated to capitalism—that is, his "500 days" program. What do you and your miners think of this?

Miner: Many leaders of the NPG support Yeltsin because these members of the executive bureau of the Independent Union are mainly Russians—from Vorkuta, from the Kuzbass, from other regions. I personally consider, and I know this is the opinion of many comrades I have talked with, that Yeltsin is not the figure that the country needs—that Russia needs—he's of the same ilk as Gorbachev. And then, it seems to me that to allow Yeltsin into the highest leadership circles of the country—that would mean plunging the country into a dictatorship even more brutal than under Stalin. This is well understood in Kazakhstan, in Karaganda in particular. So we ourselves don't support Yeltsin.

WV: Many claim that the so-called "command system" in the economy, that the planned economy altogether, has reached a blind alley. We Trotskyists say that the failure of Stalinist bureaucratic planning isn't an argument for capitalism, which would mean the destruction of the Soviet economy. We call for a rationally planned economy in which the workers would exercise control through a government of workers soviets, soviets of workers deputies. What do you think?

Miner: Well, I myself, on the whole, am for resolution of these questions exactly in a socialist direction, for preserving a centralized economy; for preventing the enterprises from being scattered into various hands—because then everyone will be snatching what he can for himself, some getting more than others—for proceeding in a centralized manner, under the direction of a people's government. Naturally, a competent one.

WV: Yesterday evening you told me a little about your family, about how many sacrifices it has borne. I was very impressed by the number of your relatives that died in the war.

Miner: At the beginning of the war, the

Ogonyok

Black-shirted leader of Russian fascist group Pamyat given Nazi salute by his followers. Multinational Soviet working class must smash Pamyat!

CIA Dirty Tricks in British Miners Strike

During the bitterly fought British miners strike of 1984-85, it was clear to many strike militants that they were up against not only the cops and courts but more sinister forces. Now an exposé in the London *Guardian* (22 May) confirms that British and American intelligence agencies have been directly involved in an internationally orchestrated union-busting campaign against the militant National Union of Mineworkers and its leader Arthur Scargill *for years*. In a full-page spread, with articles such as "Security Services 'Broke Rules to Spy on NUM'," the *Guardian* detailed how the CIA, the National Security Agency and Britain's GCHQ spy center at Cheltenham mobilized their high-tech espionage arsenal in a massive "Get Scargill" operation.

The CIA/NSA/GCHQ operation began when the Conservative Thatcher government moved to starve out the striking miners and their families in the fall of 1984 by stealing union property and strike support funds through court-ordered "sequestrations." The speed with which government snoops were able to track down secret NUM accounts in banks throughout Europe perplexed even the bankers. Now it is revealed that surveillance by spy satellites and NSA "listening posts" was used to monitor NUM communications and intercept international banking transactions. In particular, the NSA "cracked" Soviet banking networks with the aim of preventing a $1 million contribution from reaching the embattled British miners.

The CIA's boys on Fleet Street then launched a lurid campaign about "Moscow gold," timed to coincide with a visit to London in December 1984 by Mikhail Gorbachev, only months before he was to become the new Soviet leader. (A year earlier, Fleet Street and the Labourite right wing had picked up on a similar anti-communist witchhunt against Scargill, instigated by Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party, lamhasting the NUM leader for calling Polish Solidarność "anti-socialist.") Gorbachev dutifully acquiesced to Thatcher's warnings against Soviet assistance to the miners, and the funds were instead sent to the Paris-based International Miners Organisation, headed by Scargill.

After 12 months of militant struggle, the miners strike finally ended in defeat, as the Labourite trade-union bureaucracy worked overtime to prevent or suppress solidarity strikes. But the "Get Scargill" operation did not end. As we reported in "Sinister Frame-Up of British Miners Leader" (*WV* No. 508, 10 August 1990), last year Scargill and the NUM were subjected to another "Moscow gold" witchhunt centered on lies that Scargill had pocketed or otherwise manipulated the Soviet donations.

A virtual horde of "independent" Soviet unionists, many fascist-connected, were brought over to Britain to lend credence to the anti-Scargill chorus. Among them was one Yuri Butchenko, whose claims were given an air of authenticity because his tour had been organized not by the anti-communist scab "Union of Democratic Miners" but by "socialists" like the centrist Workers Power. We denounced this smear campaign as a pack of lies from start to finish, and now the *Guardian* account confirms that it was exactly that. In fact, it reports, "Butchenko, who claimed that 10 million roubles had been raised from Soviet miners and gone missing, has now been expelled from his own organisation for misappropriating equipment."

That this exposé managed to surface in the bourgeois *Guardian* probably reflects the unease the "gnomes of Zurich" feel about their secrets being intercepted, even in the interests of strikebreaking. And many a worker at GCHQ Cheltenham undoubtedly remembers how Thatcher cracked down on their own union organizing effort in 1984. But the CIA has a long and sordid history in policing and suppressing militant labor struggle, from South America to South Korea, particularly through various "labor" fronts set up by the AFL-CIO bureaucracy. Hands off Arthur Scargill! Hands off the NUM! ■

Harris/IFL

Miners battle police in great British coal strike of 1984-85.

Second World War, three of my father's brothers, that is, my grandfather's three eldest sons, were all officers, and they all went to the front. They fought there from beginning to end, and not one of them came back from the front. They were all killed. On my mother's side there were also many relatives who fell at the front.

WV: You spoke about how your family fought against German fascism. Today in Russia, Great Russian chauvinism is raising its head, the anti-Semitic fascism of the Pamyat society. We think that they should be smashed by the workers, through mobilization of the workers movement.

Miner: I myself have never met a living representative of this Pamyat, although I would even be interested to see with my own eyes what it looks like, this Russian fascism. All in all, in my opinion, this fascism and everything like it should all be destroyed, ripped out by the roots—so that we won't have anything like that in life, not even in thoughts. So I am personally completely against Pamyat and other fascist organizations.

WV: During the meeting with Gorbachev, you raised the demand for cutting military expenses in the budget. You thought that today there's no military threat from abroad against the Soviet Union. Yet the United States just killed tens of thousands of Iraqis and bombed Baghdad and other cities into ruins. Don't you think that also threatens the Soviet Union?

Miner: I don't even know what to say to this question. To some degree, of course, this is a threat to us, too. But what I said about arms, I ended with the following: I proposed to more fully regulate arms expenditures. If we need arms, well, then there can't be any question. But as a matter of fact there are a lot of resources out of those which go for arms, which go for covering expenses for the well-being of our generals—their dachas, cars, servants, for a whole range of services. At the same time, if you consider the conflict in Iraq, the ceaseless strife in Afghanistan, then the earth is still far from complete peace, complete prosperity, and there have been and will be conflicts.

WV: In the course of more than a decade the U.S. has supported the anti-Soviet *mujahedin* in Afghanistan. What, in your opinion, would happen to workers and women in Afghanistan if these Islamic fundamentalist cutthroats were to win?

Miner: First of all, I was against the kind of pullout that Gorbachev carried out, the pullout of Soviet troops from Afghanistan. Of course, I fully sympathize with the Soviet mothers who lost their sons there, and I am also very sorry about the losses of life which the Soviet armed forces suffered there. But even though there were these victims, even if you don't take the other problems into account, you couldn't get up and leave just because of that blood—throw the Afghan people to the *mujahedin* to be torn to pieces. At that time, on the contrary, it was necessary to destroy all of the *dushman* [Islamic counterrevolutionary guerrilla] influence, to completely purge the country of the *dushmany*, and then it would have been possible to establish for this country the possibility for its indigenous armed forces and a people's government to continue their work and activity.

WV: At the Donetsk miners congress last fall, American trade-union bureaucrats and other representatives of imperialist interests tried to influence the miners to condemn the British miners leader Arthur Scargill, who had drawn their hatred for being the leader of the British miners strike of 1984-85. What do the miners know about this slanderous campaign against Arthur Scargill?

Miner: First of all, we have very little information, we get almost none. At the beginning it was presented that Scargill grabbed, concealed our one and a half million pounds sterling that the Soviet miners had collected for the striking English miners as a symbol of solidarity. And this had its effect, especially on the simple miners, the congress delegates, on me. Only after discussions and contacts with different comrades, in particular with the American comrades from the "Spartacist League-Internationalists," who explained the real, genuine substance of Arthur Scargill's activity to us, and the substance of the activity of the trade union [the UDM] that was attacking Scargill and of the delegate from that union who spoke at the congress, did we understand that that union was a scab union. And that Arthur Scargill, as a leader of the union movement in England who had socialist inclinations, was more left-wing and came out for the interests of the miners in England.

Now I know that Scargill wasn't guilty. On my arrival home in Karaganda I also explained the whole thing to our workers at the mine, that it wasn't Arthur Scargill but that union, which considers itself a "democratic union" in Britain, which was scab and which unjustly attacked Scargill.

WV: At least some of the NPG leaders look to the American AFL-CIO trade-union bureaucracy for support and in turn are hailed by it. Do Soviet miners know that the American trade-union bureaucrats act in the international arena as agents of counterrevolution? Do they know that the AFL-CIO bureaucracy aided Pinochet's bloody military coup against Salvador Allende in Chile? After that coup hundreds of miners were shot.

Miner: I personally don't know anything about that and our Independent Union, as far as that goes, doesn't know anything. So the leaders of the union are trying to find partners in the trade-union movements of various countries who would help us, support us financially. And that apparently because of this, the leadership of the union will work even with the Americans. But concretely, personally, what that union collaborated in or took part in in Chile, in the murder of Allende, in actions like that—I more than believe that our members in the union, the leaders of the union, don't know it. Because I'm hearing it here for the first time. ■

Spartacist

UPI

Miners conference in Donetsk last October. International Communist League representatives countered imperialist-orchestrated campaign against British miners leader Arthur Scargill (above).

USec's "Crisis of Credibility"

Ernest Mandel vs. Revolutionary Leadership

Spartacist

Mandel in Moscow last January encounters Russian-language *Spartacist Bulletin*.

Part One of this article appeared in Workers Vanguard *No. 527, 24 May 1991.*

PART TWO OF TWO

The USec majority led by Mandel analyzes events in the Soviet Union today in terms of a "three-way struggle" between the forces of counterrevolution, the proletariat and the Stalinist bureaucracy. In essence this methodology is third-campist: it treats the bureaucracy as some kind of homogenous social formation—i.e., a class. Mandel portrays Gorbachev and his policies of perestroika as a rational attempt on the part of the bureaucracy to continue its social rule and maintain its privileges.

The Matti minority correctly objects to assigning an independent role to the hureaucracy: "We don't think the bureaucracy was any more capable of developing a lasting policy independent of imperialism than it was of confronting the growth of popular, working-class and national oppositions." Instead, the Matti minority simply and conveniently equates the interests of the bureaucracy with those of world imperialism, enabling them thereby to portray each and every popular mobilization, no matter how counterrevolutionary its program, as a progressive expression of working-class anti-Stalinism:

> "In our view, there was a class polarization between two camps—imperialism and the bureaucracy on one side, the working class on the other side. And not a 'triangular' fight—imperialism, bureaucracy, working class."
>
> —"Counter-Resolution on the International Situation"

Missing from both sides of this debate is Leon Trotsky's profound understanding of the bureaucracy as an unstable, heterogeneous caste whose privileges have no basis in the economic foundation of society. The Stalinist bureaucracies are today disintegrating under the combined impact of the world imperialist market and popular protest, with a good portion openly looting state property in an attempt to buy their way into a new capitalist class. An independent working class fighting in its own name has not yet entered the historical stage. When it does, events would likely proceed along the lines sketched by Trotsky almost 58 years ago in his essay, "The Class Nature of the Soviet State":

"A real civil war could develop not between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the resurgent proletariat but between the proletariat and the active forces of counterrevolution. In the event of an open clash between the two mass camps, there cannot even be talk of the bureaucracy playing an independent role. Its polar flanks would be flung to the different sides of the barricade. The fate of the subsequent struggle would be determined, of course, by the outcome of the struggle. The victory of the revolutionary camp, in any case, is conceivable only under the leadership of a proletarian party, which would naturally be raised to power by victory over the counterrevolution."

The National Question in the Soviet Union

The two main wings of the USec are united around support to every manifestation of nationalism that is cropping up in the Soviet Union, particularly the sinister Baltic separatist movements which under cover of "national independence" are aiming to carry out a bloody capitalist counterrevolution. Grotesquely, this led Mandel's USec to print an article in its journal *International Viewpoint* (18 September 1989) praising the Estonian Nazi "Forest Brothers" as "liberation" fighters in the "armed struggle against Stalinism"!

The armed struggle against Stalinism in Estonia

IN THE AREAS forcibly incorporated into the Soviet Union in the Second World War, one subject remains extremely sensitive even under *glasnost*: the armed resistance to Soviet annexation. In Estonia, a prominent figure in the Estonian Historical Society, Mart Laar, was indicted for what he said about the "Forest Brothers" in an article on the period of the Stalinist terror (see *IV* 157, February 20, 1989, for a translation). The Soviet central press continues to cry scandal about any defense of the "Forest Brothers," and this is an element in the intensified polemics about the Baltic peoples movements.

The following article from the June 1989 issue of *Postipoiss*, the monthly paper of the Estonian People's Front in the Estonian university city of T... the armed resistance to the ... mass deportations estimate ... of the Estonian people) only ... in Laar's article. Some detail ... the article for space reasons.

HERBERT LINDMAE

International Viewpoint
18 September 1989

Mandelite journal *International Viewpoint* published article defending Estonian fascist "Forest Brothers" who fought with Nazi German forces against Soviet Red Army in World War II.

R. James Bender Publishing

Printing this article was no aberration! Every nationalist opposition from the Baltic "People's Fronts" to the Ukrainian Rukh to the Armenian National Movement has been given favorable publicity and had their documents published in *International Viewpoint*. Playing on popular grievances against the Great Russian chauvinism of the Kremlin bureaucracy and the increasing disintegration of the centralized economy, they push their own brands of nationalist ideology which range from the xenophobic to the fascistic. Since 1986 at least, a Polish USec leader, Z. Kowalewski, has been publishing apologias for the "anti-Stalinist" Ukrainian fascists, and explicitly pronounced himself against the defense "in the Ukraine" of the Soviet Union in World War II.

As Trotskyists we stand for the democratic reorganization of the Soviet Union and for the right of any nationality with a leadership that opposes counterrevolution to withdraw to any extent it sees fit. But we stand in utter opposition to all attempts at capitalist counterrevolution in the deformed workers states. The USec attempts to wield Trotsky's writings on the Ukraine as a cover for tailing the counterrevolutionary Baltic nationalists. But Trotsky called for an "independent *Soviet* Ukraine" and he strenuously argued against those who elevated the national question above the question of which class shall rule:

> "The national problem separate and apart from class correlations is a fiction, a lie, a strangler's noose for the proletariat ...from the proletarian standpoint, neither democracy as a whole nor national self-determination as an integral part of it stands above the classes; nor does either of them supply the highest criterion of revolutionary policy."
>
> —"Defense of the Soviet Republic and the Opposition," September 1929

Here we find complete unity between Matti and Mandel and complete departure from Trotsky's conception. Using the same arguments he did for "German unity," Matti writes:

> "And if there is an authentic mass movement which demands, in struggle, to exercise its right of secession, then the role of Marxists is to support that openly, regardless of the class character or political character of its leadership, and to fight to win leadership of it. This would be the case even if the movement was led by forces who wanted to see the restoration of capitalism, integration into the European Community, etc., and which were vigorously supported by imperialism."

This is echoed in the draft resolution of the Mandelite majority which declares:

> "For revolutionary Marxists, this fundamental attitude translates into the unconditional defense of the right of oppressed nations to self-determination and hence the right to tactical separation. This is true even if the dynamic of such a separation is capitalist restoration, when that is the desire of a majority of the community in question."

Nonetheless, this is not sufficient for Matti, who argues that the Mandel majority only supports the "right to self-determination" as opposed to going whole hog in calling for independence.

Today in the USSR the Gorbachev/Yeltsin bureaucracy pledges to orchestrate the restoration of capitalism, as the Baltic nationalists hark back to the days of the authoritarian and fascistic "interwar repuhlics" and openly appeal to U.S. imperialism for support in dismembering the USSR. The bankrupt heirs of Stalin set the stage for the present crisis, not only by instituting the anti-socialist policies of perestroika but by their seemingly limitless appetite to appease imperialism with the withdrawal from Afghanistan and the despicable support for the American massacre in the Persian Gulf. As we have said: better to have fought imperialism to the finish in Afghanistan than to have to fight it now inside the USSR!

Niedenthal/Time

Lithuanian separatists rally in Vilnius last year. USec hails anti-communist nationalist movements throughout the Soviet Union.

Mandel in Moscow

After six and a half decades of Stalinist rule, the Soviet Union is lurching toward catastrophe. As the economy collapses, the forces driving toward capitalist counterrevolution and bloody nationalist strife have grown apace. The Kremlin bureaucratic elite is disintegrating and tending to polarize. On the one side are the pampered children of Stalin's apparatchiks who want to live like American or German yuppies. These free marketeers who call themselves "democrats" want to sell off the collectivized property of the Soviet Union to the imperialists. On the other side are conservative Stalinist apparatchiks, military men and KGB operatives who want to return

to the days when they gave the orders and everyone kowtowed. Appealing to Great Russian nationalism and even vile anti-Semitic demagogy, they call themselves the "patriots."

What is missing in the present ideological division is the Soviet working class, which to date has been trapped within the political framework set by the contending factions of the bureaucracy and the intelligentsia. The "democrats" have tried to harness the proletariat to the cart of capitalist restoration by insisting on the identification of centralized planning and management with the bureaucratic commandism, arbitrariness and parasitism of the Stalinist bureaucracy. But working-class dissatisfaction with the wholesale looting of state enterprises, by local managers seeking to buy their way into a new bourgeoisie, is growing by leaps and bounds in the Soviet Union today. So the "democrats" are cynically trying to co-opt popular outrage by raising the call for workers "self-management."

This dynamic was spelled out quite clearly by Alexander Buzgalin, a representative of the "Marxist Platform" in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, who was an invited guest at the USec World Congress. In an interview printed in *International Viewpoint* Buzgalin argued that "one of our most important tasks is work within the mass democratic movements. The majority of these movements say that they are anti-socialist, anti-Marxist and anti-CPSU. But if you ask them if they would support real self-management for the workers they reply: yes." Buzgalin, evidently a member of the right wing of "Marxist Platform," reports sadly that other members of his organization find it "impossible to work in a movement that says 'no to socialism'." But this is no problem for the Mandelites, who have much experience swimming in the stream of pro-imperialist democracy.

The Mandelites have long been big advocates of "workers self-management" and "workers control" precisely because these are elastic formulas which cover over the essential class questions, i.e., which class shall rule. In the Soviet Union today their advocacy of "self-management" allows them to pander to, rather than combat, the predominant syndicalist prejudices of the active sectors of the Soviet working class such as the miners, and to coexist with openly pro-capitalist forces in the so-called "democratic" movement.

Now in the Soviet Union advocates of piecemeal privatization are quite willing to raise demands for "workers control"—e.g., that workers of a particular enterprise have the "right" to market their product, make their own deals with foreign capitalists, buy and sell on the world market, etc. Competition among atomized enterprises even if under workers "self-management" can only foster greater inequality and undermine the social solidarity of the working class. This is exactly what happened in Yugoslavia, where a program of "market reform" coupled with "self-management" has increased economic disparities between the different nationalities, fueling national antagonisms and capitalist-restorationist forces that are now tearing the country apart.

UPI

Basil Blackwell Inc

Left: Trotsky, head of the Red Army, during Russian Civil War. Demonstration by Left Oppositionists in Siberian exile on anniversary of the 1917 Revolution: "Turn the Fire to the Right. Against Kulak, Nepman and Bureaucrat." "Long Live the Dictatorship of the Proletariat."

That many Soviet citizens, including demoralized proletarians, may support or at least accept the creation of a "market economy" as the means to revitalize the economic life of the USSR is not surprising. Stalinism has preached for decades that capitalism was the alternative to "our socialist system," and now their own leaders tell them that "socialism has failed." It is understandable too, for example, that miners driven to desperation by the unavailability for months of essential consumer commodities like soap would put forward demands to be able to sell their product themselves on the world market and buy what they need. If capitalism is coming, they figure, we know the boys on top will be sure to get "theirs"—we better figure out how to get a share for ourselves. And sure enough, along comes Ernest Mandel to enthuse over these impulses toward generating a program for the dismantling of the collectivized economy "under workers control."

It is a cliché that reformism is the ideology reflecting the social interests of the layer in capitalist society termed the "labor aristocracy." The classic role of the reformists is to put themselves forward as "fighting for the workers" within the framework of the continued existence of the system: the Rockefellers will of course keep their billions, and the rest of us will squabble over who gets what's left over. What is the essential difference between an American union hack or French "Socialist" politician serving their bourgeois masters and an Ernest Mandel urging the protection of "workers' rights" while cozying up to "democratic" forces that say "no to socialism" in Moscow? Mostly, it is this: a program of opportunism toward the bureaucratically deformed workers states today means not "merely" a refusal to fight for a revolution where capitalism exists, but going over to support for *counterrevolution* to dismantle what still remains of the great social gains that millions gave their lives for in the Bolshevik Revolution, the Civil War and World War II.

Spartacist Photos

The banner of Trotskyism is raised in Palace Square, Leningrad on 7 November 1990. Signs call for defense of gains of Bolshevik Revolution against capitalist restoration. For power to soviets of the working people!

As Trotskyists, we fight more urgently than ever for *political revolution* against the defeatist and discredited Stalinist bureaucracy which now puts forward the reintroduction of private property as the way out of the mess they have created. We call for independent workers committees in the enterprises "to prevent bureaucratic sabotage as well as attempts at privatization":

> "Such workers committees can be the basis of *soviets*, drawing into their ranks collective farmers, oppressed minorities, working women, Red Army soldiers and officers, old-age pensioners, those at all levels of society who would be communists and those few members of the intelligentsia who overcome their corrupt appetites and embrace the cause of the working class. There must be no place in these soviets for the new parasites and exploiters, nor for those within the bureaucracy who are their ideologues and sponsors. The workers and their allies will themselves, by their free vote, indicate which parties they recognize as soviet parties. We stand for a government based on soviet democracy such as was established by the October Revolution of 1917."
>
> —"Where Is the Soviet Union Going?" *WV* No. 522, 15 March

On the level of economics, the analysis and program laid out by Trotsky in *The Revolution Betrayed* is so cogent and so obviously applicable to the deformed workers states today that East German readers repeatedly asked us, "Was this written yesterday?" Trotsky envisioned a role for market calculations in economic planning, this being the most obvious way to determine what consumer goods people actually want. But the

continued on page 8

Ernest Mandel and the Sheriff of Zug

Recently, United Secretariat leader Ernest Mandel toured the United States. In Chicago on April 13, a supporter of the Spartacist League made the following remarks in the discussion period.

Really I find all this whining about what's happening in Poland to be fairly shameless. And neither Ernest Mandel nor the United Secretariat can look the Polish working class in the eye by any means, because of course this organization told the Polish working class to support Solidarność and actually hailed them as the "best socialists." The depth of the hypocrisy of what's been said here tonight is evidenced by the fact the two organizations co-sponsoring this, one of them's called "Solidarity," the other one has Solidarity's logo proudly emblazoned across the top of their newspaper. Obviously they still [interruption from the floor]—excuse me, excuse me, I have two minutes—obviously they still find Solidarity, as they smash the Polish working class, smash Polish working women in particular, to be somebody that they want to tail after.

And lest there's any doubt that the United Secretariat and Mandel do not defend the workers states, they actually have a member of their organization in the parliament of Vaclav Havel in Czechoslovakia who's gone on record as being in support of the market economy and is actually Minister of Information of the press agency of this capitalist-restorationist government.

They're willing to serve the bourgeoisie in the capitalist states quite directly, as they are now in Switzerland, where a leading member of the Swiss section of the USec has actually been elected Minister of Justice and Police in the canton of Zug. So, I'd say that's pretty repulsive and it goes right along with the fact that here tonight they actually called the campus police on the Spartacist League and insisted on ejecting our table from the lobby here. Well, if they were in Switzerland they could have simply called on their own comrade [laughter]. [Chair: "Your time's up."] Excuse me, it is *not* up. Or perhaps they would be interested in Leroy Martin's [Chicago police commissioner] job, which is opening up.

Finally, I'd just like to say that there's a lot of complaining going on about the "crisis of socialism" here on Mandel's part. And yes, it's true, the Stalinists have dragged the name of communism through the mud. But I'd like to say the USec and Mandel have really done their utmost over the years to drag the name of Trotskyism through the mud, and aid in the disorganization of the working class. That's what the Spartacist League thinks, and the International Communist League [applause].

USec...

(continued from page 7)

framework in which market mechanisms can play a role in the democratic determination of production and pricing is the preservation of nationalized property and centralized economic management. If the workers take political power from the Stalinist usurpers and once again assume the leadership of Soviet society, if economic policy and social priorities are democratically and collectively determined by the mass of the working people, productivity and economic efficiency will make an enormous leap.

As Trotsky wrote in 1932: "only through the interreaction of these three elements, state planning, the market, and Soviet democracy, can the correct direction of the economy of the transitional epoch be attained." It should go without saying that the blind operation of market forces will never provide adequate childcare, education, medical care. The equitable determination of wage levels, rents, pensions, and so forth requires the conscious setting of social policies through full debate in a workers state where the workers really rule. A developing Soviet economy must be part of an international division of labor achieved by the spread of socialist revolution internationally.

For Revolutionary Leadership! For the Fourth International!

On January 18, at the Moscow offices of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, Mandel was one of the featured speakers presenting the Russian edition of *Socialism of the Future*—the theoretical journal of the Spanish, Italian, French and German social-democratic parties which includes on its editorial staff, among others, Willy Brandt and Mikhail Gorbachev. Here Mandel makes clear his project to broker unity between the Second and Third Internationals:

> "After a long period of persecution and isolation the Fourth International is today recognized as a part of the workers' movement and of the 'new social movements' in a series of countries, thanks to the role which we play within the mass movement. We have developed within these movements a profoundly unifying approach. We advocate unity in the struggle for common objectives, overcoming all the differences that separate the Communist parties and the ex-Communist parties on the one hand, and the Social Democratic parties on the other."
>
> —*Bulletin in Defense of Marxism*, April 1991

Here is Mandel, who claims to uphold the banner of Trotsky's Fourth International, boasting about a project aimed at political "unity" of the Second and Third. No doubt there will be some takers among the Stalinists moving rapidly in the direction of social democracy. For a revolutionary, what "common objectives" could there be with those who uphold the tradition of the last 75 years of political betrayal? But Mandel does not have to worry about that.

It is not communism which has "failed," but Stalinism. And social democracy has long since surrendered the goal of socialism, in favor of defending the order and interests of their own bourgeoisies. But having deluded themselves and their followers that some other force —Stalinism, Mitterrand, the Nicaraguan Sandinistas, the PLO, you name it—would do the job that Trotsky believed was the job of the Fourth International, no wonder the USec is undergoing its own "crisis of credibility."

As we noted in our declaration founding the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) in 1989: "Stalinism has created millions of anti-Communists and the general level of identification of human progress with the idea of communism stands at a relative low point. Yet as the workings of capitalist imperialism create millions of new subjective communists across the globe, the absence of genuinely communist leadership is acutely felt by many and the program of Leninist internationalism can be put forward with great impact."

From time to time, it occurs to disgruntled followers of Ernest Mandel to wonder what he needs with a "Fourth International." At the present moment it is perhaps more clear than usual that the kind of undertaking he has in mind has little need for an "International" of any kind—indeed, other notables like Pierre Broué or Vanessa Redgrave are bidding for a similar niche as advisers to elements of the "perestroika" intelligentsia and bureaucracy without too much in the way of an organized support group. But the important question is: what does the world need with another party whose role is to purvey organized confusionism, which will tell the workers whatever they seem to want to hear? Whose "transitional method" is to go with the flow no matter how misguided or reactionary (and let's not forget the USec's Brian Grogan enthusing over how good it felt to be at one with the masses—chanting "Allah Akbar" in pro-Khomeini demonstrations in Iran). All reformists say "it's important to go through these experiences with the working class." Well, some experiences should be gone through kicking and screaming all the way, and the working people will remember who told the truth and tried to lead.

For Mandel and his ilk, it's axiomatic that only "sectarians" and "elitists" would dare to say: our organization is a necessary component of the future communist vanguard which will lead the working class, because our program embodies the real and long-term interests of the proletariat. But really, what other justification could there be for having an organization at all? Pro-socialist followers of Ernest Mandel: you did not become socialists only in order to become cheerleaders for "objective" forces. What use to anyone is an organization whose claim to "leadership" is in the best case that they were the "consistent" advocates of whatever was popular (and that's only when the outcome has come out to their liking—when it's a bloody disaster, they aren't in a hurry to take the blame). As a follower of Mandel and his USec, the best you can aspire to is to work alongside the social-democratic and Stalinist reformists in the worship of the accomplished fact, vicarious "participants" in "mass movements" right and left, from Solidarność to the Sandinistas, over whom you in fact exert no influence whatever for good or ill. Like the man riding backward in the train, you can see nothing until it has passed you, and sometimes not even then.

As Trotskyists, we aim to build a world party of revolutionary struggle, a crucial factor in *shaping* the outcome of history. To supporters of the USec we suggest: get some Trotsky off the shelf—*In Defense of Marxism*, for example. You will find a vast gulf between the programs of your leaders and the uncompromising revolutionary spirit which animated Trotsky as he fought to build an authentic revolutionary party, the Fourth International. In Trotsky's work, as in Lenin's, you will find no trace of the "method" of the USec, pandering to the illusions of the moment, but rather the effort to discern and embody the fight for the real interests of the international proletariat and oppressed masses. You must place this same uncompromising spirit at the center of your interventions into social struggle, or all your energy and activism will serve only the reformist betrayers of socialism. We of the International Communist League seek to assist you in fighting your way from the USec to Trotskyism. ■

WV Photo

Spartacist League/U.S. contingent at January 26 San Francisco demonstration against Persian Gulf War.

Moabit Anti-Fascists...

(continued from page 3)

recently passed anti-foreigner laws and the deportation drives. Not only the Christian Democrats of Chancellor Kohl, but the Social Democrats as well have joined in whipping up the anti-foreigner frenzy. The government is almost daily deporting Kurds to prison, torture and possible death in Turkey. On Sunday, May 18, an attempt to deport a Kurdish leftist from Berlin's Tegel airport was stopped by a mobilization of leftists and immigrant groups, and the courageous action of a Turkish pilot who refused to let German authorities bundle the deportee onto the plane.

And once again the Fourth Reich is targeting Jews, reimposing a ban on Jewish immigration (*Judenstopp*) from the Soviet Union and threatening to deport the 269 Soviet Jews who fled Israel during the U.S./NATO massacre in Iraq. Bonn wants them to return to Israel to serve as cannon fodder for the Zionist "final solution" to the Palestinian question in the Occupied Territories. Last September the SpAD and KfsV initiated a protest demonstration in Berlin demanding "Down with the Fourth Reich's *Judenstopp*!"

While the fascists are becoming emboldened, repugnance against the Nazi/skinhead attacks has sparked protest. At the Monday demos in Leipzig in March and early April, workers demonstrating against escalating unemployment angrily denounced the chauvinist anti-Polish attacks on the Oder border. In Dresden, where Mozambican Jorge Gomondai was brutally murdered by skinheads in a streetcar in April, 12,000 went into the street to protest. Speaking at the rally outside the court, Renate Dahlhaus noted that to stop the fascist scum, "The working people must organize to finally control the wealth of society themselves, to build up a planned economy themselves and create a society in which racism, chauvinism, exploitation and the oppression of women are no longer, because there is no more private property. The power must be in the hands of workers and soldiers councils."

What is at stake in the case of the Moabit anti-fascists is the right of working people, immigrants and other minorities to defend themselves against fascist attacks. The Partisan Defense Committee has taken up the vigorous defense of the Moabit anti-fascists. We urge our readers to send donations and statements of support earmarked to: Committee to Defend the Anti-Fascists of Moabit, c/o Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

Spartacist League Public Offices

— MARXIST LITERATURE —

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PDC Notes...

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and unusual punishment.

Jamal, a supporter of the MOVE organization, filed suit to challenge the haircut regulations on religious grounds. In rejecting his appeal, the court arrogantly held that Jamal had not proven MOVE to be a religious organization to which First Amendment protections apply, ignoring a 1986 jury decision upholding MOVE's status as a religious organization. The courts have no business determining what constitutes a religious organization. But in its ruling these racists in black robes express that their very real business is to give judicial endorsement to state authorities to do whatever they want to the inmates of this country's overcrowded prisons.

The court's denial of Jamal's appeal gives the prison officials free rein to continue the unrelenting harassment and persecution of Jamal and the imprisoned MOVE members. This ruling demonstrates once again that Jamal will not get justice from the racist courts. It will take mass protest to save him from the executioner's hands. We call on all defenders of democratic rights to protest this outrage. Join the campaign to save Jamal!

* * *

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

Abortion Rights...

(continued from page 1)

mentioning abortion, which, believe it or not, is still legal in this country. Clintes will only he allowed to say, "The project does not consider ahortion an appropriate method of family planning."

This barbaric ruling will affect three-quarters of all family-planning clinics in the U.S. (Abortion clinics are already barred from receiving federal funds.) The 4,500 clinics that receive Title X grants serve 4.1 million women annually. For many clinics this money is vital to their ability to provide services to women and teenagers with no other access to medical care or information. Nonetheless, many have courageously vowed to defy this outrageous decision by continuing to provide responsible medical advice to their patients, seeking private funding rather than comply with these deadly dangerous regulations. Planned Parenthood said: "What we're talking about is government-enforced malpractice.... Our principles aren't for sale.... We're giving up the government's funds."

This ruling comes in the context of a hroad-scale judicial assault on the rights of women, minorities and anyone deemed vulnerable in this brutal society. A few days after the anti-abortion "gag rule," the Court decided that Spanish-speaking jurors could be barred from trials of Hispanics, hecause their ability to understand the defendant might interfere with official "English only" court translations! The 1989 *Webster* decision, upholding Missouri's right to ban abortions in institutions receiving state money, was recognized as an opening wedge in overturning abortion rights. Now with this decision, the first in which Bush appointee David Souter has cast a clear anti-abortion vote, it appears that bourgeois reaction has got a solid majority to wipe out legal abortion in this country.

On June 1 the anti-woman Operation Rescue fanatics, emboldened hy the black-robed bigots, staged their largest provocation in over a year in the Boston area. At the Preterm clinic in Brookline, clients were only briefly prevented from entering, but at Repro Associates, police allowed the anti-woman fanatics to block the doorway for about two hours, doing their usual ever-so-slow-and-careful arrest procedure. Hundreds of clinic defenders showed up to confront Operation Rescue. Many took up the Spartacist League chant, "Defend the Clinics, Take a Stand! Free Abortion on Demand!"

"Family Planning" Supreme Court Style

One of the targeted clinics, Planned Parenthood's "Hub" center in the South Bronx, is located in the poorest Congressional district in the U.S. Infant mortality rates here equal or surpass those of some Third World countries, maternal death rates and low-weight births are hundreds of times the national average, and the area has New York City's highest rate of births to teenagers. The devastation of the South Bronx has been infamous for decades, but today in whole sections of New York conditions of human life arc as bad as the beginning of the 20th century when Planned Parenthood's founder Margaret Sanger was a young nurse on the Lower East Side, if not worse.

Desperately poor, overworked immigrant women hegged Sanger then for "the secret" they believed rich women had, of how to stop unwanted pregnancies. The women tried every desperate measure from ingesting weird patent medicines, herb tea and turpentine to rolling downstairs and inserting button hooks and knitting needles into their bodies—and when all failed they lined up, sometimes a hundred at a time, on Saturdays at the $5 abortionist. Many bled to death at home afterward, hut no one dared complain, as it was all *illegal*.

In her autobiography Sanger wrote of the scenes she saw on the Lower East Side, of "women writhing in travail to bring forth little babies; the bahies themselves naked and hungry, wrapped in newspapers to keep them from the cold; six-year-old children with pinched, pale, wrinkled faces, old in concentrated wretchedness, pushed into gray and fetid cellars...." Sanger recalled one woman who almost died of blood poisoning in a self-induced abortion. Everyone knew another child would kill her, so she desperately asked for help, but the doctor just chuckled, "You want to have your cake and eat it too. Tell Jake to sleep on the roof!" The woman did get pregnant again—and she did die.

And that is what the Supreme Court of social reaction wants to bring back at the end of this century.

Many clinic operators are now pushing for an emergency letter-writing campaign to pressure Congress to get rid of the Supreme Court abortion "gag rule." But the first and the higgest restriction on abortion rights came from the U.S. Congress, supported by hoth Democrats and Republicans. It was the 1976 Hyde Amendment, which prohibits the use of Medicaid funds to pay for poor women's abortions, even when medically necessary. The year after this was passed, federally funded abortions dropped from 295,000 to 3,000 per year! The only response poor women got from "liberal" Democratic Party president Jimmy Carter was "There are many things in life which are not fair."

International Counterrevolution Targets Women

This assault on women is part of U.S. imperialism's worldwide attempt to reimpose its reactionary sway. In his majority decision, Supreme Court Justice Rehnquist made the political intent of the decision utterly explicit, attempting to explain by analogy why the federal government shouldn't have to use taxpayers' money for things the president opposes: "When Congress established a National Endowment for Democracy to encourage other countries to adopt democratic principles, it was not constitutionally required to fund a program to encourage competing lines of political philosophy such as communism and fascism" (*Washington Post*, 25 May). In this crackpot counterrevolutionary mindset, abortion must go in the greater interest of funding contras.

If Rehnquist wants to equate the ability to get an abortion with communism, he's not alone. Certainly the anti-Communists seeking to restore capitalism in Eastern Europe have gone all out to crush the gains women made in those societies. The capitalist-restorationists want to reassert the ancient oppressions of religion and the monogamous family as pillars of social repression, as they throw women out of work and children out of day-care centers.

In the Fourth Reich of German imperialism, bourgeois reactionaries are attempting to subject East German women to the notorious anti-abortion Paragraph 218, which stems from Bismarck's Reich. The "paragraph of shame" forbids ahortion except in the case of rape, danger to the woman's life, or "indications" of dire need as determined by the state. Our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany are fighting for the elimination of Paragraph 218 and for free ahortion on demand, in the struggle against the catastrophic consequences of capitalist reunification. In addition to ahortion rights, free childcare, free medical care, low rents and subsidized housing for single mothers are being eliminated while *millions* of women are driven out of social labor and back to the home.

And in Poland, the right to abortion has come under frontal assault by the Solidarność government. The anti-Communist Polish nationalist movement headed by Lech Walesa was forged as a vehicle of clerical reaction. Now Pope Wojtyla tours his native land, provocatively holding outdoor mass on the Soviet horder, in a celebration of counterrevolution. But the harsh realities of capitalist impoverishment are wearing down the patina of religious fervor. The crowds are greatly reduced, and efforts to ban abortion on the eve of the Pope's visit failed in parliament, as polls showed that 60 percent of the population opposed the overturn of this gain. The Spartakusowska Grupa Polski fights to defend abortion rights as key to its defense of the working population under siege from the brutal austerity program dictated by the White House and Wall Street.

Free, Quality Health Care for All!

Legalization of abortion in this country came in the context of the rise of a movement for women's liberation, and in the wake of the civil rights movement. Under the impact of mass protests against the Vietnam War and ghetto upheavals, the bourgeoisie found it necessary to enact various social reforms to head off a social explosion. But over the past two decades, the ruling class—Democrats and Repuhlicans alike—has been slashing away at any and every social program benefiting the poor, immeasurably increasing misery through a maze of bureaucratic barriers. It is not simply a question of legal rights. The Spartacist League has always called for the right to free, safe abortion on demand, and for free, quality health care for all. Access to health care for everyone is a basic necessity, just like education, a place to live, a job—hut this decaying capitalist society does not and cannot provide it.

The crisis of health care in the United States is so had that liheral social critics point out with dismay that the U.S. and apartheid South Africa are the only two industrialized countries in the world without some kind of national health system. In capitalist America if you have money, you can get the hest health care in the world, for a price—which is why Saudi princes come to New York for medical attention. But if you have no insurance—and *34 million* Americans have no health insurance at all, not even the pathetically inadequate Medicaid or Medicare—you can suffer lifelong debilitation from treatable disease like asthma, or die when simple preventive treatment could have saved your life.

Free, quality health care should be an elementary right. But like every other basic right worth having, decent medical care must be fought for in hard class struggle. In fact, over 75 percent of strikes today are over health care issues. But the strikes aren't winning, because the hidebound union bureaucracy isn't willing to wage the hard struggle that can break through the "gentlemen's agreement" they have with their buddies in government not to rock the capitalist boat. As we pointed out in "Wealth Care USA" in *Women and Revolution* (No. 39, Summer 1991):

> "The struggle for decent health care exposes the gaping holes in all the pathetic patchwork reform schemes advocated by liheral social workers, social democrats and officials of the twin capitalist parties. The treacherous U.S. labor bureaucrats, the grandsons of Samuel Gompers, today pass motions calling for a national health system and argue about it at their fancy poolside confabs in Bal Harbour. But such schemes are just handaids for cancer, more halfway measures guaranteed to ration medical care hy class, race and sex. The AFL-CIO executive board couldn't even pass a motion to support women's right to abortion, let alone fight for equal rights for blacks, women and gays. The working class must oust the trade-union bureaucrats... and huild a revolutionary, class-struggle workers party which will take up all the struggles of the exploited and oppressed, and fight for a workers government.... When the workers of the world are in charge of this planet, the only limits of human health will be scientific—and these will be constantly enlarged by thoughtful, energetic research." ■

KKK terrorist brandishing coat hanger outside Dallas abortion clinic. Racist right-to-lifers would have women die in back-alley abortions.

El Paso...

(continued from page 12)

border can serve as a human bridge for revolutionary class struggle throughout the Americas." This is not "pie in the sky." In 1983-84, heavily Chicano and Indian copper miners struck in Morenci, Arizona and faced the National Guard. This is barely 150 miles from Cananea, Sonora where in 1989 Mexican miners occupied the mine-smelter and stood off the Mexican army. Eight decades earlier, the syndicalist IWW organized a copper strike against Phelps-Dodge at Morenci and "Wobblies" helped spark a battle against Anaconda in Cananea, where a combined force of Arizona Rangers and Mexican *federales* massacred striking miners, an incident that led to the Mexican Revolution of 1910-17.

Today, the El Paso strike should serve as a spark for an organizing drive of garment and textile plants on hoth sides of the border, from Reynosa to El Paso. Bush is forging ahead on his "fast track" to a "free trade" pact with Mexico, approved in a Congressional vote last week, with the help of Mexican president Salinas and the participation of the U.S.' junior partner Canada. Common struggle hy Mexican and U.S. workers can answer Yankee imperialism's attempt to extend its stranglehold over Mexico into a wholesale takeover, which would multiply the exploitation and misery of the workers north and south of the border.

When Marx and Engels founded the first revolutionary international in 1864, the International Working Men's Association, strong impetus came from English and European workers organizations who sought to defeat the capitalists' use of foreign workers to break strikes. We echo today the call hy the First International to workers of the world: "It is one of the great purposes of the Association to make the workmen of different countries not only *feel* hut *act* as brethren and comrades in the army of emancipation." ■

India...

(continued from page 1)

imperialists are worried at the prospect of an already turbulent India being pushed further down the road to chaos. Even before the killing, the London *Economist* (4 May) wrote:

> "The future of India looks more threatened than for many years. In recent months its government has been all but paralysed by political squabbling. The country is divided by violence over caste, religion and demands for regional autonomy. Economic growth is slowing, and poverty on a scale that defies the imagination seems beyond all remedy."

Though no longer the hegemonic party it was in Nehru's day, Congress remained the main party of a fragmented all-India bourgeoisie, with pretensions of representing all caste, religious, national and ethnic groupings. And, as an editorial in the London *Independent* (22 May) wrote, "Congress (I) *was* the Gandhi family." (The "I" stands for Indira, to distinguish it from the rump party of Congress bosses who fell afoul of her in a power fight.)

For decades, the imperialist press has hailed India as the "world's most populous democracy" and upheld it as the model of a "democratic" alternative to social revolution in the Third World. The *New York Times* (22 May) editorialized, "Whoever killed Rajiv Gandhi yesterday struck at democracy itself." Erstwhile pseudo-Trotskyist Tariq Ali joined in the bourgeois breast-beating, lamenting "the tragedy of the Nehru-Gandhi family" and moaning: "In one foul blow the country's leading secular politician has been eliminated from the race. Who will now rescue India from the prophets of hate?"

Dieter Ludwig

Hindu fascists of the paramilitary Shiva Sena target Muslim minority in terror attacks.

WV Map

Its "secular" and even "socialist" pretensions notwithstanding, Congress ruled over India's prison house of peoples with an iron fist. Nehru presided over the grisly communalist slaughter of the 1947 Partition which created Muslim Pakistan. Indira Gandhi calculatingly played the Hindu-chauvinist card; her massacre of the Sikhs was characteristic of her long and bloody reign. And despite his "Mr. Clean" image, Rajiv followed firmly in his mother's footsteps, right from the start. As thousands of Sikhs were being hunted down and lynched following his mother's assassination, Gandhi encouraged the bloodbath, intoning: "When a great tree falls, the earth shakes." Several years later, he sent Indian "peacekeeping" forces to Sri Lanka who, under the guise of protecting the country's Tamil minority from a Sinhalese-chauvinist bloodbath, waged a war of annihilation against the separatist guerrilla Tamil Tigers.

Today the Tigers, who are also suspected of blowing away hawkish Sri Lankan defense chief Ranjan Wijeratne two months ago, are considered prime suspects in Gandhi's assassination. In retribution, the Congress party in Tamil Nadu is demanding the deportation of 200,000 Lankan Tamil refugees. But such is the squalid morass of Indian bourgeois politics that the assassin could have come from virtually any ethnic or political direction. The states of Punjab, Kashmir and Assam are under martial law aimed at suppressing regional insurgencies. Even with 1.5 million police and paramilitary forces deployed, the elections had to be staggered over three days to allow for concentration of forces to defend the balloting, with two further dates set aside for Punjab and Assam and no vote slated for Kashmir. "Booth-capturing" by gangs of rival party thugs, who shoot their way into polling places in order to stuff the ballot boxes, alone claimed the lives of dozens during the first day of balloting on May 20.

Meanwhile, a sinister rise in anti-Muslim communalism has been registered with the dramatic growth of the Hindu-chauvinist Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP). The spectre looms of a slaughter to match that of the Partition of India in 1947. Commenting on the assassination, the *Times of India* wrote: "At no time since it won freedom has India been as polarised along antagonistic lines as it is today. Caste has been pitted against caste and religion against religion with relentless fury." At no time has the need been clearer for a socialist revolution in India that sweeps away all the encrusted backwardness and hideous oppression that are bound up with capitalist rule.

Caste Hatreds Explode

Following the elections of November 1989, Gandhi's Congress (I) was replaced by a National Front government led by V.P. Singh's Janata Dal and supported from the outside by both the rightist BJP and the two main Stalinist parties, the Communist Party of India and CPI (Marxist). The immediate backdrop to the present crisis stems from Singh's decision last August to implement affirmative action measures for the country's lower castes based on a report issued ten years earlier. Designating more than 3,700 of the country's castes and subcastes as "other backward castes" —in contrast to high castes like Brahmans and "forward" farmer castes like the Rajputs, and to "untouchables" like the Harijans who are outside and beneath the caste structure—the Mandal Report called for reserving 27 percent of federal government jobs for them.

In line with an earlier 1950 provision, another 22.5 percent of government jobs were already reserved for the lowest "scheduled castes" (untouchables) and "scheduled tribes" (so called because the constitution specifically schedules them for protection). In fact these "job reservations" are effectively meaningless in undermining pervasive caste oppression. To this day, fewer than 5 percent of the elite Indian Administrative Services are from the scheduled castes and tribes, while 70 percent are high caste. Untouchables often fill their quota in the lowliest work traditionally associated with their status—like cleaning or trash collection —whether or not they have a college degree. Indeed, some 600,000 untouchable families eke out an existence solely by cleaning latrines. As one student pointed out:

> "I belong to the backward caste. I have been looking for a job in vain for the last five years. What good is job reservation to me? Who will give me a job? We all know that only the children of the rich and powerful will get jobs, reservation or no reservations."
>
> —*The Hindu*,
> 15 September 1990

Yet in a country with over 50 million unemployed, where even a menial position in the railways or post office may be the difference between relative comfort and utter destitution, this is an explosive question. In 1989, there were more than 450,000 applicants for some 4,500 jobs in the Union Public Service Commission. Moreover, even the slightest tampering with the caste system is viewed with alarm by the high castes who continue to dominate Indian society in all aspects.

Though the last census enumerating caste status was taken 60 years ago, caste prejudice and oppression remain a powerful and pernicious force, reinforced by popular culture and television epics like the Mahabharata. While the British colonialists hypocritically condemned caste discrimination, they cultivated and recruited the higher castes to their administrative and military apparatus and then tried to build up the lower castes as a counterweight to nationalist agitation, much as they used Muslim-Hindu communalism, to divide and rule. Capitalism and urbanization have impacted on old caste practices and adjusted the status and power of some castes, but the division between rich and poor, powerful and powerless, still broadly parallels that between high and low caste. Indicative of the depth of the problem is that some see progress in the fact that urban upper caste families now keep separate plates for their untouchable employees instead of throwing scraps from a safe distance.

Nowhere is the degradation inherent in this hierarchy of power and poverty more apparent than in the treatment of women. Untouchable and tribal women are routinely subjected to rape, while upper caste women are disinherited and secluded in the name of caste purity. The caste-related dowry system has led to a shocking decline in the ratio of women to men (now 929 to 1,000). This disparity is fueled by infanticide of female babies, deliberate maltreatment of young girls by their parents and murder of young brides by the families of husbands greedy for more or a second dowry—the fate of 690 women in the capital of New Delhi alone last year. "Bride-burnings...are escalating exponentially in modern, urban India, where a new wave of consumerism has spawned a greedy, growing middle class" (*Los Angeles Times*, 29 April).

One recent incident of caste/sex violence shocked the country. When the 16-year-old daughter of a Jat landowner in the town of Mehrana near Delhi eloped with her 18-year-old outcaste Jatav lover, with the help of his Jatav friend, the higher caste Jat families in the town captured the three youths and subjected them to an inquisition. When the couple refused to renounce their relationship, the two young men were tortured for hours—beaten with clubs and burned with torches in their mouths and genitals while hung upside down. Then the Jat-dominated town council "sentenced" all three to be hanged—by their own parents. When the young men's fathers balked, they too were clubbed until they finally acquiesced.

Communal Terror Escalates

Far from being the "social revolution" depicted by the Western press, Singh's

AP

Muslim refugees in New Delhi after British-engineered 1947 Partition of India. As many as a million people were killed, many millions more driven from their homes in bloody communalist strife.

"job reservation" proposal was purely and cynically aimed at cutting into the lower-caste "vote banks" of the other bourgeois parties. But in response to Singh's announcement, violent high-caste anti-reservation protests erupted across north India, spearheaded by students, scores of whom immolated themselves. Though none of the other parties dared to openly repudiate the scheme for fear of alienating potential voters, Singh's opponents—including a split from his own party—seized on the uproar to move on him. On November 7, Singh resigned and a minority government headed by a split-off led by Chandra Shekhar governed precariously with Congress (I) support.

The BJP in particular responded to this attempt to divide its base by launching an ugly Hindu-communalist campaign of anti-Muslim provocations. Screaming "Break the mosque!" and "Hail the Lord Rama!" in late October BJP-led mobs stormed a 400-year-old Muslim mosque in Ayodhya which Hindu fundamentalists claim is located on the birthplace of the Hindu god Ram. Anti-Muslim terror and Muslim reprisals escalated throughout the region, leaving over 2,000 dead in a matter of weeks. The scenes evoked the horror of Partition. In Hyderabad alone, 130 people were slaughtered, including 30 children stabbed or axed and burned alive. In Aligarh, the site of an old Muslim academy, Hindu thugs provocatively marched through Muslim areas and three Muslim men were dragged from a train passing through the station and butchered. A 20,000-strong paramilitary force drafted in to stop the communalist terror instead began disintegrating in the face of the Hindu mobs. By the beginning of November, some 40 cities had been placed under curfew.

AP

Communist Party election rally in Nepal. Stalinist mass parties in Indian subcontinent tie workers to reactionary bourgeois order.

The BJP's mixture of rabid anti-Muslim communalism and mythological Hindu fundamentalism, exemplified by the title of its 1991 manifesto "Towards Ram Rajya" (the rule of Ram), has catapulted it from two seats in parliament in 1984 to 88 five years later to now being a serious contender to form the next government. Much of its explosive support has come from the growing middle class spawned by Gandhi's economic "liberalization" in the 1980s, who live in terror at the prospect of sinking back into utter destitution. While advocating Thatcherite economic policies and a pro-American tilt, the BJP offers them a scapegoat for the degradation and misery of Indian capitalist society in the more than 110 million Muslims and other minorities of the country, who are denounced as "ungrateful guests."

The BJP's parent organization is the fascistic RSS (it was an RSS supporter who assassinated Mohandas Gandhi). While BJP leader L.K. Advani—who is also a longtime member of the RSS—presents the party's parliamentarist face, his agitators mobilize anti-Muslim pogromists on the streets. "Moslems are like a lemon dropped into cream. They turn it sour," rants one. "What do we do with the lemon? We cut it up, squeeze out the pips and throw them away."

And while Hindu/Muslim communalism ominously escalates, threatening to engulf the subcontinent in another India-Pakistan war, as *India Today* (15 October 1990) put it, "Punjab burns, Kashmir burns." The war against the Punjabi Sikhs continues relentlessly, while the Muslims of Kashmir have been subjected to a "scorched-earth policy" of "terror and violence," "Kashmir is now beyond solution," shrugs one Indian political analyst in a *New York Times Magazine* (19 May) article by Barbara Crossette. And in February, *26,000* were arrested during a general strike in Tamil Nadu protesting against the imposition of direct rule by New Delhi.

Reuters

Indian troops in Jaffna, Sri Lanka, 1987. Rajiv Gandhi sought to suppress separatist Tamil Tigers.

For a Trotskyist Party in India!

Forty-four years after independence, the vast majority of the country's 850 million people live in ghastly poverty, dispossessed and effectively disenfranchised, as flagrantly corrupt politicians, capitalists and landlords amass their wealth and determine election outcomes with naked brute force. For the Sikhs, Muslims and hundreds of millions of lower-caste and "outcaste" Hindus as well as women of all ethnic and caste backgrounds, India's "secular democracy" has meant only uninterrupted and unendurable oppression. And neighboring Pakistan is no less a prison house for its minority peoples. Already ruled as an Islamic theocracy, Pakistan's rulers are now attempting to shove through an even stricter, fundamentalist "Shari'a Law."

With all the gin-and-tonic arrogance that comes so easily to it, the London *Economist* (4 May) sneers that India's misery "is largely India's own doing" and "not the fault of former colonial masters or wicked western capitalists." Calling for opening India up to even greater imperialist exploitation, this mouthpiece for the former colonial masters insists, "The changes India needs are not far short of a revolution."

A revolution is precisely what India needs, not the untrammeled imperialist exploitation envisaged by the *Economist*, but thoroughgoing proletarian socialist revolution. The small but strategic Indian proletariat, which has historically demonstrated militancy and organization, is the only social force capable of dragging the country out of the quagmire of conflicting nationalist and communalist antagonisms. The working class has a direct and immediate interest in combatting communalism. Frequently drawn from local and migrant minorities, it is often particularly the working class that is the main target of communalist terror.

Likewise, drawing behind it the agrarian masses, the proletariat is the only force capable of rooting out the deeply embedded structure of caste and sexual oppression. Even the most elementary demands against caste discrimination—like an end to all discrimination in jobs and social facilities, decent housing for the poor and safe water and sewage systems—requires sweeping away the capitalist system. And integral to the perpetuation of the caste system is the land question. The post-independence land reforms and the so-called "Green Revolution" of agrarian development have benefited a layer of capitalist farmers, including some of the "backward" farmer castes. But half of rural households own no land, while 5 percent own well over a third of the cultivable land. Rural indebtedness is endemic, bonded labor widespread and growing.

Even the Mandal Report linked land reform to the question of countering entrenched caste privilege, but none of the bourgeois parties dare draw that connection. As the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 in Russia demonstrated, the road to agrarian revolution in the countryside lies through the seizure of power by the proletariat in the cities. Only then will it be possible to nationalize the land and expropriate large landlords and capitalist farmers. And the call for land to the poor peasants and a program of government loans and provisions for modern farming equipment can win the peasants and agricultural workers to the side of the proletariat.

The key is forging a Trotskyist party to lead the Indian working masses to power. The thoroughly reformist Stalinist CPI and CPI(M) are both mass parties, holding governmental power in several states. They have gained a certain amount of authority for steering clear of the manipulative communalism which marks all the bourgeois parties. Sikh CPI militants in the Punjab, for example, risked their lives to defend their Hindu neighbors against pogroms by Sikh fundamentalists. And the CPI(M) has been able to retain control over Calcutta and West Bengal for 13 years, largely because of its ability thus far to avert communal clashes. Even in the neighboring Himalayan kingdom of Nepal, the Communists recently scored resounding successes in the first election in 30 years.

But both the CPI and CPI(M) are wedded to the politics of coalitionism, tying the proletariat to the wheels of one or another bourgeois party in the name of democracy, and both uphold capitalist India's "unity" against "secessionists." The CPI(M)-led government of West Bengal is aggressively encouraging capitalist businessmen, including the chief minister's son. India more than perhaps any other country on the face of the earth is proof positive of Trotsky's theory of permanent revolution, an object lesson in the futility of seeking to fulfill the tasks of the democratic revolution in a backward country under capitalism. There has been capitalist development: the "Green Revolution" of applying science to agriculture virtually eliminated India's import of grains; the country has built up large-scale heavy industry. Yet this is combined with truly horrendous social conditions, the bride burning, caste oppression, national subjugation, hunger and grinding poverty on a mind-boggling scale—the list is endless.

As we wrote seven years ago, after the Golden Temple massacre (*Spartacist Britain* No. 60, August 1984):

> "If India is not to be wracked by another convulsion of communalist slaughter in the interests of imperialism, what is needed is a mass proletarian party rallying behind the banner of Permanent Revolution the myriad minorities, the agrarian masses and the multitudinous victims of caste and sex oppression....
>
> "The problems of South Asia are interrelated and will not be solved separately. Only the working class can guarantee the right of self-determination to the oppressed nations from the Baluchis in Pakistan to the Tamils in Lanka, the liberation of women from bondage and backwardness, and land to the tiller." ■

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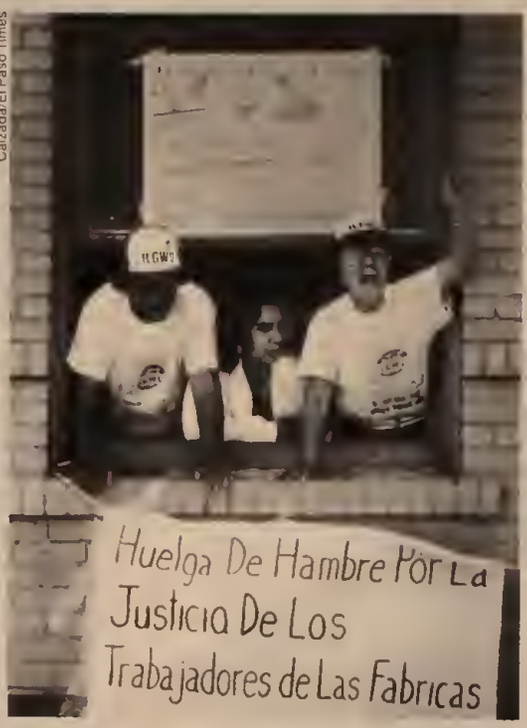
WORKERS VANGUARD

Hispanic Women Strikers Occupy El Paso Plant

A militant strike and plant occupation by mostly immigrant women garment workers is into its second month in El Paso, Texas. Sparked by the withholding of tens of thousands of dollars in back pay—incredible sums for these minimum wage workers—at Sonia's, one of the shops, the strike began on April 29. It has spread to three other shops (ACC, DCB and H&R) that are part of the private fiefdom of Andres Diaz, known locally as the "king of the sweatshops." The 120 strikers are demanding Diaz pay all back wages immediately, and sign a contract with and recognize their union, the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU). On May 13 six of the workers, including a 60-year-old woman, began a hunger strike to dramatize their struggle.

The strike was organized by La Mujer Ohrera (Working Woman), a community organization of women garment workers founded in 1983. It comes at a critical time for the 15,000 workers in El Paso's garment factories, the city's largest industry. Working under brutal conditions, without medical or any other benefits, these women face disaster, as thousands of garment jobs are expected to disappear with the looming "Free Trade Agreement." This strike battle is no less important for the thousands of garment workers just across the river in Ciudad Juárez, or in *maquiladora* (free trade zone) plants deeper in Mexico, who produce for the same U.S. market but lack union protection and are subject to even more brutal exploitation than their sisters in El Paso.

A year ago, workers' anger at not getting paid boiled over into a dramatic protest at Diana Fashions, a subcontractor for Diaz. The sweatshop had shut down, moved overnight to a new location, changed its name and opened its doors with a new crew, without notifying the former employees and neglecting to pay their long overdue wages. While workers carried picket signs outside the factory, their sisters chained themselves to the sewing machines inside. Police quickly responded to their masters' howls and cut the chains, throwing the workers in jail for three days. In response to the protests, Bush's Labor Department did a "sweep" of a tiny handful of sweatshops, "discovering" that workers were owed $85,000 in back wages.



Calzada/El Paso Times

Strikers at window of occupied garment factory cheer on supporters below. Protectionist appeals by ILGWU tops undercut militant struggle.

The June 1990 action was followed by a hunger strike in El Paso's central park. In the fall there were work stoppages demanding back wages at Sonia's in September and again in November. In one protest, the women invaded an IRS auction of sewing machines held by one bankrupt owner, demanding they be paid before the banks and other creditors. The ILGWU got involved and Diaz offered to pay half the amount owed. This was rejected by the union, but Diaz never even paid that much. Fed up after all the stalling and fraud, five weeks ago the workers struck the sweatshop king and occupied Sonia's. In a phone interview with *Workers Vanguard* from inside the struck plant, Eustolia Olivas, secretary of La Mujer Obrera and a garment worker for 15 years, described the working conditions in the sweatshops:

> "The working conditions are the same as 100 years ago when women started to demand their rights: the right to work in a safe place, and have all the benefits of any worker or any human being, to live with dignity. These factories don't have emergency doors, heaters or air conditioning. There isn't any cooling, ventilation is non-existent, the wiring is broken. The sewing machines are in very bad shape. Production is met in spurts, these machines are 25-30 years old. We work between 12 and 14 hours a day."

It was conditions like these that led the Mexican women garment workers to found La Mujer Obrera. As the huge outfits like Farah, Levi Strauss and Billy the Kid slashed their workforces in El Paso and moved across the border in the '80s (Farah alone went from 7,000 workers down to 700), hundreds of fly-by-night shops have filled the void—but not the wallets of garment workers. Olivas described how "these plants have resettled in Piedras Negras, in Torreon, in Chihuahua, Juárez City, Sonora, Baja California. Other plants come from California, stay here for awhile and then cross the border. El Paso is more like a diving board. This has been going on since the twin plants started."

Olivas described to *WV* the degrading and thieving piecework rates in the El Paso shops, where production is taken away so fast that workers don't even know how much work has been done. She described how the women are treated in the shops doing Diaz's work:

> "When we have approached him with a petition or demand for some change in our favor, he laughs at us, he makes fun of us. Or when we point to certain conditions in the factory that endanger our lives, our health, all he and his supervisors do is mock us. We are not human beings to him.
>
> "Women are always sexually harassed by the bosses and the supervisors. I have always been very brave. I never think about losing my job. I just get very angry. I reply and defend myself. I don't care what happens. This is one of the reasons we decided to go on strike. We cannot tolerate this situation any more on top of all the other bad conditions."

Gutierrez/El Paso Times

Cops arrest women workers who chained themselves to sewing machines in June 1990 in protest against sweatshop bosses.

Protectionism is Poison

The ILGWU has entered the organizing battle of these women workers as part of a high-profile series of unionization drives across the U.S. Called the "Campaign for Justice," it was launched last year on the anniversary of the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire that killed 146 young women immigrant workers in 1911. In New York, Los Angeles, San Francisco, Chicago and El Paso the ILGWU announced it was going to recapture some of the over 200,000 union jobs wiped out in the last decade. But in Brooklyn, the strike of 250 Haitian and Central American workers at the Domsey Trading Corporation was sabotaged by the union tops, who relied on the capitalist labor boards and their Democratic Party "friends of labor" and refused to call on the Teamsters and longshoremen to "hot cargo" scab production. It is this kind of labor power—a "workers' boycott"—that will bring the sweatshop bosses to their knees.

The ILGWU bureaucracy, infamous for their jingoist attacks on foreign workers, has draped these union struggles in racist protectionism and flag-waving appeals to Congress. In the Sonia's plant occupation, the ILGWU has issued T-shirts to the women strikers reading "Made in the USA" and hung a banner with the anti-Mexican worker slogan "Stop Exporting Our Jobs"—and this in a strike by immigrant Hispanic women! This is not only stabbing the strike in the back, dividing the workers in El Paso from their sisters and brothers across the river, it is feeding the government's racist campaign against foreign-born workers. La Mujer Obrera points out that sweatshop bosses continually "blackmail 'amnestied' workers with the threat of withdrawing" proof of employment. A class-struggle leadership would mobilize labor's power to demand no deportations and full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers!

Activists in La Mujer Obrera have roots in the 1972-74 Farah strike and boycott centered on El Paso. At that time, Farah workers in Ciudad Juárez demonstrated their solidarity in *action* by striking in aid of the El Paso strikers. And in the 1987 strike by hundreds of garment workers at the Vestamex plant in Ciudad Juárez, the Frontera Labor Support Committee and UTAF farm workers on the U.S. side of the border held forums and raised funds for the strikers (see "Mexican Women Workers Arise, Class Struggle in the 'Global Sweatshop'," *Women and Revolution* No. 34, Spring 1988). With the increasing integration of the U.S. and Mexican economies, as the bosses treat the border as no more than an administrative annoyance, Mexican and U.S. workers must respond in *common class struggle*.

As we stressed in "Labor: Smash Racist Immigration Law!" (*WV* No. 427, 1 May 1987): "Proletarian *internationalists* greet the fact that massive infusion of Hispanic workers from south of the

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 529 | 21 June 1991

From Gulf War to Global Trade War

"New World Order"
Step Toward New World War

Sygma

U.S. imperialism combat-tested its high-tech death machine and used its plans for blitzkrieg war on the Soviet Union against vastly outmatched Iraq.

For approximately nine months, world events were dominated by the so-called Gulf War, its preparations and immediate consequences. It was not a contest over control of the Persian (or Arab) Gulf—that was clear from the outset. Rather it was an imperialist war of annihilation, launched by the United States, which now boasts that it is the only "superpower" on a world scale, against the former colonial country of Iraq. The "*casus belli*" which served as a pretext for the war was the Iraqi seizure of the oil principality of Kuwait, but the real war aims of the United States were to reassert its imperialist hegemony over the entire planet.

In his January 16 speech announcing that the bombing of Baghdad had begun, George Bush spoke of a "New World Order, a world where the rule of law, not the law of the jungle, governs the conduct of nations," and where "a credible United Nations can use its peacekeeping role to fulfill the promise and vision of the UN's founders." The American president's pious talk naturally didn't mean that Washington would henceforth pay the least attention to World Court verdicts condemning U.S. aggression against Nicaragua or heed OAS votes unanimously opposing Washington's 1989 invasion of Panama, or enforce the innumerable UN resolutions demanding that its Israeli ally get out of the Occupied Territories it has held for 24 years. No, Bush's meaning was clear: uppity Third World dictators would have to toe the line or face the consequences.

Many petty-bourgeois leftists saw a contradiction in the UN, this reincarnation of the "League of Nations," which is supposedly dedicated to world peace, serving as an instrument of war for the United States. But that was precisely the mission of the United Nations when it was founded in 1945 as an umbrella organization for a *Pax Americana*. At least, that was the way the Americans saw it. That Stalin saw in this an extension of the wartime alliance between the U.S. and the USSR was his mistake, as he soon discovered in the Korean War (1950-53), where the UN flag waved over an American expeditionary corps.

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Operation Yahoo on Parade

Vile Celebration of Imperialist Slaughter

Ever since the Yankee military behemoth went down to defeat in the rice paddies of Vietnam, the rulers of this country have desperately sought to overcome the "Vietnam syndrome" and mobilize popular sentiment for another imperialist adventure. The U.S. rape of tiny black Grenada and its bloodthirsty walkover in Panama just didn't make it. But with their high-tech, one-sided slaughter of over 100,000 Iraqi men, women and children, sanitized for TV, the American rulers think they have a hit that will play on the home front. And they've played it for all it's worth with vile red-white-and-blue celebrations of imperialist mass murder.

On June 8, tanks rolled down Washington's Constitution Avenue while fighter jets screamed a thousand feet overhead. For all the military firepower on display, Bush's victory bash turned out to be a bust, as only 200,000 turned out instead of the expected 1.4 million. Now D.C. streets are torn to shreds from tank treads, and the city doesn't know who's going to foot the bill. New York City's rival ticker tape parade two days later was more successful, if no less grotesque. Hucksters peddled racist T-shirts with cross hairs over an Arab riding a camel and the caption, "I'd Fly 10,000 Miles To Smoke A Camel," while a fireworks display featured a mock Patriot missile destroying an Iraqi Scud. Still it was hardly the "mother of all parades" that "democratic socialist" mayor David Dinkins claimed it to be (the "ticker-tonnage" turned out to be 87 tons of tape instead of 6,000, and the absurd 4.7 million crowd count would have had people standing 10 or 20 high on each other's shoulders).

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DeLucia/NY Times

New York, June 10: confetti and flag-waving over mass murder in Persian Gulf.

"Tax the Rich"?

New York
May 12

Dear WV—

A point of disagreement with your otherwise on-target analysis of the California fiscal crisis [*WV* No. 526, 10 May]. Though the Prop 13 tax revolt was deeply *petit bourgeois* (as befits a suburban "movement"), the middle classes do have some material basis for their resentments. The stingy welfare state in the US has largely heen financed by working- and middle-class taxpayers. The rich contributc nothing. See, for example, the piece by Anwar Shaikh in the URPE volume, *The Imperiled Economy*, Vol. 1. This leaves the middle orders ripe for race-baiting, poor-hating rhetoric from the right. "Tax struggle is the first form of class struggle," Marx said. Though "tax the rich" may strike you as fatally reformist, it's enormously popular, and it has the potential of uniting the races, and of healing the gap between poor and middle.

Doug Henwood
editor/publisher
Left Business Observer

WV replies: Before considering the substance of the "tax the rich" question, it is important to clarify both Marx's position and ours.

Henwood quotes Marx without specifying the historical context. Marx made this statement about taxes during a short-lived episode in the abortive German bourgeois-democratic revolution of 1848, when the King of Prussia disbanded the National Assembly in Berlin at bayonet point. In response, the bourgeois liberal opposition called for a refusal to pay taxes to the royalist government. This, of course, had nothing to do with taxing the rich. Marx supported the tax-boycott campaign and wrote:

> "The monarchy defies not only the people, but the bourgeoisie as well.
> "Defeat it therefore in a bourgeois manner....
> "By refusing to pay taxes."
> —"Counter-Revolution in Berlin" (November 1848), Marx/Engels, *Collected Works*, Volume 8

As it turned out, the tax-boycott campaign was a total failure and the counter-revolution was soon triumphant. By 1849 Marx recognized that the German bourgeoisie was too cowardly and too fearful of the proletariat to carry through a revolutionary struggle against the monarchy.

WV Photo

Union bureaucrats and social democrats preach "Tax the Rich" schemes at April 30 NYC labor rally to city workers who want to fight layoffs.

We have never denied that there was a material basis for the resentment of petty-bourgeois and also white working-class homeowners which contributed to California's Prop 13 "tax revolt." Quite the contrary. Half a year before Reagan was first elected president in November 1980, we pointed to the growing popularity of right-wing economic nostrums as rampant inflation slashed living standards in the last years of the Carter administration:

> "With the liberal [Carter] program of wage-price guidelines/controls exposed as a cruel joke, many workers believed the only thing the government could do to help them stand the killing inflation was to cut their taxes—the more, the better....
> "In a sense the 'tax revolt' is the white backlash at two or three removes."
> —"Behind Friedmania," *WV* No. 260, 11 July 1980

In this same article we stated:

> "The white backlash is not however the result of Reagan the Republican, but of decades of betrayal of *class struggle* by the labor bureaucrats and liberal black leaders who are tied to the Democratic Party. And it is only through united class struggle that racist demagogy and attacks can be fought and reversed."

Lobbying for a "fairer tax system" is one of the standard ways that the labor bureaucracy *diverts* union members from militant class struggle against the capitalists and their state. Even reactionary AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland called on Congress "to develop and enact an alternative budget that increases tax rates on the wealthy Americans and corporations" (*AFL-CIO News*, 15 October 1990). Writing in New York's *Village Voice* (7 May), Doug Henwood urges the very NYC labor fakers who just agreed to the Dinkins/Cuomo savage budget cuts to more aggressively push a "tax the rich" line.

Henwood singles out for special commendation, as a tax-the-richer, hospital workers leader Dennis Rivera. Yet this same Rivera, the darling of rad-libs and social dems, braintrusted the defeat of the heavily black and Hispanic City University students striking against the cutbacks ordered by Rivera's pal, Democratic governor Cuomo.

The program of "taxing the rich," which is also bandied about by various left outfits, notably the CPUSA, promotes the illusion that the American government, as it is presently constituted, can be an agency serving the interests of the workers and poor at the expense of the wealthy owners of the means of production. In a modern capitalist country such as the U.S., the division of the social product between wages and profits (in Marxist terminology, between variable capital and surplus value) is fundamentally determined by the struggle of labor and capital at the point of production, not in parliament or the state treasury.

Let us assume that the rich are subjected to higher taxes on dividends, interest, capital gains and other income from property. The wealthy bondholders and stockholders would then try to recoup by pressuring corporate management to increase total profits at the expense of wages. The real tax burden would be decided by the struggle of labor and capital at the point of production.

Over the past two decades, the living standard of the American working class has fallen sharply while the rich have gotten richer. This is not, however, due to tax rates. Rather the *rate of exploitation has increased*, reflected in giveback union contracts, two-tier wage systems and similar devices. The main battles waged by organized labor against the capitalist offensive—the 1981 PATCO air controllers strike, the 1983-84 Greyhound strike, the 1985-86 Hormel strike, the 1989 Eastern Airlines strike—were isolated and defeated with the complicity of the wretched AFL-CIO bureaucracy.

Each of these strikes enjoyed enormous popular support and sympathy, not only from other unionized workers but also the black and Hispanic poor. The police scabherding which helped break the Greyhound and Hormel strikes could have been stopped with mass picketing and union defense guards. The PATCO and Eastern strikes could have been won by shutting down the airports. That would have "taxed the rich" with a vengeance. The stoppage of commercial air traffic in this country for even a few days would cost corporations and banks tens of millions through the disruption of management operations and financial deals.

Significantly, the head of the Machinists when they struck Eastern was social-democratic luminary William Winpisinger, who is quite happy to call for taxing the rich on any suitable occasion. Much safer than shutting down the airports. The labor bureaucrats oppose and sabotage the class-struggle methods *that can win* because they do not want to challenge bourgeois law, order and property rights.

Looking at the major strike defeats of the past decade, some reformists conclude that labor struggles are unwinnable because they are too "narrow" and therefore isolated. Instead they advocate building a "broader movement" around the populist slogan of "taxing the rich." This program is not only illusory in itself but is a diversion from militant class struggle which alone can unite the working class with the black and Hispanic poor. ■

Imperialist "New World Order" Road to New World War

TROTSKY

LENIN

In carrying out its brutal massacre in the Persian Gulf, the U.S. aimed to reassert its imperialist hegemony as top cop of the world, not least against its principal imperialist rivals, Japan and Germany. With the groveling acquiescence of Gorbachev's Kremlin, the way is being prepared for a new inter-imperialist world war. In the late 1930s, the bloody defeat of the Spanish Republican forces by Franco and his German and Italian fascist allies, abetted by Stalin's counterrevolutionary treachery and the imperialist "democracies," foreshadowed the coming of World War II. Leon Trotsky emphasized the urgency of building the Fourth International to lead socialist revolution worldwide which alone could prevent ever more imperialist slaughters.

In the veins of the Spanish people, there still remains unshed blood. Who will dispose of it, Hitler and Mussolini or Chamberlain with his French accomplices, is a question that will be decided by the relations of the imperialist forces in the near future. The struggle for peace, for democracy, for race, for authority, for order, for balance, and for dozens of other high and imponderable things means the struggle for a new division of the world. The Spanish tragedy will go down in history as an episode on the path of preparation of a new world war. The ruling classes of all shades are afraid of it and at the same time are preparing for it with all their might. The charlatanism of Popular Fronts serves one part of the imperialists to conceal their plans from the popular masses, as the other gang uses phrases about blood, honor, and race for the same purpose. The petty-bourgeois windbags and phrasemongers only make it easier for the imperialists to prepare war, by preventing the workers from seeing the naked truth.

Thus, from various ends and by various methods, a new carnage of the people is being prepared. Humanity can be saved from ruin and destruction only by tearing the vanguard of the proletariat away from imperialism and its lackeys; by complete independence of proletarian policy; by complete mistrust of the rituals of imperialism, fascist and democratic; by merciless struggle against the Second and Third Internationals; by stubborn, systematic, untiring preparation for the international proletarian revolution!

—Leon Trotsky, "Mysteries of Imperialism" (March 1939)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: $7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint.

No. 529 **21 June 1991**

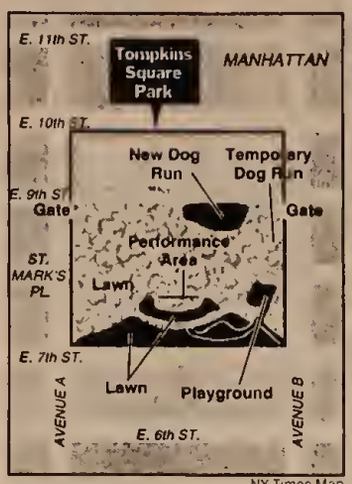
Cop Army, Dinkins Trash Homeless

"First, they push you out of your house, then out of the subways, then out of the parks until you have nowhere else to go. They might as well just kill us all at the rate they're going."

—*Newsday*, 15 June

This was how one homeless person reacted to news of the planned cop sweep on the homeless colony at New York's Columbus Circle. City fathers have deemed the squatters' encampment under the Coliseum marquee an eyesore, occupying prime real estate across from Central Park South, down the block from the Trump-owned Plaza Hotel, currently being condoed for the super-rich. So the homeless will have to go. Another "Operation Removal" is planned. Like the police sweep early this month in Tompkins Square, this one will also be at 5 a.m., "to avoid confrontation and to minimize the presence of the media" (according to a confidential letter from the mayor's aide for the homeless).

During the Persian Gulf War, social-democratic Manhattan Borough President Ruth Messinger, playing to the chauvinist fury of "Operation Desert Storm," called for an "Urban Storm" to sweep America's cities. Supposedly this would address poverty, drugs, you name it. Now it's here—total war on New York's homeless population, from Tompkins Square to Columbus Circle, carried out by Messinger's comrade-in-arms of the Democratic Socialists of America, black mayor David Dinkins. When Dinkins scheduled the 72nd Street ramp on the West Side Highway for clearance, Ms. Messinger offered to send a moving van to help the homeless transport their belongings. To where?



NY Times Map

Sotomayor/NY Times

"They keep the dog track open, and we're treated as less than dogs," said one man evicted from Tompkins Square Park by phalanx of police.

"People are out, yuppie dog shit is in." That's the rule in Tompkins Square Park today, after Mayor Dinkins sent in waves of cops to kick out 200 homeless people and seal off the Lower East Side's main park on June 3. According to a *New York Times* map, the new homeless-free park will host a state-of-the-art *dog run*. We kid you not. With this stroke, David Dinkins and his tennis-playing pals have shown their Wall Street masters that they are totally loyal. After all, they've just proved that for them an animal that belongs to a rich person has more rights than a human being without money.

Tompkins Square Park has been a longtime battleground, between the colorful and diverse ethnic communities that make up *Loisaida*, and yuppies looking to kick them out and "gentrify" the area. It became synonymous with police brutality after the cops staged a bloody riot in August 1988 that was extensively videotaped (but no cops were prosecuted). After the June 3 attack hundreds came out to protest as the NYPD deployed hundreds of riot cops around the clock. Dinkins' "clean sweep" against the squatters continued through the obscene multimillion-dollar celebration of the Gulf War massacre on Broadway a week later. The blue-uniformed phalanx is still there, to fend off what *Downtown* called "the element once dubbed 'teenage mutant ninja anarchists'."

The NYPD and the Dinkins administration carefully calculated their latest assault. The cops brought a lawsuit against the city, asking the park be closed because patrolling there was "hazardous to their health." On Memorial Day the cops provoked a melee, claiming later that their discovery of "burlap sacks filled with hundreds of empty bottles" showed park people were "prepared" to riot (*New York Times*, 30 May)! What they "discovered," as any New Yorker knows, were stashes of one of homeless people's main sources of income: returnable empties (5 cents each).

As soon as the mayor approved a secret plan on May 30 to mount the "takeback operation" (as the *Times* haughtily demanded he make a "clean sweep" of the park), a concerted chorus of tabloid hack columnists screeched for Dinkins to unleash on the homeless some of the thousands of cops he is hiring. "Reclaim the park" brayed Mike McClary at the *Post*. "I feel annoyed" by the homeless, whined *Newsday*'s Sheryl McCarthy. The weekend before the cops moved in, Deputy Mayor Bill Lynch was down at the park pretending to "negotiate," as phalanxes of cops prepared to move in. Lynch is the former farm workers organizer who is Dinkins' "labor man"—working with Dennis Rivera and other union leaders in a popular-front coalition to corral working-class and minority votes for the Democratic Party.

So at 5:20 on the morning of June 3 the police radios announced "Operation Recover has commenced." Over 350 cops hunted down the homeless in the summer dawn, throwing their possessions into garbage trucks. Parks Commissioner Betsy Gotbaum (whose husband Victor rammed through the last round of city worker givebacks as AFSCME DC 37 chief a decade and a half ago) took a few hours off from slashing the union workforce at Parks and came down to oversee the vicious fun. The city began to erect a heavy chain-link fence to seal off the park for a year. The homeless fled to vacant lots or abandoned buildings—even if they could make it in the dangerous harracks shelters, the city is wiping out thousands of beds.

After the blitz, *New York Post* columnist Pete Hamill, grooving like Schwarzkopf after the bombing of the Baghdad shelter, gloated that it was "one small victory over the derelict army." Of course he admits there was no place for the homeless to go. But hey, let's get our priorities straight: "Suddenly it looked like a park again." You know, with scores of police strolling at every corner, gently balancing their riot gear atop the sawhorses in easy reach. "You could see spaces between the trees, the sightlines of the park's old design," *dixit* Hamill. Louis the Fourteenth's park at Versailles had some pretty nice sightlines, too. And he and the next couple of Louis's kept the homeless from spoiling it all, until the Paris "rabble" arrived in the French Revolution. Why, we can just see Marie ("Let them eat cake") Antoinette staring out the window muttering, "There goes the neighborhood."

In *fin de siècle* New York, in the era of "new frankness" (read: flagrant racism), the tabloid clones of Upper East Side scribe Thomas Wolfe openly rejoice at "reclaiming" "their" streets and "their" parks from the wretched refuse of capitalist misery which cause them such "discomfort." This is not just a New York phenomenon. Atlanta black mayor Maynard Jackson urged the City Council to pass a bill that would impose criminal penalties for "aggressive street begging, sleeping in vacant buildings and hanging out in parking lots" (*New York Times*, 13 June). In the stench of capitalist decline, long gone is the self-satisfied hypocrisy of the *nouvelle bourgeoisie*, parodied by Anatole France in 1894: "The law in its majestic equality, forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal bread."

We need a socialist revolution to "take back" the wealth of this country created by the sweat and blood of working people. When the factories are expropriated, when billions are no longer poured into a murderous war machine, when millions aren't squandered on Donald's yacht or Ivana's stones, then there will be no more jobless and homeless and desperately poor. The parks will belong to the people, and the dogs can run in the grass. ■

WV Photo

Greenberg

June 6: 1,500 parks workers pour out of Central Park onto Fifth Avenue to protest massive layoffs. Right: Parks Department boss Betsy Gotbaum evicting the homeless from Tompkins Square.

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Pope Rants As Anti-Abortion Crusade Stalls

This June, Pope John Paul Wojtyla made his first visit to Poland since counterrevolutionary Solidarność came to power in 1989. But he found a very different Poland from that of his last visit in 1987. In town after town, the turnout was decidedly lukewarm, the vast meeting halls and stadiums only half-full to greet the Polish Pope. The attempt by pro-clerical forces to ram through a total ban on abortion before the pontiff's visit fell flat in the face of widespread opposition. The Vatican chief made a distinct anti-Soviet appeal, holding provocative open-air "masses" (rallies) in towns along the border with the USSR.

Despite the Pope's call for "social peace," strikes have broken out recently in schools, hospitals, several state enterprises and by air traffic controllers. A recent poll showed 43 percent of the population reporting they were better off two years ago, before the capitalist onslaught. As labor protest escalates, President Lech Walesa has threatened the use of "all means and force" to stop "anarchy." He declared, "Strikes interfere with Poland," and added that strike organizers are "breaking the law." Walesa simultaneously demanded powers to issue economic decrees for one year, and threatened to dissolve parliament if it overrode his veto on a new electoral law. "My dilemma is whether to rule by decree above the law or within the limits of the law," he said (*Financial Times*, 14 June). Polish workers must resist "the man with an ax" who would be a new Pilsudski, the fascistic dictator of interwar Poland.

Two weeks before the papal visit, the lower house of parliament, the Sejm, postponed action on a bill that would have banned all abortion. As the enraged Pope thundered against this sacrilege, the heavens opened up and lightning punctuated his anathema on the godless legislators. The scene at the open-air mass in Kielce, as he raved against abortion and demanded retribution from his fellow Poles for their sins, was reported in the *New York Times* (4 June):

> "His normally sonorous, pacific voice shaking with rage, the Pope departed from his prepared text and assailed Poland's moral state as if it were a personal affront.
>
> "'All of you who lightheartedly approach these matters, you must understand that I cannot but be concerned with these matters, that I cannot but be hurt.... You should also be hurt.'
>
> "As thunderclouds darkened the sky above an airfield where the Pope spoke, flashes of lightning first lit the white-block buildings in the surrounding hills, and later brightened the altar where John Paul stood....
>
> "'Land of my brothers and sisters!' the Pope cried, shaking his fists. 'How can we continue to destroy the Polish family? We cannot speak here of liberty. This is the kind of liberty which makes man a slave!'"

Chesnot/SIPA

Pope and his president, Lech Walesa, call for a new Inquisition. Polish counterrevolution wants women terrorized, doctors jailed for abortion.

For a decade, the Vatican, Wall Street and the labor lieutenants of capital in the "AFL-CIA" braintrusted and bankrolled Solidarność and counterrevolution in Poland, to the applause of an unholy alliance stretching from outright fascists to fake-leftists. With the collapse of the Stalinist regime in the summer of 1989, the way was opened for carrying out the full-blown restoration of capitalism in Poland. But in practice it's not been so easy, as foreign capitalists failed to invest, and workers' resistance has flared against the brutal austerity program. Now the attempt to outlaw abortion, the spearhead of a crusade to assert church dominance over society, has sparked a furor against enforced religious obscurantism and clerical power.

On June 4, the Pope and his "moral crusade" waded deeper into the morass of bigotry. In Radom (where in late 1981 Solidarność plotted a grab for power, provoking General Jaruzelski's counter-coup) the Pope grotesquely compared abortion to the Nazi Holocaust! Speaking of the extermination of millions of concentration camp victims in World War II as "a time when vast areas of our continent became graves of innocent people," he said that today there is "yet another vast cemetery, that of the unborn child"! Yet the Vatican refused repeated pleas to denounce the Holocaust as it was happening—its silence was deafening. This horrendous equation of the genocide of the Jewish people with interruption of pregnancy attests anew to the deeply ingrained anti-Semitism of the Vatican. It comes in the context of a sharp escalation of anti-Semitism fueled by Walesa's election campaign.

Fight Clerical Reaction

It is no accident that the growing anti-clerical backlash in Poland is being fought out over the question of abortion rights. Abortion was legal and free on demand from 1956 on. It has long been the most popular method of birth control in Poland, especially with a chronic shortage of contraceptives, with an estimated one million abortions yearly. Elsewhere in East Europe, there has been a sharp *rise* of abortions, as the right to a job, free medical care and childcare are wiped out. With an uncertain present and even bleaker future, many decide that they do not want to bring a child into this world. Economic conditions in Poland are as bad or worse than anywhere else in the former Soviet bloc. Working women facing mass layoffs are among the most harshly affected. Poignant scenes abound of people in the flea markets selling their meager possessions to survive. But in Poland, the number of reported legal abortions has actually *dropped* dramatically.

For the last year, abortion has become much more difficult to obtain: now permission of two gynecologists, a psychologist and an internist is necessary in state hospitals, while the cost in private clinics is prohibitive. And the Catholic church has launched a campaign of intimidation and sheer terror. This includes public denunciation at Sunday mass of women who have abortions and picketing of pharmacies that carry contraceptives. The *Washington Post* (2 June) reported, "Many saw the long arm of the church behind a recent government decision to end government subsidies for birth control pills. The move will triple the price of the pills, putting them beyond the reach of many women." But meanwhile doctors and public health officials report a rise in self-induced miscarriages (frequently using crochet needles) and "a small but noticeable rise in infanticide (virtually unknown here during four decades of abortion on demand)" (*Washington Post*, 14 June).

With all the church pressure, resistance to changing the liberal law has grown. Clerical reactionaries in the Senate pushed through a bill banning all abortion, even in cases of rape, which they hoped to present to the Pope on his visit. But the Sejm didn't go along, and buried the bill in committee, sending it back for a rewrite (being too cowardly to vote against it directly). As a result of the June 1989 "round table agreement" which brought Solidarność to power, the lower house of parliament has a substantial majority of seats reserved for the former Stalinist ruling party, now presenting themselves as social democrats, and its allies. The refusal to ban abortion has now prompted renewed demands to wipe out the round table agreement in upcoming October elections.

Independent

"Market economy" means impoverishment. Polish women sell their meager possessions to survive.

Popular opposition has also intensified. Recent polls showed over 60 percent of the Polish population opposed to making *any* change in the abortion laws, and in a survey of railway workers *89 percent* were against the blanket ban in the church-proposed law. In another poll, 67 percent agreed with the statement that the

continued on page 11

A. Sokolowski

Defenders of abortion rights march in Poland last year. Sign overhead reads "No to a law that makes an object of women!"

Cradle of Revolution Targeted

Leningrad Da, St. Petersburg Nyet!

A sinister gang of pro-Western "democrats," hoary Russian nationalists and open monarchists have succeeded in striking a significant, albeit symbolic, blow for capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. A June 12 referendum in Leningrad which garnered a 55 percent majority for bringing back the city's prerevolutionary name of St. Petersburg drew the battle lines sharply and passionately. As the country lurches toward civil war, this more than any other recent event drove home that what's being posed is the wiping out of every gain and every vestige of the 1917 October Revolution. Moreover, it comes in conjunction with an overwhelming victory in the first direct elections for president of the Russian Federation by the incumbent, openly pro-capitalist demagogue Boris Yeltsin.

The campaign to replace the name of Lenin with that of the patron saint of Tsar Peter the Great was seen by all sides as a plebiscite on the future of the Soviet Union itself. Leningrad mayor Anatoli Sobchak, a Yeltsin supporter, argued that the name change was necessary "in order to break with the Soviet era of development in the city," while a leader of the extreme nationalist Russkoye Znamya (Russian Banner) group, which spearheaded the campaign, railed: "We want to change the name because we are against all that Lenin stands for. He is the symbol of everything we hate —the Communist system, its ideology and all that Communists have done to our country."

The reactionary campaign led to an outpouring of opposition. At a rally of 5,000 in Leningrad on June 10 protesting the name change, World War II veterans carried signs reading, "We fought for Leningrad." Praskovia Yegorova, a 66-year-old veteran of the siege, said: "We defended this city and don't want it to be anything else. The country lost 27 million in the war. Why not keep it Leningrad for them?"

The military, increasingly impatient with the disintegrative forces unleashed by Gorbachev's perestroika, openly opposed the referendum. Under the headline "We Are With You, Leningrad!" the Soviet Army newspaper *Krasnaya Zvezda* (6 June) carried a front-page appeal from the Military Council of the Leningrad Military District denouncing the referendum as an "illegal" and "bellicose political act." The paper reprinted some of what it called a "multitude of telegrams from all ends of the country" demanding a halt to "the unworthy campaign." Veterans of the "Red Banner Formation, who participated in the defense of Leningrad in the years of the Great Patriotic War," denounced this "provocative political game."

AP

Leningrad, June 10: thousands of World War II veterans turn out to protest threatened change to tsarist name of St. Petersburg. Sign at far right reads "we fought for Leningrad."

Leningrad is the cradle of the 1917 Russian Revolution. It was here, speaking upon his arrival at the Finland Station, that Bolshevik leader V.I. Lenin launched his call for "complete victory of the proletariat." This was codified in his famous "April Theses," which insisted that the struggle against the tsarist autocracy and the imperialist war had to be carried through in a revolutionary struggle for power by the workers. It was the proletarian Vyborg district of Petrograd (as it was known from 1914 to 1924) and the nearby naval garrison of Kronstadt which provided the shock troops for the Bolshevik seizure of power six months later.

It was here, 25 years later, that the resistance of the city's workers made Leningrad the most heroic among the Soviet Union's "hero-cities" in World War II. For 900 days, a desperate and starving population withstood the Nazi siege—the longest siege of a major city in history—*and triumphed.* The city's Piskarevskoye cemetery, the site of mass graves of half of the one million victims of combat, disease and famine, stands as a haunting testament to the valor and determination of the people of Leningrad against the Nazi scourge. Using the city's tsarist name, Hitler concentrated more than 700,000 troops against it with the order "to wipe the city of Petersburg off the face of the earth," as part of his fanatical attempt to root out every embodiment of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Now Russian counterrevolutionaries are intent on succeeding where Hitler failed. Yeltsin's electoral victory represents a big step forward for the forces of capitalist restoration. Yeltsin's supporters see the vote as a mandate for implementing his "500-day plan," aimed at a full-scale imposition of a capitalist market in the Russian republic. He promises to ban Communist Party fractions from all factories and government offices in Russia and to begin selling off state-owned factories and land to private investors. The White House lost no time in hailing the election results and inviting Yeltsin to Washington for discussions with Bush. But meanwhile, Gorbachev appeals to Washington and its imperialist allies to come up with over $100 billion to finance a program of capitalist restoration cooked up at Harvard University. The *New York Times* sells this "grand bargain" to U.S. capitalists as "How to Crush Communism."

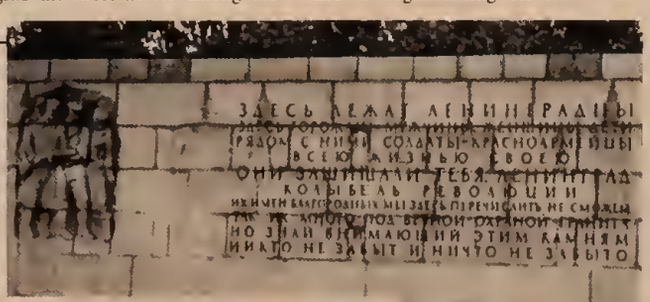
Yeltsin's chief opponent, official CP candidate and former Soviet prime minister Nikolai Ryzhkov, barely managed to scrape together 15 percent of the vote total. Ryzhkov was the favorite of the "conservative" Stalinist Soyuz parliamentary grouping. With the threat of unemployment climbing to 20 million in the next year or two in the transition to a market economy, Ryzhkov sought to appeal to those who want to resist the introduction of capitalism. But Ryzhkov makes no bones about his own support to the market under the guise of "market socialism" and laments the demise of "perestroika in the originally conceived form."

A "hardline" Stalinist candidate was Col. Gen. Albert Makashov, who claimed to stand for "patriotism, socialism and internationalism." Representative of much of the so-called patriotic opposition to the pro-Western "democrats," Makashov is an avowed anti-Semite who rails against "cosmopolitans, parasites, speculators" and sees himself as the "intellectual heir of the Cossacks." The Soviet Army appeal on the Leningrad referendum echoed some of this "patriotic" verbiage, hailing the "progressive role of Peter I."

In his time, Peter the Great was relatively progressive, as he sought to turn backward Russia to the Europe of the Enlightenment. But that was the time of a benighted autocracy, which was finally rooted out by the Bolshevik-led workers revolution of 1917. Through its role in the Russian Revolution, Leningrad became not only a "window on the West" but the vanguard of social progress and proletarian internationalism. In his *The 900 Days—The Siege of Leningrad* (1969), Harrison Salisbury observed: "Leningrad had a peculiar fascination for

continued on page 8

"Here lie Leningraders,
Here citizens, men, women, children,
Alongside them soldiers of the Red Army.
With the whole of their lives
They defended you, Leningrad,
Cradle of the Revolution.
Their noble names we cannot list here,
So many of them are in the eternal shield of granite.
But know, you who gaze upon these stones,
None is forgotten, and nothing forgotten!"
–Olga Berggolts



Young Spartacus Photos

Piskarevskoye Memorial Cemetery where a half million Leningraders lie in collective graves, victims of the 900-day Nazi siege.

"New World Order"...

(continued from page 1)

Decades of U.S. military adventures around the globe have exposed the fraud of "international law" so long as competing capitalist-imperialist powers seek to divide and redivide the world.

But in his victory speech to Congress on March 7, Bush at least told the truth when he said, "The victory over Iraq was not waged as 'a war to end all wars.' Even the New World Order cannot guarantee an era of perpetual peace." No indeed, for in assuming the role of global policeman, Washington is promising a dramatic *escalation* of its military interventions. Barely two weeks after the cease-fire in southern Iraq, U.S. soldiers were dispatched on a "humanitarian" mission to occupy the northern fringe of Iraq—no request from Baghdad, no UN resolution authorizing it. Then came "Cohen's coup" in Ethiopia, where a U.S. Assistant Secretary of State (that's Cohen) ordered guerrillas into the capital of Addis Ababa to replace the tottering Mengistu regime. It's the "New World Order" says Washington—or NWO, as it's called in the Capitol corridors—and the "rule of law" is whatever Washington says.

PART ONE OF TWO

The Gulf War wasn't so much the mother of all battles, one wag remarked, as the runt. From the opening to the closing shots, it lasted 44 days, and the ground war was limited to 100 hours. Although the Pentagon constantly referred to the Iraqi army as the fourth largest in the world, it was technologically at least ten years behind the Americans. Iraqi tank and anti-aircraft crews were operating blind, unable to even locate their opponents. U.S. pilots called it a "turkey shoot," and it was often described as a "Nintendo war," a giant video game. And it was presented as a TV movie, in which home viewers could experience the "precision bombing" as "smart" weapons homed in on their targets with 100 percent accuracy. Of course, the reality was quite different. If they had only been aiming at military objectives and were anywhere near as precise as claimed, it wouldn't have taken even one-tenth of the 100,000 "Allied" sorties to wipe out every unit or installation on their target lists.

More precisely, it was hardly a war at all but a cold-blooded massacre. Since August 1990, there was a grand total of 188 dead among the forces attacking Iraq, many of them mistakenly hit by "friendly fire" from their own side. That is fewer than die in auto accidents on a normal weekend in the U.S. But on the Iraqi side, according to a study by Greenpeace, there were an estimated 100,000 to 120,000 soldiers killed, half of them during the four-day ground war, along with 5,000 to 15,000 civilian deaths during the "official" war and over 50,000 killed in the civil war that followed (*On Impact: Modern Warfare and the Environment* [May 1991]). There was much talk of "surgical operations," but the only thing that could be described as "antiseptic" was the selection of war images for TV and the print media. There were repeated shots of jet fighters taking off into the morning sun, but only *two* dead Iraqi soldiers were shown during the war.

Beekman

Panjar/India Today

Highway of Death out of Kuwait: American GIs take souvenir snapshots of Iraqi corpses. Pentagon-censored and self-censored American press kept the carnage from public view.

It was a horrifying display of firepower for the purpose of indiscriminate slaughter. To take just one example: as the A-6 jets took off from the decks of the aircraft carrier *Ranger* in the Gulf on the last day of the war, to fly over the "death mile" of the "highway to hell" north of Kuwait City, the ship's loudspeakers kept playing over and over the "Wilhelm Tell Overture," the theme song for the Lone Ranger. The pilots kept pounding this one stretch for more than 18 hours, killing anything that moved with rockets, cluster bombs and machine guns. It was no mistake, no excess, but intentional mass murder. Militarily it was all needless, because Hussein had already ordered an unconditional retreat from Kuwait.

The same was true of the bombing of the famous infant formula factory and of the Al Amiriya air raid shelter in Baghdad. The Pentagon knew in advance that there were women and children there—these were the families of top military leaders, and it was intended as a terror measure to break their will to fight. Together with the *Blitzkrieg* or "lightning war," the Pentagon took over the doctrine of *Schrecklichkeit* (or terrorization) from Nazi Germany. The purpose was to show to other potential enemies that the United States would pitilessly slaughter them, as well as to try out and show off their new weapons.

The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) and its U.S. section, the Spartacist League, from the beginning denounced the imperialist invasion and sought to mobilize popular opposition against it. (Between Iraqi strongman Saddam Hussein, the notorious murderer of Kurds and Communists, and the autocratic ruling clan of the oil fiefdom of Kuwait, who lord it over foreign workers denied all rights, however, we took no sides.) While many bourgeois liberals, social democrats and erstwhile radicals supported UN "sanctions," we said straight-out that this was only the first stage of war, and demanded "Break the Blockade of Iraq!" As the U.S. attack approached, we raised the slogan "Defeat U.S. Imperialism—Defend Iraq!" We called for labor strikes against the war, and where there were openings, for example among harbor workers in Hamburg, Germany, the sections of the ICL sought to implement this.

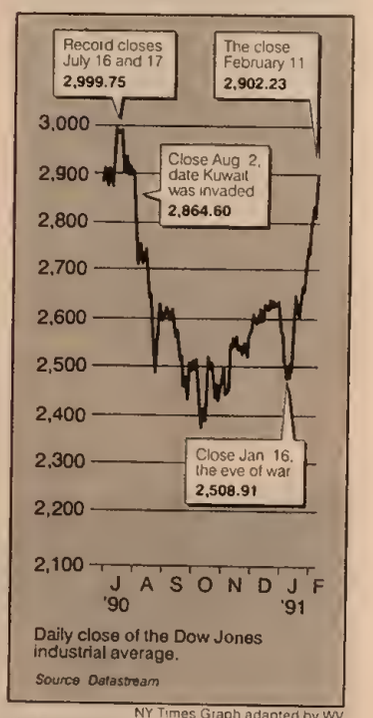
We were guided by the teachings of Lenin on the First World War, to answer imperialist war with class war. Most leftists, however, followed a "social-pacifist" policy, refusing to openly oppose their "own" bourgeoisie and to take the side of Iraq against the imperialist mass murderers. Instead they ran around with populist slogans, like "No blood for oil!" In the United States, the SL noted that this slogan really meant "No *American* blood for oil!" And in fact, as soon as it was clear that few American soldiers would die, the so-called "peace movement" simply *disappeared*, in the middle of the shooting. The Spartakist Workers Party, German section of the ICL, made the same point about the domestic reformists, and then one Winifried Wolf, a leader of Ernest Mandel's fake-Trotskyist "United Secretariat," actually said: "No German blood for oil."

The Road to War

Lenin defined the imperialist epoch, the era of capitalism's decline, as an age of wars and revolutions. His thesis is utterly confirmed by the history of the 20th century. Various spokesmen for U.S. imperialism seek to disguise this basic fact. While "globalists" such as State Department ideologist Francis Fukuyama (who a couple of years ago proclaimed the "end of history") claim the "victory" of capitalist "democracy" makes war less likely, so-called "realists" like Henry Kissinger (devotees of *Realpolitik*) argue that since World War II a balance of power has produced relative world peace: "50 million Europeans were killed in wars between 1900 and 1945, and 15,000 between 1945 and 1990," paraphrases the social-democratic *In These Times* (20 March). Hogwash. This only underscores the racist character of the "debate": there have been "at least 80 wars since 1945, resulting in the deaths of between 15 million and 30 million people" overwhelmingly in the so-called "Third World" of Africa, Asia and Latin America (Patrick Brogan, *The Fighting Never Stopped* [1990]).

One of the bloodiest was the eight-year-long Iran-Iraq war, in which a million people were killed. And the policy of the leading imperialist power, the United States, was to protect its "vital interests" in the Gulf by cynically playing one country off against another, arming Iran, providing intelligence data to Iraq, tilting first this way, then that. This continued to be the policy of the U.S. in the lead-up to the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, as Washington *systematically lured Saddam Hussein into a trap*. This much was made abundantly clear in the recently published book by Pierre Salinger and Eric Laurent, *Secret Dossier: The Hidden Agenda Behind the Gulf War* (1991). The authors write of Hussein that "the various about-turns of the Americans finally convinced him that an international campaign was being mounted against his country."

- In early April Hussein responded to Israeli threats, declaring: "If the Israelis try anything against us, we'll see to it that half their country is destroyed by fire. Whoever threatens us with atom bombs, will be rooted out with chemical weapons." The State Department first proposed an embargo against Iraq, but a few days later a delegation of Republican Senators arrived in Baghdad. Senator Robert Dole assured Hussein there would be no sanctions, and this was confirmed by the ambassador April Glaspie.
- Hussein was repeatedly turned down by Kuwait in his demands that it stop draining oil from the Rumaila field (located on the disputed border) and stop producing oil in excess of its OPEC quota. When Ambassador Glaspie was called in to Hussein's office on July 25 to hear his threats of undertaking military action against Kuwait, she repeated, according to the transcript published by Iraq, that "many Americans" would like to see oil rise to $25 a barrel, reaffirmed that the administration opposed sanctions against Iraq and said explicitly "we have no opinion on Arab-Arab conflicts, like your border disagreement with Kuwait."
- The same stand was repeated on July



NY Times Graph adapted by WV

"War is good for business." During World War I, Rosa Luxemburg wrote "profits rising, proletarians falling." In Gulf crisis, stocks fell until war started, then soared as killing began.

31 by Assistant Secretary of State John Kelley in testimony before a House committee, where he confirmed that the U.S. had no treaty obligation to aid Kuwait if Iraq invaded.

The Bush administration claims to have been caught by surprise by Baghdad's move, yet the very day of the U.S. ambassador's interview with Hussein, July 25, *General Norman Schwarzkopf, head of the Central Command, was instructed to bring up to date war plans to respond to an Iraqi invasion of Kuwait.* Moreover, Schwarzkopf had been ordered to draw up the initial contingency plan in April, at the time of the earlier threat of trade sanctions. In addition, the Iraqis have published a document (whose authenticity has not been denied) from the head of Kuwaiti state security to the emir reporting on a conversation in Washington with William Webster, head of the CIA. The document (from October 1989) includes the following paragraph:

> "We agreed with the American side that it was important to take advantage of the deteriorating economic situation in Iraq in order to put pressure on that country's government to delineate our common border. The Central Intelligence Agency gave us its view of appropriate means of pressure, saying that broad cooperation should be initiated between us...."

The evidence is overwhelming that this was not mere inconsistencies or misunderstandings, but a deliberate policy. And once Iraq attacked, the U.S. response was outlined in a national security policy review which was ordered by Bush shortly after becoming president. The *New York Times* (23 February) quoted from the secret document on the question of "third-world threats": "In cases where the U.S. confronts much weaker enemies, our challenge will be not simply to defeat them, but to defeat them decisively and rapidly." The Persian Gulf War went precisely according to the script. And having "prevailed" over a country with the gross national product of Kentucky by throwing 75 percent of the U.S. tactical aircraft and 40 percent of U.S. tanks against it, now Washington wants to reap the fruits of its "brilliant victory."

Whose Orders?

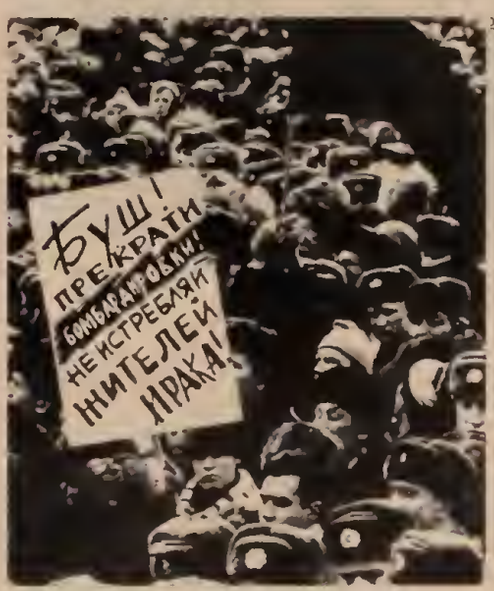
The arch-conservative London *Economist* (23 February) headlined: "New world order: What's new? Which world? Whose orders?" Since it was the lead article of the "American Survey" the readers could presume the answer. In his January 29 "State of the Union" address to Congress President Bush proclaimed that the U.S. had shouldered "the burden of leadership," and indeed, "Among the nations of the world only the United States of America has both the moral standing and the means to back it up"—i.e., to make its word law. Bush's cheerleaders like columnist Charles Krauthammer talk of a new "unipolar" world based on "American strength and will, unashamedly laying down the rules of world order and being prepared to enforce them." Yet only a year ago, the White House spoke instead of a "tripolar world" and "partnership" together with Japan and West Europe "led (pretty explicitly) by a united Germany" (*Economist*).

At the Houston economic summit of imperialist powers, the so-called G-7, less than a month before Hussein's invasion of Kuwait, Bush "had to grin and bear it" as German chancellor Kohl insisted on going ahead with plans to invest billions of D-marks in the Soviet Union despite American objections, and Japanese prime minister Kaifu similarly asserted Tokyo's right to resume aid and finance programs to China. The London *Guardian*'s Washington correspondent noted that "it looked uncannily like Germany and Japan were reestablishing their pre-World War II spheres of interest in European Russia and East Asia respectively." He quoted a "bitter European diplomat" muttering at Bush's Texas rodeo that "it has the look of an alternative universe in which World War Two ended with a draw in 1943" (Martin Walker, "The U.S. and the Persian Gulf Crisis," *World Policy Journal*, Fall 1990).

WV Photo

Spartacists at February 21 Wall Street demonstration call for defeat of U.S. imperialism. Yellow-ribbon reformists said "Support the troops, stop the war."

But the "NWO" is to be led (quite explicitly) by the United States. What changed? Above all, through the Gulf War U.S. rulers believe that they have been able to rid themselves of their own shackles. Following the collapse of Stalinist rule in East Europe and its mounting crisis in the USSR, the Soviet Union is placing no obstacles in the way of an untrammeled exercise of "American strength and will." And the White House believes it has exorcised the paralyzing memory of the humiliating U.S. defeat in Vietnam. "By God, we've kicked the Vietnam syndrome once and for all," Bush triumphantly exclaimed right after the shooting stopped. The *Navy Times* (11 March) headlined, "Resounding victory! Ghost of Vietnam fades as United States demonstrates unrivaled military might." By pummeling Iraq, the USA was "No. 1" again, Top Gun in the Gulf and Top Dog of the imperialist pack.



AP

In February, over 250,000 demonstrate in Moscow on Soviet Army Day. Poster demands that Bush stop bombing and killing Iraqis.

The bourgeois politicians were certainly cowed by all the firepower: it will be a while before any number of Democrats will dare to put up even a minimal opposition to a military adventure ordered by the White House and Pentagon. But that does not mean that among the American population the fear has been buried of a Vietnam-style "quagmire"—a long, dirty, losing war. Despite the high poll figures of support for Bush and "pride" over the U.S. war against Iraq, despite the red-white-and-blue flags and military parades and the yellow ribbons (which were even displayed by alleged leftists) supposed to show support for "our boys" (i.e., the imperialist war machine), the wave of patriotic "unity" is extremely shallow. In fact, within weeks of the end of the war, the U.S. was in an uproar over the brutal cop beating of a black motorist in Los Angeles which was videotaped and repeatedly broadcast over national TV.

Bush repeatedly spoke in his January and March speeches to Congress of "another American century." But as we have said repeatedly, the "American century," proclaimed as the U.S. was emerging as the victor from World War II, sank forever in the rice fields of Vietnam after barely 25 years. For it's not merely a question of "American will" and military strength, but fundamentally of economics. And the economic base of American power was already unraveling some 20 years ago, after the failure of Lyndon Johnson's attempt to have both "guns and butter," to finance the Vietnam War without raising taxes. But this proved impossible, and in August 1971 his successor Richard Nixon had to give up the gold standard, that is, the backing of American paper currency with real value.

Since then, the greenback has been based on the "credibility" of the U.S. government, just the same as, for example, the Nicaraguan córdoba. Granted, Washington enjoys considerably more credibility among its creditors, first because of its military might, and then because if the U.S. goes under the entire world capitalist order will collapse. The dollar bill bears the motto, "In God We Trust," but it would be more accurate to say "In the Dollar We Trust." Also on the dollar, underneath the curious pyramid and the all-seeing eye, one can read the Latin words "*novus ordo seclorum*," which is usually translated "new order for the ages" but can also be read "new world order." So that in addition to the obvious reference to Hitler, with his talk of a "New Order" and a "Thousand-Year Reich," Bush may have been inspired by the once mighty dollar.

Bush says he wants to return the United Nations to its original purpose. When it was founded in San Francisco in May 1945, at the time of the victory over Hitler, there was much talk of turning weapons into plowshares. (A few months later, the Americans dropped two atom bombs on Japan as another demonstration of *Schrecklichkeit*.) But George Kennan, the architect of the Cold War, was more frank when he wrote in 1948:

> "We have about 50 percent of the world's wealth, but only 6.3 percent of its population.... Our real task in the coming period is to devise a pattern of relationships which will permit us to maintain this position.... To do so, we will have to dispense with sentimentality and daydreaming... We should cease to talk about vague and... unreal objectives such as human rights, the raising of living standards, and democratization. The day is not far off when we are going to have to deal in straight power concepts."
>
> —quoted in *Left Business Observer*, 17 April

At the time, the U.S. had roughly half of the entire production of the *capitalist* world. The situation today is quite different: over the past decade, the U.S. has produced approximately 26 percent of the gross product of the members of the International Monetary Fund.

Who Pays the Piper...

But a lot has changed over the last ten years: notably the continuing decline of the U.S. economy has extended from the aging industry of the Rust Belt to the previously strong leading technology sector symbolized by Silicon Valley. Thus in 1980, the U.S. controlled 73 percent of the world market in fiber optics; eight years later, this share had fallen to only 42 percent. For semiconductors, the decline over the same period was from 60 to 36 percent, and by 1988 the U.S. had a mere 7 percent of machine tools (*Wall Street Journal*, 28 January). It has reached the point that the most powerful country of the capitalist

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LO Security Squad Jumps Black Youths

Ugly Attack at Paris Left Fête

Lutte Ouvrière is a pseudo-Trotskyist organization in France (associated with the "Spark" group in the U.S.) whose reformism and populism have led it to tail after backward sectors of the working class in the context of mounting racist hostility to immigrant youth. This came to a head late last month at LO's annual fête in the town of Presles near Paris, where its goon squad assaulted some black youths. We print below a statement by our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France denouncing this vile attack.

To Organizations that Participated in the Lutte Ouvrière Fête:

Paris, 26 May 1991

On Monday May 20 toward the end of the afternoon about 6:15, 100 yards or so from the exit of the LO Fête on the road to the buses, about 30 persons wearing the armbands of LO "marshals" descended on three young blacks walking toward the buses, surrounded them and verbally threatened and physically manhandled them. Three or four "marshals" surrounded each of the youths, separating them from each other and pinning their arms behind their backs after brutally ripping the bags out of their hands. The three young blacks shouted "Let us go!" and demanded to know what they were accused of. Someone told them a bag had been reported stolen at the Fête. Every year during three crowded days about 10,000 people come to the Fête, which is held in a rural setting.

After the bags had been snatched away and lay, unopened, at the side of the road, the "marshals" continued to detain and manhandle the youths, who resisted. They were indignant: "*Why us?*", "*You're hurting me!*", "*You're breaking my wrist!*" Suddenly, one of them *was thrown to the ground and held there*, face against the asphalt, by at least four "marshals." Two other "marshals" threatened to break the camera of one of our comrades as he was loading it with film. Besides our comrades, a dozen people leaving the Fête stopped to ask for explanations and to protest.

The youths later told us that, like many others, they had camped out at the Fête over the weekend. They said they had good relations with LO members in charge during the Fête, had shared jokes with them and even given them a hand with the camp grounds. They probably won't come back next year. It is a very bad thing when the second generation of this country's "immigrant" working class does not feel welcome even in a gathering of the "far left."

After about ten more "marshals" arrived as reinforcements, the order was eventually given for the "marshals" to withdraw. Which they did, in military formation and moving backwards toward the entrance to the Fête, while two of the youths followed them still protesting their innocence and asserting that they had been treated this way because they were black.

Libération

Integrated and militant French students protest against school conditions last November.

None of our comrades witnessed any serious attempt to determine who the bags belonged to or whether the young blacks had committed the supposed theft. The youths' conclusions are incontestable. They were "guilty" of being black, and they felt physically threatened when they found themselves the target of some 30 whites arrayed in military formation. The deployment of force was so overwhelming, and so disproportionate in relation to the alleged accusation, that the operation clearly demonstrated LO's acceptance of the government's racist equation that "suburban black and North African youth = dangerous delinquents."

LO's notorious blindness to racist oppression has frequently led us to point out that in its search for support among the backward strata of the French working class, this organization could head down dangerous paths. The tone and content of a boxed announcement in the program distributed at the entrance to the Fête led one to believe that the LO leadership had prepared its "marshals" to behave like the "Presles contingent" of Operation Vigipirate [a nationwide police "vigilance" campaign targeting immigrant youth during the Gulf War mobilization]. Not only did LO put a ban on alcoholic beverages for the first time to our knowledge, as well as on drugs, but they justify their ban on drugs by citing the bourgeois state's criminalization of them.

We will not allow this vile attack to pass unnoticed by working-class organizations either in France or internationally, although no doubt LO will be much less concerned by the opinion of workers organizations around the world than by the fact that such an attack could strengthen its reputation in the "heart of France" (*la France profonde*) of which it is so enamored.

Suzanne Girard,
For the Central Committee
Ligue Trotskyste de France

"New World Order"...

(continued from page 7)

world no longer produces TVs and radios, not to mention VCRs and microwave ovens—all of which come from the Far East or, more recently, Mexico. And in addition to imports of cars from Japan, Japanese manufacturers now produce over one-fifth of U.S. *domestic* auto output.

Meanwhile, the savings and loan associations have gone belly up—the estimated tab for the taxpayers is $500 billion to make up for the losses on bad loans, looting by directors and the like. And the bank industry is in deep crisis: for the first time since the 1930s there is talk of a complete collapse of the system and fears of a run on the banks. The federal deficit was supposed to be reduced to $79 billion this year under the Gramm-Rudman act, but instead it has ballooned to an expected $318 billion, *excluding* the cost of the Gulf War. And of course in the space of this decade the U.S. has gone from being the biggest creditor nation to being the world's biggest debtor.

Decades of heavy military expenditures and the whole arms race certainly did much to push the Soviet Union into economic crisis, and thus to accelerate the decay of the Stalinist regime. But it also constituted a tremendous drain on the U.S. economy. There are also the effects of downright looting of American industry by the owners, who have responded to falling profits with the lowest investment rate among the imperialist countries (less than 5 percent of the net national product) and heavy international borrowing. In addition, Japanese and West European industry has the advantage of being able to rebuild after the destruction of the last world war on the basis of the latest technology, whereas American plant and equipment are typically decades older.

There are various causes, but the effect is that the United States is threatened by competition from its imperialist (heretofore) allies. And the U.S. wants to alter these economic power relations with military means. American imperialism sought through the Gulf War to put its hand on the oil spigot, in order to be able to turn it off as needs be. As a result, the West Europeans, with the expanded German Reich in the lead, were not exactly ecstatic about this war, even though they as well as the Japanese import far more oil from the Near East than the U.S. does. These tensions point to worldwide trade war, and more.

In the short run, the American economy, and therefore the world capitalist economy, is threatened by a continuing recession. Fired up by war fever, the stock market began skyrocketing on the day the bombing of Iraq began, reaching the 3,000-point threshold on the Dow-Jones average, where it has hovered since. The *New York Times* claimed the recession was due to "a case of nerves," and would soon disappear as the country regained a sense of national purpose, confidence in U.S. technology, etc. The *Left Business Observer* (17 April) commented ironically: "Carpet-bombing has made Americans feel good about themselves, which will soon manifest itself in aggressive purchases of consumer durables."

Curiously, the magazine remarks on page 2 that "you don't have to believe in Marxian theories of a declining rate of profit" to understand the economic morass the U.S. is in, only to print on page 4 a graph showing the steady fall of net (after-tax) profits of U.S. non-financial corporations from approximately 8.5 percent in the 1950s to barely 4 percent in the 1980s, and the inverse rise in the corporate debt (which tripled over the same period).

The banking/S&L crisis in the U.S. is not unique. In the 1980s, Japanese investors financed the huge deficits in the American federal budget, while West Germany regularly had a very large trade surplus with the U.S. But no longer. German capital is overwhelmingly taken up with the annexation of the former DDR (East Germany), which could cost an estimated 1.5 trillion dollars. The Japanese fear a financial collapse at home, where the Nikkei index last year lost almost 50 percent of its total (paper) value, and where real estate prices have been so inflated by speculation that their total (paper) value is four times that of the U.S. This bubble, too, could burst.

Under these circumstances, Washington was able to twist the arms of its "allies" and its puppet states in the Arabian peninsula to ante up $54 billion for the Gulf War. In the end, the Pentagon may even be able to book a profit, due to the short duration of the war and because most of the weaponry and munitions were out-of-inventory and won't be replaced. But this exceptional case will not be repeated. The *Economist* (9 March) opined: "Some are attracted, others frightened, by a caricature of the new world order this might lead to. America thumps any country that gets out of line, shakes down its rich friends to pay for the mugging, gets a meek go-ahead from the cops in the UN and tells the Soviet Union to butt out." "Some such hubris is predictable," adds this mouthpiece for British capital, but warns that "America must reject unilateralism...."

[TO BE CONTINUED]

Leningrad...

(continued from page 5)

Hitler. In part this arose out of his view that the city was the mainspring and incubator of the ideology against which he was leading the holy Nazi crusade."

Following Lenin's death in 1924, the Thermidorian triumvirate under Stalin renamed Petersburg Leningrad and put the embalmed body of Lenin on display in the Kremlin mausoleum. They sought to bury the living program of Leninism while turning the dead Lenin into an icon. In *My Life*, Leon Trotsky recalled: "Against my protests, a mausoleum was built on the Red Square, a monument unbecoming and offensive to the revolutionary consciousness. The official books about Lenin evolved into similar mausoleums.... His embalmed corpse was used as a weapon against the living Lenin—and against Trotsky."

Today the campaign to reverse the name of Lenin's city is part and parcel of reversing the remaining gains of the revolution Lenin and Trotsky led. And no wing of the crumbling Stalinist bureaucracy offers a perspective capable of fighting the restoration of capitalism. The multinational Soviet proletariat defeated Hitler's legions; it can defeat the imperialist-inspired counterrevolutionary onslaught facing it today. But for that it requires the leadership of a genuinely Bolshevik party armed with the internationalist program which enabled the workers of Leningrad to make their mark on history. Return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky! ■

Long Island Black Youth Victim of Lynch Mob Assault

New York Times
Alfred Jermaine Ewell

Once again a young black man was the target of a bat-wielding racist mob. On June 2, 17-year-old Alfred Jermaine Ewell attended a graduation party in suburban Atlantic Beach, L.I. where he talked with a white girl, a classmate at Lawrence High School. The racist punks asked her "Are you with that nigger?" and left to lie in wait for Jermaine.

They followed him when he left the party and walked to the boardwalk on nearby Atlantic Beach. When Jermaine was alone and his back was turned, they set upon him, delivering blow after blow with a baseball bat, until he was unconscious on the ground. For days he lay in a coma and his mother despaired of his recovery. "His life is gone," she said, "because of the color of his skin."

Because Jermaine Ewell is young and strong, he has a chance for recovery. Doctors have removed blood clots from his brain, and the high school football linebacker and track star nicknamed "The Streak" is now able to speak and move his right leg. A spokesman for Peninsula Hospital told *WV* on June 14 that he has been taken off the critical list. But the extent of his injuries is still unknown.

The attack recalled with chilling horror the murder of Yusuf Hawkins, the black youth shot to death by a white mob in Bensonhurst two years ago. The racists mistook Yusuf for a black friend of a white Bensonhurst girl. Only eight of the more than 30 thugs were ever arrested, and only one was convicted of murder, the dimwitted Joey Fama, while ringleader Keith Mondello got a slap on the wrist and the rest walked. Jermaine Ewell's attackers were doubtless emboldened by these verdicts—a green light from the capitalist state for racist murder.

There are, however, significant differences between the attack on Jermaine and the Bensonhurst murder. In this case, appalled white students from Lawrence High first tried to stop the incident, when the racists threatened Ewell and the girl at the party. Later they ran to his aid when they saw him being beaten, a fact which probably saved his life. The community of Lawrence has rallied to meet the hospital bills, as Ewell's mother is a widow with no medical insurance.

Meanwhile, the town fathers rush to dismiss the incident as a fluke, denying any history of racial tension in the tony Long Island area of "Five Towns," just across the line from Queens. The cops reported they were "investigating the relationship between some members in the group [which attacked Ewell] and TMR"—a Queens-based gang whose full name is "The Master Race" (*Newsday*, 5 June). Residents were annoyed by a protest march on June 8 led by the self-aggrandizing Al Sharpton.

"This isn't another Bensonhurst," sniffed one woman, "everyone's always gotten along fine." But in spite of all the "it can't happen here," it did. "There is a lot of fear," stated Jonathan Davis, the black director of Inwood Community Center. And Nassau County cops were all too eager to try to blame the black victim, claiming that Ewell may have had too much to drink at the "keg party."

The attack comes as the New York State Judicial Commission on Minorities recently released a 2,000-page report documenting that the New York state court system is "infested with racism." James C. Goodale, chairman of the commission, said: "There are two basic justice systems at work in the courts of New York State, one for whites and a very different one for minorities and the poor."

The same week Jermaine Ewell nearly died from a lynch mob attack, Spike Lee's new movie *Jungle Fever* opened in New York. *Jungle Fever* was filmed partly in Bensonhurst and dedicated to the memory of Yusuf Hawkins. It isn't a question of life imitating art, but the pounding reality of racist terror in America that gave rise to this non-coincidence.

Jermaine has been fighting for his life, but he will leave the hospital knowing he will never be called "The Streak" again. It is for all the Jermaine Ewells, the Yusuf Hawkins, Michael Griffiths, Federico Perciras and David Cottos, for all those who have been victims of the racist mobs and racist cops, that we rededicate our efforts to sweep away the whole system of racist capitalist oppression. ■

Parade...

(continued from page 1)

Though the NYC crowd was predictably largely white and suburban, the turnout of blacks—who had been conspicuous in their refusal to buy Bush's war—was notable. Given the large proportion of black troops, the insignificant number of U.S. combat casualties and the way JCS chairman General Powell is being touted as a black man who "made it" in this racist society, many blacks have bought the "pride" in the war line (70 percent as compared to 82 percent among whites, according to a recent CBS/*New York Times* poll, though only 50 percent of blacks interviewed agreed the war was worth the cost). An editorial in the black weekly *City Sun* (12 June) commented with disgust on "the way people of color were used to score public-relations points for the power elite of this country which always has marginalized them."

Bringing up the rear of the NYC parade was a contingent of homeless veterans of the Vietnam War. One commented, "For me, it's like the parade we never got when we came home from Vietnam." These vets never got a victory parade because it was *the Vietnamese workers and peasants who were victorious* against America's dirty colonial war in Indochina. And after seeing the Vietnamese stand up to the imperialist savagery inflicted on them, many GIs—especially blacks—became bitterly opposed to the war and committed to fighting for social justice here. Bush & Co. peddle the self-serving lie that returning Vietnam vets were "spat on" by antiwar leftists, as part of the "New Right" stab-in-the-back myth that the war was lost on the home front. In fact, as emerges powerfully from a book of letters from Vietnam vets compiled by Bob Greene (*Homecoming* [1989]), it was the American ruling class which spat on the Vietnam vets.

While some Viet vets claimed they had been spat on by "hippies," many others wrote to say that neither they nor any of their GI friends had ever heard of such incidents. More to the point was the seething bitterness evident in most of the letters. One wrote: "Think about us veterans who are now dying of various conditions from the dioxin poisoning due to exposure to Agent Orange spraying by our government. Our own government is actually spitting on us because it will not do anything about helping to find a cure for us or care for us who have this service-related condition." Another added: "I was spit on by a society so numbed into complacency that were Vietnam just starting right now, no one would murmur a whisper. Except those 2 million vets who would be the 'hippies' this time by their disapproval of our involvement in such a war." Far from spitting on vets, leftists actively *and successfully* sought to win them and active-duty GIs to the antiwar struggle.

Today's victory celebrations have exposed the lies about who spat on returning vets from that earlier, *losing* war. Those maimed, ailing and desperate reminders of a war U.S. imperialism had lost were ill suited to serve as an ideological symbol of the might of U.S. imperialism. So they were contemptuously thrown on the slag heap to live out their wretched days in subway tunnels and homeless shelters. This time U.S. rulers want to use their "win" to smother the "Vietnam syndrome" in a sea of racist war fervor, so the returning troops are celebrated as war heroes. In reality, the "combat" amounted to little more than massive bombing attacks which wiped out electrical, water and sewage systems in Iraq, now threatening the lives of thousands of children with diseases such as cholera and typhoid.

The current chauvinist fervor may be broad, but it is also very shallow. Today, Washington and Wall Street throw the bone of patriotism to a population that has been ground down by union-busting and givebacks, mass unemployment, poverty and racist terror. And that's all that's waiting for black and working-class kids after they do their service as cannon fodder and the parades are over. For them and all working people, the war to be fought is a *class war* against the deadliest ruling class in history. ■

GE Workers: Strike Against Health Care Takebacks!

Over 60,000 General Electric workers in 14 unions face the expiration of their contracts on June 30. Negotiations are currently under way in New York City between GE and the unions' bargaining team, including the International Union of Electrical Workers (IUE) and the United Electrical Workers (UE). The viciously anti-union GE offers paltry lump-sum "bonuses" while slashing real wages and attacking union organizing efforts (28 percent of GE hourly workers are not unionized). And pleading skyrocketing costs, the company is trying to sock workers with a much larger bite of their medical plan (already costing workers $600 a year).

But GE is rolling in dough. Last year, they had over $58 billion in revenues and over $4 billion in earnings! Already in the first quarter of 1991 GE has raked in a billion in profits. *But where are the preparations for a national strike?* The last national contract meant givebacks in wages and benefits to the GE bosses. This time around, union locals have staged walkouts over the huge backlogs of grievances. IUE Local 707 workers at the Tungsten plant in Cleveland, Ohio carried out a two-day walkout June 6-7 to protest work and pay grievances.

GE has been trying to intimidate Local 707 with threats to send 120 jobs out of Tungsten-Cleveland to its recently acquired Hungarian light-bulb company, Tungsram-Budapest. GE's TV ads brag "we bring good things to life," showing glittering halls in Europe. But what GE has brought to Hungarian workers is the "market magic" of unemployment, speedups and "Boulwarism"—GE's own special version of Big Brother "employee relations" practices which try to brainwash workers to docilely accept and even like GE's exploitation. Their Budapest boss talked about putting the company "in fast-forward," and promptly slashed 5,000 out of 19,000 jobs.

GE is a big military contractor, and UE tops like to strut about professing to be "progressives," but when American imperialism was slaughtering over 100,000 Iraqis in the Persian Gulf, the *UE News* was plastered with yellow ribbons and calls to "support our troops." UE Local 332 leaders in Hudson Falls, NY wrapped "job protection" in red-white-and-blue patriotism and anti-Mexican chauvinism, declaring "it doesn't show too much patriotism" to move "jobs out of the United States while the nation was at war."

Flag-waving and anti-Communism have always been the staples in GE's war on the unions. As the postwar McCarthyite witchhunt was getting under way, and after the 1946 GE strike, in which the UE shut down every single GE and Westinghouse plant in North America, GE chief C.E. Wilson declared: "The problems of the United States can be captiously summed up in two words: Russia abroad, Labor at home." After Ronald Reagan ran a red purge in the actors union, General Electric picked him up to give Cold War anti-union pitches as host of its GE Theater.

The last major strike at GE took place during the Vietnam War. That hard-fought 101-day strike in 1969 was the first in a wave of labor struggles: auto, post office and Teamsters. "Strikebreaker, war maker—Smash GE!" was a popular chant picked up by union militants linking the struggle of American workers and the struggle against Washington's war on the peasants and workers of Vietnam.

A class-struggle fight against GE could ignite a fight by American labor —and build real solidarity *in action* with workers from Mexico to Hungary. We need a union leadership that's not afraid of the "S" word. Strike GE! Labor's gotta play hardball to win!

Pratt...

(continued from page 12)

> assassinations of people just because they're black or they happen to be charismatic leaders in an organization that you don't like. The FBI didn't end up being any better than the Gestapo, the only thing they had on us were numbers."

Failing to assassinate him, the FBI then framed Pratt for the unsolved "tennis court murder" of Caroline Olsen, which had occurred in Santa Monica in 1968. His 1972 trial and conviction were engineered by the FBI and the LAPD's Criminal Conspiracy Section, employing as their main instrument for the prosecution the testimony of paid FBI informant Julius Butler. Other Panthers who could have testified that Pratt was in Oakland with them on that date did not do so then because of what they now point to as COINTELPRO-exacerbated antagonism between opposing wings of the Black Panther Party.

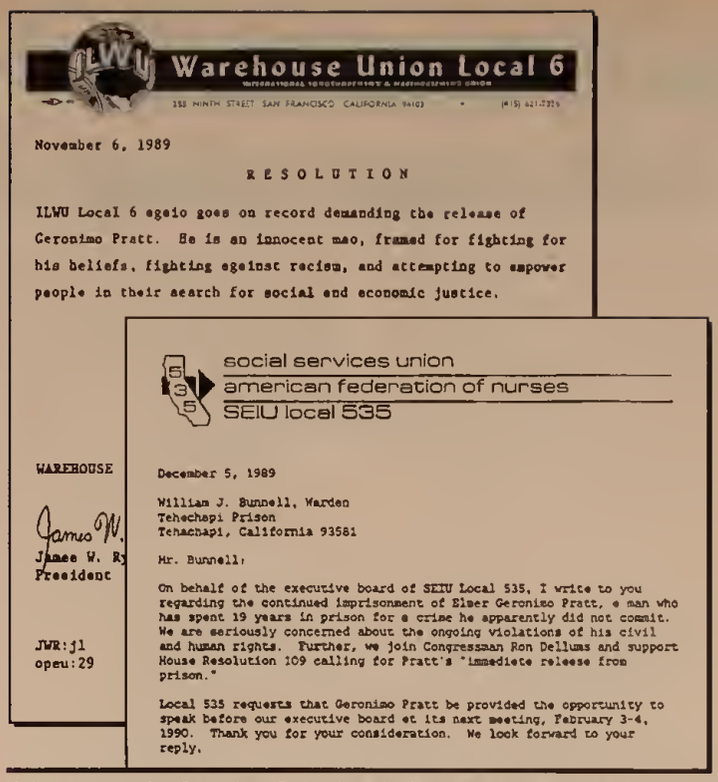
New Evidence Proves Pratt Was Framed

The petition for a new trial, filed by a legal team headed by attorney Robert Bloom and including Stuart Hanlon, Valerie West and Dennis Cunningham, clearly sets forth both new evidence proving Pratt's innocence, as well as evidence heretofore successfully suppressed by the government. Kenneth Olsen, the surviving victim of the 1968 murder, had made a positive identification of another man a year before the cops even showed him Pratt. But the results of the previous lineup "disappeared" from the case file, and the ID was suppressed by the prosecution. In a November 1987 exposé on CBS TV's "60 Minutes," four of five jurors from the 1972 trial interviewed were adamant that they would have voted to acquit had they known of this and Butler's police connections.

The petition for a new trial lays bare the workings of this vicious frame-up.

• Two former LAPD officers, Captain Ed Henry, and Sgt. DuWayne Rice, who was intimately involved in the frame-up, have stated that Julius Butler was an LAPD informant as early as 1966 and into 1969. Also, recent scrutiny of FBI documents shows Butler was also an FBI informant as early as May 1969, well into the time during which the FBI had targeted Pratt. Butler testified at the trial that he was never an informant. While working for the LAPD and FBI, Butler pistol-whipped a young Panther (which was stopped by Pratt) and machine-gunned the apartment of a leader of Ron Karenga's "US" organization.

• Other new evidence shows that the L.A. district attorney at the trial, Richard Kalustian, was an active participant in the operation against Pratt, deliberately concealing from the court the FBI's involvement in the case. This is a piece of the evidence that explodes the lie employed by the government for two decades that the LAPD and prosecution did not know about the FBI's operation against Pratt. It was on this claim that previous attempts to bring in testimony about COINTELPRO were excluded.



Warehouse Union Local 6

ILWU

November 6, 1989

RESOLUTION

ILWU Local 6 egeio goes on record demanding the release of Geronimo Pratt. He is an innocent man, framed for fighting for his beliefs, fighting egeinst recism, and attempting to empower people in their search for social end economic justice.

WAREHOUSE

James W. Ry
President

JWR:jl
opeu:29

social services union
american federation of nurses
SEIU local 535

December 5, 1989

William J. Bunnell, Warden
Tehachapi Prison
Tehachapi, California 93581

Mr. Bunnell:

On behalf of the executive board of SEIU Local 535, I write to you regarding the continued imprisonment of Elmer Geronimo Pratt, a man who has spent 19 years in prison for a crime he apparently did not commit. We are seriously concerned about the ongoing violations of his civil and human rights. Further, we join Congressman Ron Dellums and support House Resolution 109 calling for Pratt's "immediate release from prison."

Local 535 requests that Geronimo Pratt be provided the opportunity to speak before our executive board at its next meeting, February 3-4, 1990. Thank you for your consideration. We look forward to your reply.

Union support for Geronimo Pratt, America's foremost class-war prisoner.

Kalustian is now an L.A. County Superior Court judge.

• A key piece of new evidence is the statement of former Panther Tyrone Hutchinson, who in 1970 told Los Angeles police that he had heard two associates of Julius Butler admit they had committed the Santa Monica murder. The cops carefully took down the information from Hutchinson at the time, and then threatened him that he'd better keep his mouth shut. He did, until now. This information was also completely—and illegally—kept from the defense and the court during the trial.

• Central to the prosecution case was a letter by Butler telling the police that Pratt had "bragged" about the murder. The prosecution maintained that the letter's contents were not revealed until October 1970, leading to Pratt's indictment two months later. But new evidence reveals that the LAPD and FBI knew of its contents since August 1969. So for *16 months* the cops had this letter, a period in which Pratt was repeatedly arrested and acquitted on one trumped-up charge after another, *without the police ever charging Pratt for the murder.*

• Two private investigators who, pursuing a separate case, examined logs for FBI wiretaps of Oakland Panther headquarters have declared those records show a call received by Pratt at 5:30 p.m. in Oakland on 18 December 1968; the murder was committed at 8:00 p.m., some 400 miles to the south. These investigators had until recently incorrectly assumed that Pratt's lawyers knew of these FBI logs.

• Six former Panthers including David Hilliard and former national BPP chairman Bobby Seale have come forward to testify that Pratt was with them at Panther headquarters in Oakland for meetings on 18 and 19 December 1968.

• Earlier litigation in Pratt's case had established, as does the new petition, that the FBI infiltrated Pratt's defense team during his trial. Now a juror has come forward describing how the jury foreman, during long, close deliberations, illegally pressured her, out of the presence of other jurors, to vote guilty.

Vendetta Against Pratt Continues

In addition to the petition for a new trial in the California state court, an amended complaint was filed by Valerie West on June 3 in federal court challenging the continued persecution and harassment of Pratt by prison officials as a violation of his civil rights. To thwart Pratt's renewed court fight and an upcoming August parole board hearing, officials at Tehachapi prison have outrageously charged Pratt with "drug trafficking" on the word of unnamed "confidential" prison informant(s), and thrown him into "the hole" where he has languished since April 1.

This tactic is not new; as the civil rights complaint asserts, through 20 years of imprisonment, in order to justify holding him in solitary confinement and maximum security, transporting him cross-country in handcuffs and denying him parole status, Pratt was "falsely branded a 'cop killer,' 'escapee,' 'heroin user,' 'child kidnapper,' 'prison gang leader' and 'drug trafficker.' These baseless labels and repeated references to plaintiff's Black Panther Party affiliation are designed to harass and discredit him because of his political views and political associations, his efforts to expose his frame-up conviction and to chill his exercise of First Amendment rights."

Partisan Defense Committee staff counsel West explained that "the prominent, frequent use of the words 'Black Panther' in Pratt's prison file is prison system code to tell prison personnel any smear can be made to stick. It sets Pratt up for violence at the hands of prison guards. It is designed to break him, to keep him locked away for life."

The amended complaint is part of a lawsuit filed in September 1989 by West and longtime Pratt attorney Stuart Hanlon which successfully stopped Pratt's transfer to Folsom Prison where his life was especially endangered by the false charges in his file. Federal judge Stanley Weigel ruled that prison officials had transferred Pratt to Folsom in retaliation for his exercise of First Amendment rights, and noted that Pratt was transferred one day after returning from Puerto Rico where he had gone under subpoena to testify about COINTELPRO in the defense of Puerto Rican *independentistas*. The judge also cited "the recent media attention focused on the alleged injustice of plaintiff's incarceration, triggered by the denial of plaintiff's parole on August 17, 1989 and the murder of former Black Panther leader Huey Newton."

In retaliation against Pratt for suing the prison authorities, and for his victory in the first round of the suit, prison officials moved Pratt to remote Tehachapi where he remains isolated from legal counsel, family and supporters. The federal court action seeks Pratt's release from "punitive segregation" within the prison, the removal of the lies from his file, and a halt to his punitive classification as a maximum security prisoner.

Over the past 20 years the courts have repeatedly refused to overturn Pratt's frame-up and conviction. During 1980 California Court of Appeal proceedings, two judges who had issued an Order to Show Cause to the government were suddenly removed from the panel. In a 1985 appeal, a full decade after the U.S. Congressional hearings publicly exposed COINTELPRO, the courts in Los Angeles refused to allow Pratt's attorneys to mention the FBI's program to destroy Pratt and the Black Panther Party. His last appeal, before a federal court panel of Nixon and Reagan appointees, was thrown out of court on a trifling legal technicality. Pratt has been denied parole *nine* times, for no reason other than his political convictions. At one parole hearing, in May 1987, an L.A. assistant district attorney railed about Pratt's "network" of supporters, and called him "a walking time bomb," raging that he "is still a revolutionary."

What is it about the Black Panther Party that renders the bourgeoisie apoplectic, that makes them, decades later, determined to keep Pratt and other surviving former Panthers locked away? The Panthers advocated black armed self-defense against the white ruling class' murderous cops who were then, as now, gunning down black youth in the streets daily with impunity. They knew that Martin Luther King's turn-the-other-cheek pacifism meant passive acceptance of brutal oppression and they wanted to destroy that racist order. The thought of impoverished black masses with guns in hand—"black Viet Cong" to the bourgeoisie—sent waves of fear into corporate boardrooms. But tragically, the Panthers' perspective of black nationalism and lumpen vanguardism doomed them to isolation in the ghetto, cut off from the only road out of the nightmare of racist American capitalism: integrated working-class struggle led by a Leninist vanguard party.

In the end, the Panthers were destroyed by ceaseless police terror and poisonous internal factionalism inflamed by COINTELPRO. The Newton wing coming out of the 1971 split in the organization ultimately wholly embraced Democratic Party liberalism, "working within the system." Many within the guerrillaist Cleaver wing were picked off by the government. Like Pratt, other former Panther victims of ruthless state repression still rot in jail, including Ed Poindexter, W.M.E. we Langa (David Rice), and death row prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Dhoruba Moore was finally released last year, his conviction overturned, after a COINTELPRO frame-up stole over 18 years of his life.

Codified Racist Terror, Legal Lynching

Geronimo Pratt will not be freed by legal defense alone. For more than a decade the courts, taking their lead from the Reaganite Supreme Court, have rubber-stamped every effort by the Democratic-controlled Congress and the Reagan/Bush governments to strengthen the apparatus of state repression. In the past four months alone a wide array of

LAPD siege of Panther headquarters, 8 December 1969. Failing to kill Pratt, FBI/cops sought to bury him in jail.

Poland...

(continued from page 4)

church has "too much influence." Meanwhile, the government of President Lech Walesa is becoming increasingly unpopular as it tries to push through its capitalist austerity program orchestrated by the International Monetary Fund and "Harvard Boy" Jeffrey Sachs. With average incomes of under $150/month, where two black coffees and two mineral waters in Warsaw cost more than a day's pay, working people are resentful of priests riding around town in their Mercedes-Benz limos.

One woman political activist, Izabella Sierakowska, a member of the successor to the Polish Communist party, said a ban on abortion rights would immediately lead to a "new kind of gynecological underground." "The choice here is whether the road to Europe leads through Iran," she said (*New York Times*, 18 May). The analogy to Khomeini's Iran is not far-fetched. Since the fall of 1989, the church has succeeded in turning back four decades of secular law in Poland. The clerical hierarchy has persuaded the government to reimpose religious education in public schools, instituted broadcasts of Catholic church services on state television, taken back more than 1,200 church buildings and lands seized after World War II, and replaced political commissars in the armed forces with Catholic chaplains. As far as Cardinal Glemp and his bishops are concerned, the separation of church and state is a communist plot, and they mean to undo it.

While they were all brothers in anti-Communism, social democrats like Jacek Kuron and Adam Michnik and bourgeois liberals like Bronislaw Geremek have fallen out with a Catholic hierarchy that looks back to the Middle Ages as the heyday of religious fervor. (Kuron proposed a national referendum on the anti-abortion law; the bishops retorted that "good and evil" were not subject to a vote.) And capitalist free-marketeers are none too happy when the Pope rants against a "consumer society" in his evangelical crusade to "re-Christianize" East Europe and the Soviet Union. In its attempt to impose the most advanced ideas of the 14th century, Wojtyla's church seeks to whip up the social backwardness of a peasant society, artificially preserved by the former Stalinist rulers who feared to challenge the power of the clergy. But this smallholding peasantry is about to be wiped out under the hammer blows of the capitalist market.

Workers' Resistance to Capitalist Starvation Plan

Walesa and his cabinet have gone all out to implement the IMF "shock treatment" in Poland. But the pervasive resistance to rolling back social gains was captured in an article in the *New York Times* (3 June), titled, "Factories With Amenities Hinder Poland's Stark Turn to Capitalism." This was focused on the sprawling Azoty chemical works in Silesia. Prime Minister Jan Bielecki recently visited the area, and the *Times* reported, "What he saw chilled him to his free-market bones."

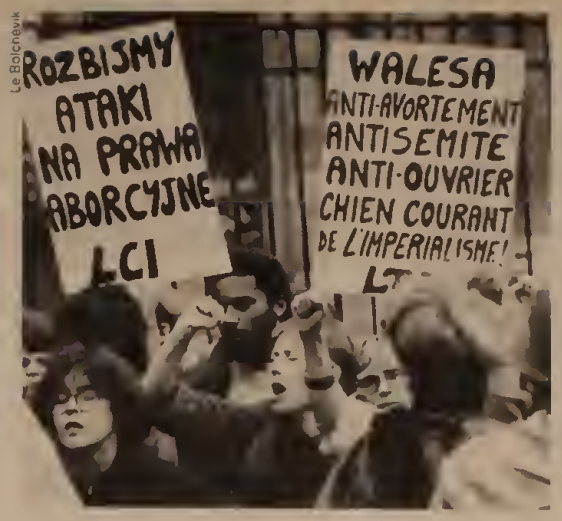
> "'It still conducts functions so typical for a socialist enterprise,' Mr. Bielecki lamented in an interview. 'They have an indoor skating rink, a very nice swimming pool, culture center, soft drink bottling plant and a very nice laundry. They maintain 1,000 free factory apartments, heat 80 percent of the town and still make a profit.'"

Szulecki/NY Times

Capitalist government complains that Polish factories still provide amenities for workers and their families. Swimming pool at Azoty chemical plant in Silesia.

In contrast to the former East Germany, where wages have been raised somewhat while millions have been thrown out of work (and onto the dole or the disguised unemployment of the "short workweek," for fear of a social explosion), in Poland the capitalist government has opted to keep the wheels of state-owned plants turning, while driving real wages to starvation levels through inflation. But if they also eliminate the remaining factory-centered social benefits, they risk a social explosion.

Working-class resistance is growing. A general transport strike paralyzed Warsaw in May. Garbagemen in the capital stopped work for a week, leading to a trash emergency. Copper miners in Lubin struck demanding a doubling of their wages. Then on May 22, Solidarność held an unprecedented protest against the government it brought to power. The protest ranged from eight-hour strikes in Warsaw factories to work stoppages by workers in mines, factories and steelworks across the industrial south. But this was essentially a maneuver to avoid being outflanked by the much larger ex-Stalinist-led unions of the OPZZ, which are gaining influence. The OPZZ, in turn, has been staging monthly protests as a pressure tactic on the capitalist regime.



Le Bolchevik

Walesa's visit to Paris in April sparked protest. Our French comrades' signs called for right to abortion (in Polish) and declared "Walesa, Anti-Abortion, Anti-Semite, Anti-Worker, Running Dog of Imperialism."

With the collapse of bankrupt Stalinism and now the consequences of Solidarność' counterrevolutionary program thrown into sharp relief, the time is more than ripe for forging the nucleus of a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party in Poland. The Spartakusowska Grupa Polski was formed last fall by militants who through the experience of the last decade were won to the International Communist League, which back when Walesa & Co. were darlings of the left (and of Ronald Reagan) dared to tell the truth and said: "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" In its paper *Platforma Spartakusowców* and at workers' demonstrations, the SGP has emphasized the defense of women's rights as central to the fight against capitalist restoration, insisting: "Workers Must Mobilize to Defend Women's Abortion Rights!"

Today, as Polish society reels in the throes of counterrevolution, it is urgent to bring this program of revolutionary internationalism to the class-conscious workers, to the women struggling for their most basic rights, and to the youth who are the future of Polish communism. ■

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police-state measures have won the courts' approval. As Geronimo steps into the California halls of "justice" he is fighting on the racist state authorities' home court.

Early this spring the racists in black robes reasserted the state's prerogative to kill and jail for their own interests, by gutting the right of death row defendants to challenge the legality of their state convictions and sentences through *habeas corpus* proceedings in the federal courts. In the weeks that followed the savage beating of black motorist Rodney King by a gang of L.A. cops, seen by millions on videotape, Rehnquist & Co. did their utmost to enhance the bonapartism of these racist thugs—discarding a long-standing constitutional rule, the Court held that confessions given under police coercion do not invalidate a conviction; permitted the use of evidence tossed by a fleeing "suspect" even though the cops had no basis to stop him in the first place; and gave approval for police to hold a person in jail for 48 hours without a determination whether there was even cause for the arrest.

Longing for the era of the Warren Court, when a series of decisions put some teeth into the protections of the First, Fourth, Fifth and Sixth Amendments, and when abortion was made legal, liberals have long viewed the courts as a favored instrument of social reform. It wasn't persuasive legal argument that won those rights, but social struggle—millions on the streets in civil rights battles and protests against the U.S.' dirty war in Vietnam. And as the Reagan/Bush years have demonstrated, no social gains under capitalist class rule are irreversible.

Thousands of anti-racist individuals and organizations have taken a stand for Geronimo's freedom. United-front rallies initiated by the PDC have brought together trade unionists and civil rights activists demanding Pratt's freedom. Amnesty International has repeatedly recognized Pratt as a political prisoner. Congressman Ron Dellums has sponsored a Congressional bill calling for his release. The Oakland-based International Campaign to Free Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) has publicized the case. Support for Pratt has consistently broadened in the ranks of labor over the last several years, particularly in the San Francisco Bay Area where the ILWU longshore/warehouse union has helped to enlist support. Resolutions passed in 1990 by the Alameda and San Mateo County Central Labor Councils, representing tens of thousands of workers, call for Pratt's freedom.

To workers striking to defend their jobs and their unions, those who fight to defend the right to abortion, those who opposed the U.S.' bloody massacre of Iraq, anti-racists everywhere, we say: hard class struggle is needed to defeat the barrage of reaction now hitting minorities, workers, women and youth. And the time is *now* to fight for Geronimo Pratt who has fought the racist machinery of this dying system from behind bars for too long. Freedom Now for Geronimo Pratt! ■

Pack the Courtroom!

Geronimo has a hearing on the emergency motion to file an amended complaint in his ongoing federal lawsuit. Thursday, June 27, 2:15 p.m., Federal Building, 450 Golden Gate Avenue, San Francisco. Judge Stanley Weigel's courtroom. Be there! For more information contact the PDC at (415) 839-0852. Lawsuits are extremely costly—we're up against the resources of the state. Send contributions, earmarked Geronimo Pratt Defense, to the PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

New Trial Demanded for Former Black Panther

Geronimo Pratt Freedom Now!

WV Photo

Geronimo ji Jaga Pratt has spent over 20 years in jail, victim of racist frame-up conspiracy by cops and FBI against Black Panthers.

For 20 bitter years, former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji Jaga Pratt has been held in the pure living hell of California's prisons for a murder that everyone, *especially the state*, knows he did not commit. What the FBI and LAPD wanted was Pratt dead; if not dead, then shattered by prison "life" including eight years so far of solitary confinement, two decades of torment. But Pratt is a man still fighting to prove his innocence and expose the government frame-up, and still fighting for the liberation of oppressed peoples everywhere.

Now, with dramatic new evidence exposing his frame-up, Geronimo Pratt has taken his fight back to court with the June 3 filing of a *habeas corpus* petition for a new trial in California state court. He has also filed an amended complaint in federal court in San Francisco demanding a halt to prison officials' stepped-up attacks on him because of his political views and now because of his public efforts for a new trial.

Among the new revelations are statements by two criminal defense investigators who saw FBI wiretap records showing that Pratt answered the phone at a Panther's home in Oakland less than three hours before the murder took place in Los Angeles. Statements by former L.A. police officers say that the main witness against him, Julius Butler, was an LAPD informant since 1966, and documents from FBI files prove that Butler was also a federal informant much earlier than was previously acknowledged. In addition, six former Panthers including Bobby Seale have submitted affidavits that Pratt was at party meetings in Oakland at the time of the murder.

The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have called Geronimo Pratt "America's foremost class-war prisoner." To his many supporters, like the trade unionists, former Black Panthers and Vietnam veterans who attended a June 3 press conference in San Francisco to announce the new legal actions, he is a symbol of the struggle against the virulent racism that is the bedrock of American capitalist society. And because he is also regarded as that symbol *by the state that wants him destroyed*, it is urgently necessary to mobilize *now*, to demand "Freedom for Geronimo Pratt!" As PDC counsel Valerie West said at the press conference, "all people who are oppressed, particularly black people in this country, win when he wins, when he is vindicated."

COINTELPRO Revelations Confirm Frame-Up

COINTELPRO: Campaign of Racist State Terrorism

The FBI's COINTELPRO ("Counterintelligence Program") provocation operation in the 1960s aimed to "disrupt, misdirect, discredit and otherwise neutralize the activities" of black power groups and other militant organizations such as the American Indian Movement, Puerto Rican independence fighters and antiwar groups. In part modeled on programs to disrupt and repress the Communist Party and Socialist Workers Party in the 1940s and '50s, COINTELPRO directed 293 operations against black groups. Of those, *233* targeted the Black Panther Party, which the maniacal FBI director J. Edgar Hoover called the "greatest threat to the internal security of the U.S."

Thirty-eight Panthers were murdered outright by COINTELPRO. Those Panthers the government failed to simply gun down in cold blood, they framed in the courts, jailed and threw away the keys. From May 1967 to December 1969, the Panthers were hit with 768 arrests and almost $5 million in bail bonds (see Brian Glick, *War at Home* [1989]). Not a few bourgeois figures built their careers over the bullet-riddled corpses of the Black Panthers: Contragate co-conspirator Edwin Meese presided over the war on the Panthers as Governor Ronald Reagan's top cop in California; Richard Held, a COINTELPRO specialist who played a major role in targeting Pratt in L.A., went on to lead the FBI task force that seized 16 Puerto Rican militants in August 1985, and now heads the FBI in San Francisco.

In early 1969, just after Geronimo Pratt became a leader of the Los Angeles Black Panther Party, he was designated a "Key Black Extremist" by the FBI and targeted for "neutralization." Immediately Pratt was elevated to "Priority I" status on the National Security Index of those deemed by the government to pose a "threat" to the government. An FBI circular in May 1969 called for charging Pratt under the anti-Communist Smith Act with seditious conspiracy and insurrection. And behind these designations was naked state terror.

Two days before he was gunned down in his bed by Chicago police, Panther leader Fred Hampton had been in L.A. meeting with Pratt. Four days later, in an identical early morning raid, they came for Pratt. On 8 December 1969, Los Angeles Panther headquarters was besieged by over 140 SWAT and regular cops. Because of spinal injuries he sustained in Vietnam, Pratt was sleeping on the floor and escaped the bullets aimed at his bed. At a New York PDC forum in April 1989, then *Amsterdam News* reporter and former Panther Harold Jamison recalled, "The only reason Panthers weren't shot was because of Geronimo Pratt. He had been a fortification expert in Vietnam, and he taught the party how to stay alive."

Wesley Swearingen, the former FBI agent who several years ago revealed that the Los Angeles FBI wiretap logs which could have proved Pratt's alibi (and innocence) in his 1972 trial were "missing," was recently asked by a CBS News team to explain the FBI's actions against Pratt. He replied:

> "I can't. How do you explain an organization like the FBI putting an innocent man in jail for 20 years or plotting

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FBI/COINTELPRO Memorandum, 28 January 1970

Operation Number One is designed to challenge the legitimacy of the authority exercised by ELMER GERARD PRATT, BPP Deputy Minister of Defense for Southern California, and JOHN WILLIAM WASHINGTON, an active member of the BPP in Los Angeles.

L.A. FBI Report on Geronimo, 26 June 1970

It is noted, however, that constant consideration is given to the possibility of the utilization of counterintelligence measures with efforts being directed toward neutralizing PRATT as an effective BPP functionary.

L.A. FBI Memorandum, 7 November 1969

For the information of the Bureau, BUTLER was extensively interviewed on 11/4/69, by SA [redacted] and [redacted], at which time he stated he was willing to provide information to the FBI on a confidential basis. Results of the interview will not be disseminated at this time, as additional contact will be made with BUTLER to determine his potential as a PRI.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 530 5 July 1991

Yankee Imperialism Gears Up for Global Trade War

Stop U.S. "Free Trade" Rape of Mexico

Alexanian/Woodfin Camp

Above: Impoverished shantytown surrounds "free trade zone" factory in Nogales, Mexico.

Left: Combative Ford workers march in Mexico City on May Day, 1991.

Espartaco

Unite U.S., Canadian and Mexican Workers in Class Struggle!

We print below a joint declaration by the Grupo Espartaquista de México, the Spartacist League/U.S. and the Trotskyist League of Canada, sections of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist).

Fresh from his Persian Gulf oil grab and bloody slaughter of Iraq, George Bush is moving to impose a "New World Order" of renewed U.S. imperialist domination. The American president's two immediate declared objectives are to pass an "omnibus crime bill" greatly expanding police powers and use of the death penalty in federal cases, and to get a "Free Trade Agreement" (FTA) with Mexico. On May 24, the U.S. Congress approved the so-called "fast track" procedure allowing the White House to negotiate tariff deals without legislative amendment, and on June 12 talks with Mexico got under way in Toronto. While strengthening the U.S. bourgeoisie against imperialist trade rivals, an FTA will also subject the working masses of the Americas to greater exploitation. We call on Mexican, U.S. and Canadian workers to join in opposing this anti-labor pact.

The Bush administration is forging ahead with negotiations for a treaty to eliminate, over the next decade, most tariffs and many investment curbs standing between Mexico and the United States. U.S. and Canadian trade unions fear a flood of Mexican goods produced by cheap labor and a wave of "runaway plants" heading south, particularly in low-skill industries like textiles. Mexican unionists fear imports of cheaper and more technically advanced U.S. goods will bankrupt whole industries, especially in consumer durables and steel. Overall the stronger U.S. economy would have the upper hand. In addition, American capitalists want to use the FTA to gut labor and environmental regulations on both sides of the border. Yankee imperialism wants to turn Mexico into a giant *maquiladora*, or free trade zone—"free" of unions, and "free" for capital.

Far from "freeing" trade internationally, the pact is aimed at setting up a private hunting preserve for the American imperialist bourgeoisie, their Canadian junior partners and their lackeys in the Mexican ruling class. Already at the time of the First World War, Lenin noted that the narrow limits of the capitalist nation-state had become a fetter on the development of the productive forces, producing a struggle over redivision of the world. The various "common markets" in no way overcome this, but instead intensify interimperialist rivalries. We Trotskyists, communists, struggle for the economic integration of the world on a socialist basis. But the FTA is a reactionary move toward global trade war (and from there to a shooting war). The trade pact with Mexico is U.S. imperialism's answer to the Fourth Reich and Japan Inc.

U.S. imperialism sees the incorporation of Mexico in a free trade zone as a club against Japanese-led competition from the sweatshops of Singapore, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Korea. The FTA is also a response to the European economic and political union scheduled for completion in 1992. But its purposes are not just economic. It is an expression of the U.S. ruling class' belief in its "Manifest Destiny" to dominate the Western Hemisphere. Last June Bush proclaimed his "Initiative for the Americas," a call for a hemispheric free trade area. And at the height of the Persian Gulf War preparations, he traveled twice to Latin America to promote this new edition of the Monroe Doctrine. Characteristically, Latin American bourgeois

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Stop Deportations of the L.A. Eight!

For four years the U.S. government has been trying to deport seven Palestinians and a Kenyan, political activists known as the Los Angeles Eight. The eight were arrested in January 1987 and charged under the McCarthyite McCarran-Walter Act with "advocating world communism," and more specifically the views of the radical-nationalist Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). Despite many legal setbacks and substantial public support for the eight, the government is insistent on throwing them out.

It's none of the government's business what political views people have or what political organizations they support. In fact, the L.A. Eight, well-established businessmen, students and working people, all deny membership in the PFLP or participation in any of its activities here or abroad. Khader Musa Hamide, the alleged Southern California "PFLP leader," is a businessman who has lived in the U.S. for 20 years, active in Democratic Party politics and a Jesse Jackson supporter. In fact, weeks after their arrest "Justice" Department spokesmen admitted they were compelled to use the witchhunting McCarran-Walter Act because "a lengthy FBI investigation failed to turn up evidence of plans to commit criminal or terrorist acts" (*Washington Post*, 29 January 1987).

Judith Gabriel

L.A. Eight fight deportations: (top left) Khader Hamide, Michael Shehadeh, Amjad Obeid, (bottom left) Ayman Obeid, Alad Barakat, Naim Sharif, Julie Mongal. Not in picture, Bashar Amer.

After a federal court ruled the ideological provision of McCarran-Walter violated the First Amendment, the feds grappled for new deportation grounds. Six of the L.A. Eight, in the U.S. on student visas, face deportation on technicalities—overstaying their visas, working part-time while on a student visa, etc. Two of them, Naim Sharif and Aiad Barakat, filed for amnesty under the new immigration law over a year ago and have just received notice of the INS' intent to deny their applications on grounds of alleged PFLP affiliation. Amnesty applications for the other four are pending.

Michael Shehadeh and Khader Hamide, both permanent U.S. residents, have presented a thornier problem for the government. After a federal court ruled unconstitutional the anti-communist and "advocacy of the destruction of property" provisions of McCarran-Walter, the feds charged them with "membership or affiliation with an organization which advocates or teaches the duty, necessity or propriety of the unlawful assaulting or killing of government officials." Though the McCarran-Walter Act was replaced in March, the "Justice" Department insists that deportation proceedings pending at that time are not affected.

The federal government has also charged the L.A. Eight under the new "cleaner" immigration act which specifically cites support for the PLO as grounds for deportation. Claiming "national security" grounds, the feds refuse to disclose any evidence to support their "terrorism" charge, forcing Hamide and Shehadeh to fight blindfolded. Phone calls of the L.A. Eight and their lawyers have been wiretapped, also on "national security" grounds under the Foreign Surveillance Act. To expand their arsenal of legal weapons (and get around problems they have faced in railroading the L.A. Eight), the Bush administration has been trying to insert provisions for star-chamber "trials" of non-citizens (visitors and residents alike) on "terrorism" charges into the omnibus crime bill now before Congress. The accused would not be informed of their accusers, or the charges against them, or be present at the hearings, if the government claimed "national security" was affected.

The vendetta against the L.A. Eight represents the intersection of "terrorism" hysteria and anti-immigrant chauvinism. Their struggle against deportation is vital to the fight against anti-immigrant racism and state terror, especially for tens of thousands of Arab residents victimized in the preparations for and celebrations of the U.S.' Near East slaughter. It was in the L.A. Eight's fight against deportation in 1987 that government plans to herd Arab residents into concentration camps during wartime came to light, a plan which loomed as a frightening possibility with the U.S. assault on Iraq. The "New World Order" at home is the same old order of racist and anti-immigrant terror and witchhunts of those opposed to the government's bloodthirsty designs.

Stop the deportations! Hands off the L.A. Eight! Full citizenship rights for all immigrant workers and their families! For more information and to send contributions write: Committee for Justice to Stop the McCarran-Walter Act Deportations, P.O. Box 4631, Los Angeles, CA 90051.

* * *

Former Black Panther Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) won a small gain in his ongoing struggle against the vindictive prison authorities. Immediately after a June 27 hearing, the attorney general's office complied with the judge's "suggestion" that Geronimo be transferred to a single cell. As a consequence of his post-traumatic stress disorder and medical complications due to shrapnel wounds received in Vietnam, sharing a cell with another prisoner is unbearably painful. This is a problem well known to prison officials, who for most of his 20 years in prison have kept Geronimo in single cells. But on April 1, Geronimo was thrown into punitive segregation on bogus "drug trafficking" charges, and for the first time in years forced to share a cell, although the prison unit contained empty cells. After one cellmate left a few weeks later, Geronimo was allowed to remain alone in the cell. But just days after Geronimo's June 3 filing of a petition for a new trial and an amended complaint in his lawsuit against prison harassment, the authorities retaliated by shipping in a new cellmate.

For 20 years the California prison authorities have acted on the belief that because Geronimo was a Black Panther Party leader they can peddle any lie about him and do anything they want to him (see "Geronimo Pratt—Freedom Now!" *WV* No. 529, 21 June). Geronimo returns to court on August 1 on his motion for a preliminary injunction to put an end to his confinement in the hole, remove the life-threatening lying designations of "escapee" and "cop-killer" which litter his prison record, and stop the persecution and harassment he regularly suffers in his prison hell. Pack the courtroom!

This legal battle costs lots of money. We are up against the vast financial resources of the state. Send contributions earmarked "Geronimo Pratt Defense" to the PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. Join the fight to free Geronimo!

* * *

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

Soviet Union Crushed Nazi Invasion

Fifty years ago, on 22 June 1941, Nazi Germany launched Operation Barbarossa, the invasion of the Soviet Union. Politically disarmed by Stalin's confidence in his 1939 pact with Hitler, militarily weakened by the 1937-38 blood purge of the Red Army officer corps, the USSR was expected to fall in a matter of weeks, as capitalist France had a year earlier. But the Soviet proletariat rallied to the defense of their workers state and ultimately the Red Army crushed Hitlerism. Speaking in August 1941, on the first anniversary of Leon Trotsky's assassination by a Stalinist agent, American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon expressed the Fourth International's unconditional defense of the Soviet Union in the struggle for world socialist revolution.

Those fainthearts, those traitors who said the Russian Revolution has been killed, that the Soviet Union is not worth defending, are being answered on the battlefields of Russia today by millions of men in arms. Millions of Soviet soldiers, pouring out their blood, say the revolution still lives and not even Hitler's army can kill it!...

Nobody believed in the fighting capacities of the Soviet army except the Soviet workers themselves—and the Fourth Internationalists. Stalin didn't believe in the fighting ability of the Red Army which he had beheaded. The only reason he didn't capitulate to Hitler and give him all the concessions he wanted, is that he didn't get a chance. Hitler thought it would be so easy to smash the Red Army, he didn't bother to parley about it. All the statesmen and military experts expected and freely predicted a Russian collapse on the French pattern in a few weeks. What they all overlooked was the one most important and most fundamental element in war, the one that was elucidated by Comrade Trotsky in our last talk with him in Mexico, fourteen months ago, the element of *morale*....

Those who made an equation between fascist Germany and the Soviet Union could not understand the psychology of the Russian workers and peasants. You can write all the books, wiseacre theses, explaining there is no difference between the degenerated workers' state in Russia and the fascist regime in Germany. But the Russian workers and peasants think there is a difference, and they think the difference is worth dying for. They know better than all the renegades, better than all those who have turned their backs on the Soviet Union in the hour of danger, the hour when people are really tested as to the value of their ideas, opinions, theories, and promises.

Trotsky said more than once that the beginning of a war of imperialism against the Soviet Union would undoubtedly arouse a veritable outburst of genuine revolutionary patriotism and fighting spirit in the Russian masses. That is precisely what we have seen there.

—James P. Cannon, "Trotskyism Lives" (August 1941)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007 Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions $7.00/24 issues Second-class postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 530 **5 July 1991**

Teamsters Boo Bush—G-Men Run Convention, Elections

Feds Hands Off Teamsters!

It was quite a spectacle: 2,000 unionists hooting down a videotaped message from President Bush. Moreover, it was at the convention of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, just about the only major American union that has supported Republicans Bush, Reagan and Nixon over the past 30 years. Even more remarkable, the catcalls drowned out a flag-waving spiel from the U.S. commander in chief thanking the Teamsters for their support in that murderous slaughter Made in U.S.A. known as the Persian Gulf War. The delegates were incensed over White House opposition to a bill outlawing the hiring of scabs. They also booed down IBT president William McCarthy for agreeing to the massive government intervention that led to this stage-managed convention. The Teamsters have been hogtied by federal authorities in the most blatant U.S. seizure of a labor union ever.

"Teamsters Grapple with Democracy at Their Government-Run Convention," headlined the *Wall Street Journal*. What "democracy"? The IBT meeting at a (non-union) hotel in Orlando, Florida was a government-rigged charade from start to finish. Out in the hall delegates got to wave signs for their favorite bureaucrat-candidate. In the back rooms 65 federal agents ran the floor show, while a federally appointed "elections officer" and a brace of federal judges pulled the strings. The feds decided on who got to vote, voting rules, counting and announcing results, and virtually everything else. This was the upshot of the "consent decree" which IBT president

UPI

Teamster convoy blocks downtown Philadelphia bus terminal during bitter 1983 Greyhound strike. Teamsters don't like scabs, finks or feds!

McCarthy signed with the Bush administration in March 1989 to settle the RICO racketeering lawsuit against the Teamsters in exchange for government control of the union.

The outburst of anger at the convention tells a lot about the mood among American workers today. With 1.6 million members, the Teamsters is the largest union in the U.S., and contrary to its image the IBT includes hundreds of thousands of women and blacks. Jay Foreman, a vice president of the United Food and Commercial Workers Union, noted that "The Teamsters tend to be more conservative, they rally around the flag and patriotism. Despite all that, they still booed him. The old wrapping-yourself-in-the-flag just didn't cut it." The next day, delegates at the convention of the Communications Workers of America cheered a call for a mass walkout during the scheduled keynote address by Bush's Labor Secretary Lynn Martin. To save face, the CWA tops disinvited Martin while she was in midair on the way to San Francisco.

Since the destruction of the air traffic controllers union in 1981, it has been all-out war on labor, which has suffered defeats from Hormel to Greyhound to the Eastern strike. And the government's

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Letter

On Class Struggle in the U.S.

New York
June 25, 1991

Editors
Workers Vanguard

Dear WV—

It would have been nice, in your reply to my letter published in *WV* #529 (June 21), if you had represented my *Village Voice* piece fairly. I explicitly criticized the "fair tax" waffle favored by conservative AFL-CIO types. While I do say nice things about Dennis Rivera's rhetorical frankness, I criticized his curious unwillingness to say anything nasty about Mayor David Dinkins. I denounced Dinkins and Mario Cuomo for being the slaves of Wall Street that they are. I denounced the municipal unions as "transmission belts" for policies determined by the financial and political elite.

I have no illusions about the Democratic party or the union establishment either in New York or the U.S. I don't believe that it's possible to "work within" or reform either; they're rotten institutions deserving of nothing but contempt. I think that Rivera's current work to create a PAC to fund pro-Dinkins City Council candidates, means the death of any serious electoral opposition to austerity and reaction.

Of course I believe in struggle at the point of production—though in this globalized factory, in which even leisure time is organized by capital, that point is a very evasive thing. You say that shutting the airports would have won the PATCO and Eastern strikes. Maybe so, but how much would the fundamental balance of forces been changed by a better contract for the unions involved? Isn't this just a more militant variant of business unionism? The state is now deeply involved in the process of redistributing value across both within sectors of capital and across classes. The struggle for the control of that process is hardly a secondary concern.

Finally, I must take issue with a severe misquote in your piece on the "New World Order." I didn't say, as you claim, "that 'you don't have to believe in Marxian theories of a declining rate of profit' to understand the economic morass the U.S. is in." You then contrast this with a graph I ran in the same issue of *Left Business Observer* showing a fall in U.S. profit rates. There's no contradiction here at all. What I said was: "you don't have to believe in Marxian theories of a declining rate of profit to see that Europe's adolescent consumer society looked lusciously unexploited next to the relatively mature U.S." [*LBO* #45, April 17, 1991, p. 2]. I was trying to refute Seymour Melman's ludicrous explanation of U.S. firms' investment in Europe in the early 1960s. Melman argues that military spending had so wrecked the U.S. civilian economy that U.S. multinationals had no choice but to move overseas. My point is that "defending" the free movement of capital and profits has been the major reason behind our permanent war economy, and that Melman's analysis is exactly ass-backwards. In fact, I not only subscribe to Marxian theories of declining rates of profit—with Marx's own caveats about "countervailing tendencies," of course—I also think that bourgeois statistics such as those I used confirm the point empirically.

Though I don't agree with every position you take, I think *WV* is a serious, important publication, and I read every issue cover-to-cover. Misrepresentations like these make me think twice about trusting your paper.

Yours truly,
Doug Henwood, Editor,
Left Business Observer

WV replies: If we misinterpreted Doug Henwood's views on the rate of profit, we are grateful to him for clarifying his position.

We do, however, have substantial differences on the "tax the rich" question. Marx emphasized, in polemicizing against liberals like John Stuart Mill, that the division of social product between profit and wages was fundamentally

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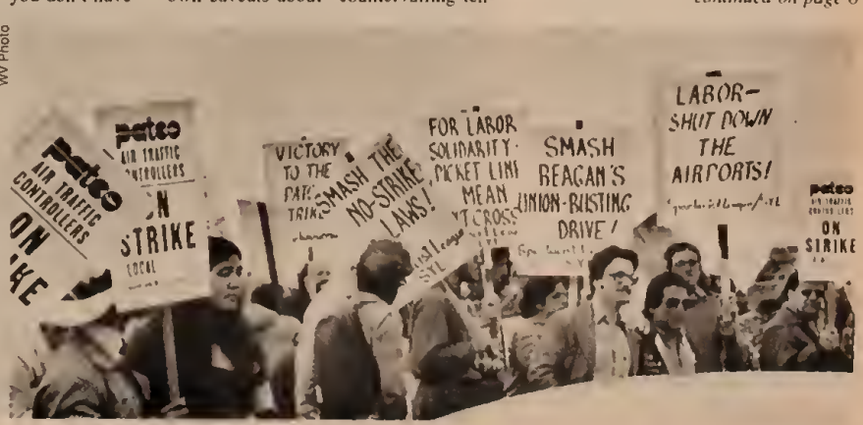
WV Photo



Oakland airport, August 1981: Spartacists join PATCO demonstration, demand "Labor: Shut Down the Airports!"

For Revolutionary Reunification of Korea!

Workers Struggle Can Topple South Korean Police State

Cole/Picture Group

DPA

South Korea ripe for social explosion. Left: Hyundai shipyard workers occupy plant in 1989. Right: Militant students defy Seoul riot police in May.

TOKYO—The militant student protests which swept South Korea in May posed the gravest political crisis President Roh Tae Woo has faced since taking office in 1987. Roh's predecessor, Chun Doo Hwan, was himself driven from office when a similar student upsurge triggered a wave of mass strikes and occupations. This time the working class did not play a decisive role and, for the moment, Roh has managed to limp through.

The general-turned-president was aided in his efforts by the liberal bourgeois opposition led by Kim Dae Jung, which sought to divert the massive social discontent into electoral support in municipal elections on June 20, the first in 30 years. In the upshot, Roh's ruling Democratic Liberal Party walked off with two-thirds of the seats (with 40 percent of the vote) while Kim's New Democratic Party garnered under one-fifth of the seats.

But while the protests have subsided, the country is anything but stable. The military regime is widely despised. The student movement (as the accompanying eyewitness report vividly reveals) is courageous and militantly anti-government. The economy is going downhill fast. The South Korean proletariat is steeled in combat and unbroken. Meanwhile, the country is occupied by over 40,000 U.S. troops. Some Pentagon pundits, intoxicated by their easy win in the Gulf War, are already targeting the deformed workers state in the North as "the next renegade state." But in the face of decades of official anti-Communism, there is much sympathy in the South for North Korea.

South Korea has all the ingredients for a massive social explosion, which would engulf the entire peninsula in revolutionary struggle. The missing element is a Leninist-Trotskyist vanguard party.

Student Protests Shake Seoul

The recent upsurge of student protest was sparked by the April 26 killing of Yonsei University student Kang Kyung Dae during an anti-government demonstration in Seoul. Kang was killed by the elite *Paegoldan* riot police, notorious for their skull-like white helmets. As protests escalated, on May 9 over a quarter million demonstrators marched nationwide, while some 200,000 workers staged two-hour sympathy strikes in solidarity with the protesting students. Nine days later, on the anniversary of the 1980 Kwangju massacre, the proletariat again raised its head: up to 300,000 workers from 138 unions in 14 cities took part in strikes and protests. But with no effective leadership, the workers returned to their factories while the powerless students returned to desperate measures like self-immolation.

As the demonstrations continued despite massive repression and arrests, Roh was forced to make a few face-saving concessions, announcing a general amnesty for 258 political prisoners and appointing a new prime minister, Chung Won Shik. This only further outraged the students—as education minister in 1989, Chung had outlawed the teachers union and ordered the arrest of 1,500 members. While massive demonstrations again rocked Seoul and Kwangju, a young woman student named Kim Kwi Jong became another victim of the murderous police. When the new prime minister tried to give a speech at Hankook University, he was pelted with raw eggs, surrounded and literally chased off campus.

This action produced a hysterical Confucian frenzy on the part of the ruling class, who howled that the unruly students had no respect for their elders. Police invaded Hankook and a second university, arresting hundreds. A predawn raid to break a sit-down strike at a Seoul chemical factory dragged off 475 union members. The government also locked up well-known dissident Moon Ik Hwan, who only months ago had completed a prison term for the "crime" of visiting North Korea. And on June 14, Hyon Chu Ok, head of the militant National Council of Labor Unions and a supporter of the student protests, was forced out of his sanctuary in Seoul's Myongdong cathedral and ambushed by police.

International working-class solidarity, especially in Japan and the U.S., must be mobilized to come to the aid of students and workers facing the Roh regime's brutal repression. Hands off militant students and striking workers! Release all victims of police-state terror!

For Workers Political Revolution in North Korea!

John Nordell

U.S. troops along 38th parallel DMZ target North Korean deformed workers state.

Liberal Opposition Cheers On U.S. Occupation

Roh had been riding the crest of his 1987 "democratic reforms." Seoul's hosting of the 1988 Olympics and recent diplomatic breakthroughs with Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, who evidently wants to exchange North Korea for economic aid and investment from Seoul. But the past two years have seen double-digit inflation in the South, skyrocketing housing and land prices accompanied by real estate speculation scandals and a widening gap between rich and poor. Beginning with an impressive union organizing victory at Hyundai in 1987 (see "South Korea: Strikes Shake Dictatorship," *WV* No. 435, 4 September 1987), workers had won badly needed wage increases of about 15 percent a year. But the regime countered with a systematic drive to force wage gains below the inflation rate. Tens of thousands of riot police were sent in to violently suppress last year's Hyundai shipyard sit-down strike.

While ruthlessly suppressing proletarian organizations that have sprung up outside the government's own CIA-built

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Eyewitness Report From Seoul

ON THE STUDENT BARRICADES

Spartacist Canada Photos

The following report was written by Mark Louis, a North American sympathizer of the International Communist League, who spent five days in Seoul last month.

I arrived in Seoul on Wednesday, May 29. The previous Saturday a student, Kim Kwi Jong, had been killed by the riot police at a demonstration. The police maintained that she was trampled by other demonstrators and wanted to perform an autopsy. Her family and the "Committee to Deal With Kim's Case" were blocking their attempts; they wanted an admission of excessive use of force and an apology from the cops. A ghoulish stand-off at downtown Paik Hospital ensued. Students erected and manned 24-hour barricades on each end of the hospital block in addition to the hospital morgue entrance. They were armed with metal fence posts, torn up sidewalk pieces and Molotov cocktails. There were several workers at Paik Hospital supporting the students. The cops across the street were armed with truncheons, shields, tear gas rifles, water cannons and gas masks.

One of the first sights on my arrival downtown during the Wednesday evening rush hour was a group of about 100 students on a busy street chanting, clenched fists in the air—it wasn't a demo, they were doing fund-raising. The collection box bore a picture of Kim. The death of Kim appeared to be an important focal point of student agitation. On a medium-traffic road near Paik Hospital, students distributed newspapers and leaflets to passing motorists, most of whom slowed down and rolled down their windows to receive them. In crowded subway cars people were reading similar flyers.

Thursday morning 1,500 riot police charged and removed the barricades in an hour-long clash where ten students and ten cops were injured. They didn't get the body and the barricades went back up. The barricade-enclosed block along with the adjacent street near Myongdong cathedral (where dissidents on the cops' wanted list are given sanctuary) were "liberated zones."

I was able to speak to a group of students there. I was challenged: why does "my" government support Roh, why does it want to keep Korea divided? I explained my opposition to U.S. imperialism, both in Korea, the Persian Gulf and in the U.S. I told them about cop attacks on blacks and picket lines. While we were talking an audience began to build, and when some of my points got through, there was applause.

Around 1 p.m. on Sunday, June 2, I was in my hotel room when I thought I made out the rhythmic sound of chanting. Camera in hand, I went out to investigate. Four blocks away was the largest, most militant demonstration I had ever seen. The newspapers said it was 35,000-strong, I estimated double that.

A sound truck stood in the middle of the intersection of Chongo (a ten-lane street) and Samillo (eight lanes). Circled around it, and extending deep into each of the four streets were students seated on the pavement. How they got there is still a puzzle to me, since the cops had vowed to limit the demo to sidewalks plus one traffic lane and to prohibit anti-government slogans. In this they failed: the chant "Down with Roh Tae Woo" was easily discernible. Various speakers, young and old, made emotion-filled speeches, often punctuated with chants and raised fists. The demonstrators, serious, determined, many with gauze tear gas "masks" in place, responded in kind.

Spartacist Canada

Seoul, June 2: Thousands of students face off against Darth Vader-style riot police.

West of the intersection and directly in front of a McDonald's restaurant was a frightening spectacle. Separated by about two meters, thousands of riot police confronted several rows of militants. Pacing along this gap, a student leader addressed the courageous students on the front lines. Chanting defiantly, these were the guys who would take the brunt of the cop attack. Behind them small groups, mostly women, wearing Red Cross armbands also chanted and sang songs. In the same area, with their backs to the main rally, several thousand stood ready to do battle. Although students appeared to be the vast majority, they were not alone. Ordinary-looking people of all ages, some in ties, lined the sidewalks watching sympathetically and some of these non-student types participated in the rally. I did not see anything resembling contingents of organized labor.

I happened to be standing on a sidewalk newspaper box taking pictures of the "Showdown at McDonald's" when the cops charged. Store shutters came crashing down, tens of thousands of demonstrators stood up. With their black gas masks in place, the cops looked like an army of Darth Vaders. Truncheons swinging, they began beating their way into the crowd. I was snapping away when a tear gas canister exploded in my immediate vicinity.

Skin stinging, eyes tearing and finding it hard to breathe, I joined the crowd around me which began running in the opposite direction. Nobody panicked. I continued running. I figured the demo was over, but I was wrong. Although they were dispersed and in some disarray, the students who had been driven down side streets by the gas were just taking a badly needed breather.

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Trade Pact...

(continued from page 1)

rulers (particularly Argentina's Menem) are falling all over each other trying to get in on the feast as U.S. capital prepares to carve up the economies of its southern "neighbors."

From the rape of Grenada and the contra war against Nicaragua to the invasion of Panama and the "drug wars" aimed at terrorizing the Andean countries of South America, the U.S. is wielding the "Big Stick." Emboldened by a "big win" in the Persian Gulf, these cops of the world now have their sights set on Castro's Cuba. For 30 years U.S. rulers have smarted at their humiliating defeat by the Cuban workers and peasants at the Bay of Pigs, and sought to destroy Cuba through economic blockade and CIA intrigue. The very existence of this (bureaucratically deformed) workers state, where festering poverty has been abolished and health and literacy levels have reached "First World" levels, is an incitement to rebellion throughout the hemisphere. Now abandoned by Gorbachev, Havana is facing Washington's fury full-blast. We call on all class-conscious workers to unconditionally defend Cuba against Yankee imperialism.

While Yale grad Bush links arms with Harvard man and Mexican president Carlos Salinas de Gortari in selling "free trade," the Canadian social democrats of the NDP wave the Maple Leaf flag and the bourgeois populist Cuauhtémoc Cárdenas wraps himself in the Mexican tricolor. Yet they only beg for better terms from Washington. The main opposition to the trade pact has come from the openly racist and protectionist AFL-CIO bureaucracy, which treacherously sets U.S. workers against their Mexican and Canadian brothers and sisters. There is a burning need for an *internationalist* proletarian opposition which stands with the working class and impoverished peasantry of Mexico against the imperialist assault. The Canadian, U.S. and Mexican sections of the International Communist League are dedicated to building a revolutionary vanguard that can unite the working masses of the continent in common class struggle.

Cambio 16

U.S. immigration cop seizes Mexican workers near the border. Over 1,000 "illegal" immigrants are arrested and deported daily.

U.S., Canada: No to Racist Protectionism!

Coupled with the 1989 trade pact with Canada, the FTA is designed to establish a "Fortress North America" as a weapon against a German-led Europe and a Japanese-dominated Far East. The American bourgeoisie dreams of salvaging the rusting U.S. economy through establishing a protected $6-trillion common market encompassing 360 million people—substantially bigger than the European Economic Community—stretching "from the Yukon to the Yucatan." "To hear George Bush tell it, a free-trade pact between the U.S. and Mexico would be the next best thing to a free lunch," reports *Time* (3 June). The Texas mafia in the White House salivates at the prospect of raking in superprofits from a wholesale U.S. takeover of the Mexican economy. They doubtless fantasize about buying up the land south of the border like the land grab that stole half of Mexico's territory outright a century and a half ago.

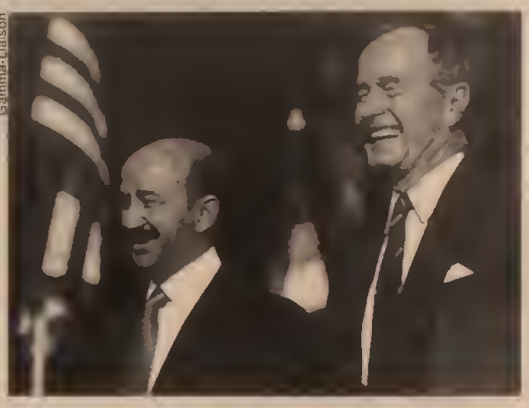
The American ruling class wants to pick up the Mexican economy in one huge buyout—at bargain basement prices. Certainly decaying American capitalism can't produce anything decent any more, after a decade of looting the economy for trillion-dollar Pentagon budgets and now to bail out the S&L crooks. In a graphic example of the deindustrialization of America, the Dow Jones stock index just replaced USX (U.S. Steel) with Walt Disney! However, the reactionary AFL-CIO bureaucracy aims its guns not at their capitalist masters, but at the workers of Mexico and Japan. For years there has been a barrage of racist, protectionist poison from the auto, garment and textile union tops blaming foreign workers for "stealing American jobs." Yet these same labor lieutenants of capital fork over billions in givebacks to U.S. bosses and go along with millions of layoffs while knifing U.S. workers' struggles in the back.

As the U.S. and Mexican economies are increasingly interpenetrated, there is a tremendous opportunity for internationalist labor struggle. The current plant occupation (sit-down strike) by garment workers in El Paso, Texas should be used to spark an organizing drive for unionization of workers on both sides of the Rio Grande/Río Bravo (see box opposite).

The jingoism of the labor traitors is echoed by reformists like the Communist Party USA, whose headlines scream "Maquiladora: A Monster Devouring U.S. Jobs." Their counterparts in the Canadian CP oppose the FTA as a "sellout of Canadian sovereignty" and because "it's a bad deal for Canada" (*Pacific Tribune*, 29 April). These "Communists" can't seem to distinguish between Canadian bosses and Canadian workers. In the U.S., a soft-core version of this social-chauvinism emanates from social-democratic groupings like *Labor Notes* (March 1991), which highlights opposition to the FTA "either out of self-interest or a sense of international solidarity," while not even mentioning protectionism, the main theme of their pals in the labor bureaucracy.

This is deadly poison—the young Chinese American Vincent Chin was bludgeoned to death on the streets of Detroit a decade ago because a Chrysler foreman thought he was Japanese and blamed him for "stealing jobs." The AFL-CIO's anti-foreign-worker policies are so grotesque, denouncing a free trade agreement for serving to "increase illegal immigration," that even George Bush denounces it for racism against Hispanics. We say that anyone who has made it to the U.S. or Canada has the right to work and live without the fear of being kidnapped by *la migra*! For full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers! Stop the deportations! Smash the racist Simpson-Rodino immigration law! Mexican workers as well must come to the aid of Central American refugees who, fleeing bloody repression by the U.S. client regimes, are brutally exploited and victimized in southern Mexico.

In a *Wall Street Journal* (18 April) column denouncing the trade pact, AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland hypocritically condemned the *maquiladora* plants, where "more than a half-million Mexicans...were joining the ranks of the most crudely exploited humans on the planet." But Kirkland and the rest of the American labor bureaucracy haven't lifted a finger to aid the organization of Mexican workers, not even in industries like auto, where 75,000 work in the Big 3 plants south of the border. GM alone has 25 plants in Mexico—it is the largest private employer in the entire country. Instead, the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, infamous among class-conscious workers throughout the hemisphere for decades of dirty work for the CIA from Chile to Central America to the Dominican Republic, has backed to the hilt the bloody U.S.-backed dictatorships which have enslaved the workers and peasants of the region.



Gamma-Liaison

Mexican president Salinas de Gortari and his imperialist godfather Bush.

The 1989 "free trade" agreement between Canada and the U.S. has been in place for two years, and has accelerated the war on unions and social benefits on both sides of the border. Coupled with the recession, it has meant the loss of at least a quarter million manufacturing jobs. Unemployment has soared to an official rate of 10.5 percent as Canada has lost 15 percent of its manufacturing jobs. When Caterpillar announced in April that it was moving operations from its plant north of Toronto to North Carolina (where wages are $7.50 an hour less), workers occupied the factory. But the Canadian Auto Workers bureaucracy, which left the UAW in a nationalist split four years ago, coaxed the workers out of the plant with empty promises of severance pay! The pro-capitalist CAW tops only bind Canadian workers closer to their "own" English Canadian bourgeoisie—while supporting the U.S./Canadian anti-Soviet military alliances.

Mexico: For Class-Struggle Unionism!

In April, Mexican president Salinas toured Canadian and U.S. cities beating the drums for the trade pact, while at home he pushes an avalanche of "privatizations." Salinas has staked his regime on the FTA, declaring "Mexico has decided to join the New World Order." What the New World Order means for Mexican workers and peasants is literal starvation, as this Harvard-educated

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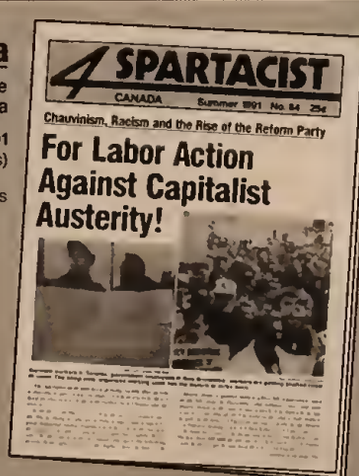
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CANADA Summer 1991 No. 84 25¢

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No. 1, Winter 1990-91
1,000 pesos/US $0.50
(24 pages)

4,000 pesos/US $2
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Make checks payable/mail to:

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Spartacist Publishing Co.
Box 1377 GPO
New York, NY 10116, USA

Spartacist Canada Publishing
Box 6867, Station A
Toronto, Ont. M5W 1X6, Canada

El Paso Garment Workers Hold Plant

The strike covering 120 workers at four El Paso, Texas garment plants—DCB, H&R, ACC and the occupation and hunger strike at Sonia Fashions—all owned by Andres Diaz, the "Sweatshop King," is now in its third month. Bonjour, a major national wholesaler, has canceled contracts with the "King" for the duration of the strike. The labor movement must come to the aid of the courageous Latina women strikers by mobilizing its power for an *organizing strike of all the sweatshops*.

The strike was called to demand recognition of the International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) and that tens of thousands of dollars in back wages be paid (see "Hispanic Women Strikers Occupy El Paso Plant," *WV* No. 528, 7 June). To make sure there was no scab production, the biggest factory, Sonia's, was occupied. To dramatize their struggle, beginning in mid-May small groups of strikers have gone on hunger strike, being replaced by others as dehydration and sickness set in. In a phone interview with *Workers Vanguard*, 52-year-old Julieta Riola warmly recalled reading the Spanish translation of our first article while she was on hunger strike. Eustolia Oliva, a leader of Mujer Obrera (Working Woman) which first took up the garment workers' cause, told *WV*, "We're stronger than we were on the first day."

Jose Luis Cerrato/El Paso Times

Striking garment workers picket DCB Apparel on May 1.

The strikers are solid, but they can't be left to stand alone. We pointed earlier to the power of unionized transportation workers to "hot-cargo" scab goods from Diaz' shops. In fact, ILGWU organizer Isidoro Basurto told *WV*, Teamster truck drivers of Roadway, Yellow Freight and UPS have refused to cross the picket lines at struck plants. However, the rest of the El Paso labor movement has failed to mobilize actively in support of the strike. With solid backing from the International and other unions, strike activists could lead a mass march of thousands down Texas Avenue to pull out garment workers in other sweatshops to join the strike! And extend the strike across the river to the *maquiladora* "free trade zone" garment shops in Ciudad Juárez!

In a desperate attempt to undercut the strike, Andres Diaz has been sneaking pieces from his one partially operating cutting room out to other area sweatshops. On June 20, while following Diaz' car in order to set up a picket line at the scab shop, ILGWU organizers Basurto and Adriana Meneses were arrested on the phony charge of disturbing the peace. Six days later, union organizer Pablo Montiel and striker Leonardo Garcia were similarly arrested on trumped-up charges. Not only have El Paso police engaged in an arrest and harassment campaign on behalf of the struck company, now cops are directly running Diaz' cut goods to the scab shops in unmarked police cars! We demand the dropping of all charges against the strikers and their supporters!

From the Farah strike in the early '70s and the strike at the Vestamex *maquiladora* in 1987, women garment workers in the El Paso/Ciudad Juárez area have fought valiantly in the face of tremendous odds. What's urgently needed is to flex the muscle of organized labor in a class-struggle campaign to organize workers on both sides of the border. If truckers refuse to handle struck goods and rail workers refuse to bring in supplies, utilities workers could cut off power and water to the sweatshops, teachers (who sent a delegation to Sonia's) could help man picket lines during summer vacation, and a concerted campaign could shut down El Paso's 120 *talleres de hambre* with their starvation wages. Despite the bosses' threats and cop intimidation, if the class brothers and sisters stand together, these greedy capitalists can be defeated. *¡Viva la huelga de la costura de El Paso!* ■

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technocrat has instituted his economic program called *la apertura*, the "opening" to the Yankee colossus to the north. Years of unrelenting attacks on the Mexican working class on behalf of the imperialist banks saw real wages slashed by *60 percent* between 1982 and the end of the decade (*El Cotidiano*, April-May 1991), so that they are now lower than in the late 1930s! While foreign investment is skyrocketing (to an expected $4-5 billion in 1991), *77,000 Mexican companies* have closed in the last five years (*La Jornada*, 28 April).

In 1982 when the "debt crisis" exploded, Mexico owed roughly $80 billion to foreign creditors. Over the last eight years, the governments of the perennially ruling PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) have squeezed over $80 billion out of Mexican workers, and today—after a $10 billion reduction last year through renegotiation—Mexico owes...$80 billion. A government official bragged that "Now there is life after debt." Not for the poor and working people, who face a daily struggle for survival. Most workers make the minimum wage or less—under four dollars a day. Yet prices for meat, fish, fruit and many vegetables are as high as in the U.S. Consumption of meat has fallen drastically and malnutrition is rampant. While Cárdenas and his PRD (Party of the Democratic Revolution) plead for a "moratorium" on the debt, we call for renouncing it outright—not one cent to the bloodsucking banks!

Meanwhile, Salinas is "privatizing" the economy at a breakneck pace—*three-quarters* of the 1,200 state-owned industries have been merged, closed or sold off, including steel mills, mines, the telephone system and both national airlines. Eighteen major banks will be sold off this year and next. Often, as at Aeroméxico, this selloff has included smashing the union and firing the entire workforce. Strikes have been broken with army scabherding at the Sicartsa steel mill and the Cananea copper mine. In the case of oil workers and most recently the port of Veracruz, it has meant a frontal attack on the old-guard labor bureaucracy, with its corporatist powers and privileges. Yet on May Day, these *charros*, the corrupt union bureaucrats of the Confederation of Mexican Labor (CTM), long a pillar of the PRI, once again dragged a million workers to Mexico City's Zócalo to pay obeisance to the president and demonstrate *for* the "free trade" rape of Mexico.

Villafuerte/Picture Group

U.S. union tops push protectionist poison, blame Mexican workers for "stealing American jobs."

The battle for union democracy at the Ford plant in Cuautitlán near Mexico City highlights the stranglehold of imperialist companies, the Mexican government and corporatist "unions," which will be a model for "labor relations" under a "free trade" pact. Ford ripped up the contract in 1987, and in January 1990 a group of gun thugs brought in by the company and the CTM stormed the plant, killing one worker, Cleto Nigno. After Ford attempted to fire 2,400, a court required a recount vote for union affiliation. While most workers supported the COR (a dissident labor federation), the CTM "won" in a June vote carried out under the guns of police grenadiers, with workers required to verbally declare which union they supported in front of government officials, supervisors and video cameras! Afterwards, 90-year-old CTM leader Fidel Velázquez vowed that over 1,100 workers who voted for the rival union would be thrown out.

The Cuautitlán Ford struggle is one of the sharpest labor battles on the continent, and should have received the support of solidarity strikes by U.S. and Canadian auto workers.

Two areas of Mexico's economy long considered untouchable have been the nationalized oil industry, Pemex, and the *ejidos*, communally owned lands encompassing 60 percent of farmland, whose peasants were long a base of support for the ruling party. From the 1940s to the early '60s, Mexico managed to achieve self-sufficiency in food production. But with the economic crisis, credits to rural small producers were slashed and now Salinas is moving to allow the sale of communal land. As *ejidatarios* face ruin from a flood of U.S. grain, the subsidized tortillas that keep millions of poor just above starvation will be a thing of the past. And though the PRI denies any plans to allow U.S. and European oil giants to invade Mexico's rich offshore fields, it is already privatizing processing and transport, while Bush (the former head of "Zapata Oil") and his fellow oil men want to undo Mexico's 1938 nationalization of petroleum.

In Mexican industry, the average worker is paid 57 cents an hour, *one-twentieth* of the average industrial wage of $10.84 in the U.S. In the highest-paid industry, transportation equipment, this rises to *one-seventh* of U.S. wages. But in the 2,000 *maquiladora* (free trade zone) plants, almost half a million workers, four-fifths of them women, slave 48 hours for an average wage of $28 *a week*. This is one of the lowest industrial wages in the world, far below Singapore, Hong Kong and Korea. Working conditions in many *maquilas* are unspeakable—child labor, brown lung, toxic wastes—and workers are crowded by the tens of thousands into shantytowns ringing the plants. The women workers of the *maquiladoras* and throughout Mexico have fought in militant strikes to organize against this brutal super-exploitation. A class-struggle labor leadership would champion the rights of these doubly oppressed workers—fighting for free day care and for free, safe abortion on demand. This is literally a life-and-death question, as many thousands of Mexican women die yearly from illegal abortions.

The fight against the FTA is a battle against American imperialist domination of Mexico. The U.S. ambassador, John Negroponte, was known in his previous posting in Honduras as "The Proconsul" for his role in running the Nicaraguan contras. In a confidential

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Trade Pact...

(continued from page 7)

memo, Negroponte declared that a "Free Trade Agreement will institutionalize acceptance of a North American orientation to Mexico's foreign relations" (*Proceso*, 13 May). Salinas had already lined up with the American-engineered blockade of Sandinista Nicaragua and, in addition to the notorious activities of the American DEA inside Mexico, today U.S. military planes routinely enter the country "in hot pursuit" of alleged drug smugglers. Using the same "drug wars" pretext, Washington is increasingly militarizing the border with Mexico, as U.S. officials and racist vigilantes escalate violence against Mexican immigrants in the border region.

Negroponte's memo also saw the FTA as "an instrument to...guarantee continued policies of economic reform in Mexico beyond the Salinas administration." The U.S. capitalists want to continue to buy up Mexican properties at will. The Salinas administration, in turn, is looking more and more like the government of Porfirio Díaz at the turn of the century, during whose reign American investments in Mexico exceeded all other U.S. foreign investment and all investments by the Mexican bourgeoisie. By 1911, some 80 percent of all fixed investment in mining was American, up to 20 percent of Mexico's land was owned by foreigners, and of the country's 80 largest companies only six were Mexican (compared to 21 U.S. and 23 British establishments). Today all eight of Mexico's largest companies are either state-owned or foreign-owned "transnationals." But while the Yankee capitalists' appetites are voracious, it should be recalled that the predatory feast under Díaz provoked the Mexican Revolution.

American bosses are not the only owners of *maquilas*. Dozens of Japanese companies—Nissan, Hitachi, Sanyo, Casio, Matsushita—have set up factories. The hollowness of the "free trade" rhetoric is exposed by the U.S. bourgeoisie's concern that the Japanese be excluded from the "free lunch." *Time* quotes one Washington expert: "What we emphatically don't want to do is to make Mexico safe for Japanese investment." The protectionists in Congress are demanding a provision that would require 75 percent "North American content" to exclude Japanese products. The anti-Japanese chauvinism of the U.S. trade-union tops is shared by nationalists in Mexico, who are now railing against Japanese capital investment in the "privatized" state industries. (Salinas, however, is adept at playing the Japanese card—talking of dynamic "Pacific Rim" countries and even enrolling his children in a Japanese school in Mexico City.)

For Internationalist Opposition to the FTA!

Nationalism is the touchstone of opponents of the FTA in Mexico. Cárdenas and his fake-socialist supporters spout rhetoric about *la patria* (fatherland) and national sovereignty in order to mobilize workers for a return to the "good old days" when the PRI's authoritarian capitalist rule had a fig leaf of "independence" from the U.S. Cárdenas bombastically declares, "we are categorically and irrevocably opposed to this kind of free trade agreement," and then talks of an "alternative agreement" that would include a "social charter" and "common standards for labour, social and environmental rights" (*Canadian Tribune*, 21 January). This Cuauhtémoc-in-Wonderland scenario ignores the fundamental fact that it is precisely Mexico's cheap wages and lax regulatory standards that attract the profit-gouging North American capitalists.

Espartaco

Banner at Mexico City May Day march denounces Free Trade Agreement for "prostituting" Mexico to the U.S.

In fact, Cárdenas offers up his bourgeois populist policies as better able to bring about a "convergence of national interests" with the Yankee imperialists, as "only a Mexican government with... impeccable nationalist credentials" can get the working class to shoulder its "share" of the burden as Mexico emerges from a "welfare state" (*Foreign Policy*, Spring 1990). Stripped of the language of bourgeois diplomacy, Cárdenas is lecturing Washington, Ottawa and Wall Street that only a popular front in power can stick it to the Mexican proletariat and prevent dreaded "social unrest." Meanwhile, some ex-Stalinists around Jorge Alcocer have recently split from the *cardenista* PRD to support Salinas, arguing that the free trade agreement will bring foreign investment and some concessions to the workers while criticizing Cárdenas' "vengeance-seeking" and "anti-governmentism"!

The reformists of the PRT (Mexican followers of Ernest Mandel), on the other hand, declare themselves internationalists hostile to any illusions in the possibility of defending "a 'national' capitalist system, outdated, exploded, outstripped, ruined"...and then call for "coming together" with nationalists (including "those coming from the bourgeois camp") in a "broad front against the FTA with forces like the PRD" (*Bandera Socialista*, 10 June). The fact that Cárdenas is *not* opposed to a free trade pact, but is only trying to *modify* its terms, exposes the PRT's call, not for uniting in militant actions against imperialism but for a *political bloc* with "progressive" sectors of the Mexican bourgeoisie. Likewise, the pseudo-Trotskyist PTZ (followers of the late Nahuel Moreno) publishes a front-page editorial talking of "our country," "our territory," "our sovereignty"—even "our foreign policy"! —and calling for "a national front that opposes the sellout of the country" (*El Socialista*, 1st fortnight of June 1991).

Lenin denounced such capitulation with contempt:

> "Marxism cannot be reconciled with nationalism, be it even of the 'most just,' 'purest,' most refined and civilized brand. In place of all forms of nationalism Marxism advances internationalism, the amalgamation of all nations in the higher unity, a unity that is growing before our eyes with every mile of railway line that is built, with every international trust, and every workers' association that is formed."
>
> —"Critical Remarks on the National Question" (October-December 1913)

The "free trade" assault on Mexico poses pointblank the need for building Trotskyist parties as part of a revolutionary Fourth International which can lead the proletariat of the region to power. A document of the founding conference of the Fourth International in 1938, "Thesis on the World Role of American Imperialism," noted that economic rivalries were the opening shots of the second imperialist world war:

> "The 'good neighbor' policy is nothing but the attempt to unify the Western Hemisphere under the hegemony of Washington, as a solid bloc wielded by the latter in its drive to close the door of the two American continents to all the foreign imperialist powers except itself. This policy is materially supplemented by the favorable trade agreements which the United States seeks to conclude with the Latin American countries in the hope of systematically edging its rivals out of the market....
>
> "The struggle against American imperialism is therefore at the same time a struggle against the coming imperialist war and for the liberation of oppressed colonial and semicolonial peoples. Hence, it is inseparable from the class struggle of the American proletariat against the ruling bourgeoisie, and cannot be conducted apart from it....
>
> "Only a union of the Latin American peoples, striving towards the goal of a united socialist America and allied in the struggle with the revolutionary proletariat of the United States, would present a force strong enough to contend successfully with North American imperialism."

The International Communist League has always recognized that the fate of the Mexican and U.S. proletariats are closely intertwined. As we stressed in "Mexico Atop the Volcano" (*WV* No. 429, 29 May 1987): "The fight for workers revolution in Mexico and the U.S. is directly linked, including by the human bridge of millions of Mexican and Central American workers who have 'gone north.' Mexico's proximity to the U.S., which has cost it half its territory and subjected it to repeated Yankee aggression, can be a powerful lever for international socialist revolution. The Spartacist tendency seeks to construct an authentically communist vanguard to lead it, forged in the fight for the rebirth of Trotsky's Fourth International."

Grupo Espartaquista de México,
Spartacist League/U.S.,
Trotskyist League of Canada,
sections of the
International Communist League
(Fourth Internationalist)

Letter...

(continued from page 3)

determined in the process of production itself, not subsequent distribution. Henwood, however, focuses on redistributing income through taxation.

In this context, Henwood's attitude toward the unions appears contradictory. His 7 May *Village Voice* piece urged the New York City labor movement to aggressively campaign for taxing the rich. The article's subhead was "Unions' Tax-the-Rich Rally Gets Timid." Thus Henwood evidently believes that the labor movement has the economic and political power to affect how, in his words, the state redistributes value "both within sectors of capital and across classes." At the same time, he isn't sure whether the unions can defend their members' living standards through militant strike action such as shutting down the airports, and whether it makes a difference if they do. It does.

Would winning the PATCO strike have made a difference? Just see Barbara Koppel's film *American Dream* about the Hormel strike and ask yourself if the outcome would have been different for the 1,400 meatpackers in the middle of Minnesota if Reagan hadn't been able to bust the air traffic controllers. Or for the Morenci copper miners, or the Greyhound bus drivers, or the Pittston coal miners, etc.

Henwood does not address the main point in our reply to his original letter: how to *begin* to reverse the increase in the rate of exploitation of the American working class brought about by the *defeatism* of the AFL-CIO bureaucracy, both the outright reactionaries like Lane Kirkland and the social democrats like Dennis Rivera. Right after the 1983-84 Greyhound strike, we wrote in our action program "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win," of which we have distributed over 200,000 copies to striking workers and labor demonstrations:

> "No decisive gain of labor was ever won in a courtroom or by an act of Congress. Everything the workers movement has won of value has been achieved by mobilizing the ranks of labor in hard-fought struggle, on the picket lines, in plant occupations. What counts is power. The strength of the unions lies in their numbers, their militancy, their organization and discipline and their relation to the decisive means of production in modern capitalist society."
>
> —*WV* No. 349, 2 March 1984

If the unions had shut down the airports in the PATCO or Eastern strikes, if mass picketing had been used to stop police scabherding in the Greyhound and Hormel strikes, this would not be "just a more militant variant of business unionism." The entire political climate in this country would have changed. American society would have *polarized* along different lines: for the workers or for capitalist law and order. The impact of the 1934 Minneapolis Teamsters strike and San Francisco general strike, of the 1937 Flint GM sitdown, went far, far beyond winning union contracts for the specific groups of workers involved. These actions spurred class struggle throughout American society and radicalized tens of thousands of workers and also young intellectuals.

To turn things around today will require comparable struggle. A major reason for the catastrophic decline in unionization over the past few decades has been the shift of manufacturing from the Midwest and Northeast to the South and Southwest, the so-called "Sun Belt." To organize the "open shop" South, union forces will have to take on cracker sheriffs and KKK terrorists. And it will take militant tactics, such as plant occupations and "hot-cargoing" (refusing to handle scab products), for the existing unions to put an end to the wage gouging and giveback contracts of the past decade and give a combative labor movement the power to attract new members and broad support. This is the kind of class and anti-racist struggle needed to mobilize the black masses behind the labor movement, not lobbying Congress or state legislatures to "tax the rich." ■

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Korean Workers...

(continued from page 4)

corporatist trade-union federation, the South Korean police state has tolerated a loyal liberal opposition which acts as a safety valve to harness student and working-class discontent into "safe" channels. In the 1987 elections, the two principal liberal opposition forces, centered around Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung (the "two Kims"), could not agree on a common slate and ran against each other, allowing the military's man Roh to win. Liberals and radicals alike have since flagellated themselves for squandering this "historic" opportunity to oust the military hardliners. In fact the two Kims are nothing but parliamentary hustlers, who stand with the military on the fundamentals.

Indeed, Kim Young Sam openly joined forces with Roh to form the Democratic Liberal Party last year. And while Kim Dae Jung continues to mouth democratic phrases, in an extensive interview in Japan's English-language *Daily Yomiuri* (3 June) during the student protests he made it absolutely clear that he stood for "political stability," insisting that Roh "should be removed by elections, not by street demonstrations or violent means." Kim wants the *chaebol* (monopoly)-dominated South Korean capitalist state to adopt a democratic façade as the surest road to gobbling up the "Communist" North: "My goal is to make South Korea another West Germany. I am convinced that only when we have a truly democratic society in the South will unification be possible."

Until then, Kim is unabashed in his support for the U.S. military presence, insisting that "American forces, at a reduced level, should remain in Korea indefinitely." Pledging loyalty to Washington's "New World Order" in its growing interimperialist rivalry with Japan, he declares: "The best way to avoid creating a vacuum that will be filled by a resurgent Japan is to keep American forces in Korea." South Korea has been a U.S. puppet since its creation as a forward military post for American imperialism's Cold War onslaught against Mao's China and the USSR, particularly during the Korean War of 1950-53.

But Kim's views are certainly not shared by the vast majority of workers and student militants. South Korea's vaunted "economic miracle" has been achieved through rigid repression and grinding exploitation. Meanwhile, there is a wide—and growing—"income gap" between rich and poor. And the student protesters who chanted "Down with the murderous Roh regime!" also shouted "Drive out the Yankees!" Neither the independent trade unions nor the all-Korea nationalist student protesters buy the government's virulently anti-Communist propaganda. Indeed one of the principal demands of student militants in recent years has been for unconditional reunification with the North, expressed most dramatically by mass student delegations attempting to cross the border at Panmunjon.

Far from seeing North Korea as the Communist enemy, many South Korean workers and students are either neutral or sympathetic toward the North. "In North Korea everybody is equal," said one student protester who, as the *Korea Herald* (31 May) reported, was "echoing comments made by the vast majority of the radical students." The article continued:

> "The student insisted he did not support the government of North Korean leader Kim Il-sung, saying, 'You know that to support North Korea can put you in jail.' "But he added, 'in North Korea everybody has food enough to eat and school and medical care are free'."

It speaks volumes about the corrupt and brutal character of capitalist class rule in the South that these militant petty-bourgeois students are attracted to the truly bizarre bureaucratically deformed workers state to the north. Eccentric American Stalinoid apologists like Sam Marcy's Workers World Party and Jack Barnes' SWP to the contrary, the dynastic regime of Kim Il Sung and his son and heir apparent Kim Jong Il is one of the most grotesque expressions of Stalinist rule anywhere.

Kan-Kan Kaipaimu

North Korea's arch-Stalinist "Great Leader" Kim Il Sung.

Unlike Germany, where the promise of instant D-mark prosperity cast its spell over the workers of the East (who have since been cruelly disillusioned) and pushed through a ruinous capitalist reunification, in Korea the prospects point, if anything, in the opposite direction. The U.S.-backed strongman regime in the South is so fearful of any popular contact with the North that it forbids all mail and phone communication, and makes it a crime to visit North Korea or listen to North Korean radio. A revolutionary upsurge in the South would almost immediately pose the reunification of Korea as a revolutionary workers state, and as the first contingents of workers and students crossed over the DMZ it would instantly shake the brittle bureaucratic regime of Kim Il Sung & Son.

While the North Korean proletariat has stubbornly defended its socialized property forms and stayed the bloody hand of U.S. imperialism along the 38th parallel for 40 years, the Kim Il Sung bureaucracy—with its autarkic program of "self-reliance" (*juche*) based on building "socialism in half a country"—has consistently refused to reach out to the South Korean proletariat. Now, smelling the winds of collapsing Stalinism from the West, Kim is already making amends with imperialist archenemy Japan and testing the waters for some form of accommodation with the capitalist South.

South Korea is a powder keg of class contradictions waiting to explode in social revolution. An article in the New York *Village Voice* (19 June 1990) captured this quality:

> "In the universities, students sing of revolution. In the assembly plants and factories, workers organize radical unions. Strikers occupy shipyards and auto plants. Farmers organize to evict U.S. air bases from their communities."

The personally courageous leadership of the new union movement—forged in struggle against the *chaebols*, the KCIA and the "AFL-CIA"-supported corporatist "union" federation—is limited to a perspective of economic demands and liberal democracy. Yet virtually every strike by the independent trade unions immediately comes up against the naked power of the capitalist state. What is sorely needed is a proletarian party committed to a revolutionary perspective for all Korea.

WV Photo

San Francisco, May 23: Spartacists protest Seoul's bloody repression of student demos.

For Leninist Internationalism!

The South Korean industrial proletariat is relatively young, but the traditions of Korean communism, inspired by the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution, fill an important chapter in the history of the struggle for world socialist revolution. Dispersed by Japanese imperialism's 1910 occupation, pioneer Korean revolutionary militants played an important role not only in Korea but in building Communist parties of the Soviet Far East, China and Japan. Koreans in the Soviet maritime district eagerly joined the Red Army to fight against the White Guards and Japanese imperialism during the Russian Civil War. They were active in China and Manchuria as an important component of the Communist International's Shanghai Far Eastern Bureau. Indeed the first Comintern representative in Japan was a Korean and many Korean youth studying in Tokyo were recruited to the early Japanese CP.

Courageous Korean Communists, dispatched from the USSR, China and Japan, tried to organize an indigenous Korean party, but most were jailed by the efficient Japanese occupation police. The Korean contribution to early Asian communism was readily seen at the 1921 First Congress of the Toilers of the Far East, held in Moscow, where 52 of the 144 accredited delegates were Korean. Stalin later politically destroyed these invaluable cadres. But this internationalist founding tradition of Korean communism must be rekindled and expanded through forging a Leninist-Trotskyist party fighting for the revolutionary reunification of Korea. Fused with the combative spirit of the Korean workers and students, this would have an electrifying effect on China and Japan.

The Spartacist Group Japan and the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) demand: U.S. out of Korea! For military defense of North Korea, the USSR and the other deformed workers states! For revolutionary reunification of Korea through socialist revolution in the South and proletarian political revolution in the North! Reforge the Fourth International, world party of socialist revolution! ■

Eyewitness...

(continued from page 5)

A steady drumbeat resounded as people milled around discussing what to do next. They tore up the sidewalk tiles, then broke up the big pieces by smashing them onto the road. Advancing in a semi-organized way, they lobbed their rocks. The cops responded with rounds of tear gas which sounded like automatic gun fire. The crowd retreated, then began preparing for the next advance. Individuals occasionally shouted out directions.

Although I didn't get near the heavy fighting, it was obvious to me that the students were very brave. (Photographers with "PRESS" imprinted on their gas masks were able to get better pictures of the action.) In thick clouds of tear gas, the battle on Chongo raged for some time. Amazingly, at one point the crowd surged westward, pushing the cops back. How they tolerated the gas is beyond me. Later on, I saw the remains of the combatants' weapons: Molotov cocktails and rocks. I don't know how many were injured.

After an hour or so of this the ranks began to thin. Littered with the remnants of the fight and with tear gas lingering in the air, Chongo was returning to semi-normality. Store windows were all intact. The road was thick with traffic, riot police were massed on corners and people clutching kerchiefs to their noses filled the sidewalks. Several hours later, the air still had a bite to it. ■

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Teamsters...

(continued from page 3)

invasion of the IBT convention is the culmination of a half-century-long government vendetta against this giant of the labor movement. But the Teamsters still have the power to cripple the economy with a transport strike. As the bosses' press noted, "one corner of the marketplace where Teamsters have considerable clout is the package-delivery industry. At UPS, which delivers almost 12 million parcels a day...a Teamsters walkout would effectively halt the nation's package-delivery system" (*Wall Street Journal*, 12 June).

UPI

Jimmy Hoffa (right) confronts witchhunter Bobby Kennedy during 1959 Congressional hearing. Kennedys waged a decade-long vendetta to jail Teamster leader.

Union "Reform" Through Government Control?

At the convention, Chuck Mack, a union official from California, denounced the consent decree, saying: "This agreement has allowed the government to occupy our international union and many locals and joint councils like a conquering army for the last two years." Running point for the government is "Teamsters for a Democratic Union," a social-democratic-inspired outfit whose idea of "union reform" consists of bringing in the courts. They worked hand in hand with the Senate "investigation" of the Teamsters as witnesses for the prosecution, and literally wrote the blueprint for the government plan to "reorganize" the union. They even brag "TDU Wins New Rights" (*Convoy*, August 1990), after this unprecedented government straitjacket was slapped on the Teamsters. *Warning: TDU is as anti-union as finks wearing a wire—they're G-men without a G-string.*

Under the decree, federal judge Dave Edelstein and his deputies Michael Holland (former counsel of the Mine Workers) and retired judge Frederick Lacey have vetoed one candidate for union office after another. So following the nominations at Orlando for IBT International elections in December, Teamsters will now get to choose among government-certified slates headed by R.V. Durham, IBT vice president in charge of national freight; Walter Shea, a longtime assistant to Teamster presidents; and Ron Carey, head of the New York UPS local, who is supported by the TDU. All three mouth criticisms of the feds' takeover of the union, but all of them have dragged the union into the bosses' courts, all of them support the bosses' Democratic and Republican parties, and none of them has the slightest intention of leading militant labor struggle.

The government and the capitalists' hired pens in the labor-hating press harp about Teamster corruption, graft and nepotism. Former International president Jackie Presser, who was carried into the IBT's 1986 convention at Caesar's Palace in Las Vegas on a sedan chair by wrestlers dressed as Roman centurions, *was a government fink for ten years.* He was the Manuel Noriega of American labor. The feds knew all about his sweetheart deals and bribery, and gave Presser secret information to help get him elected Teamster chief. Yelling about corruption really takes chutzpah coming from the Reagan and Bush gang whose family and friends fed at the trough of the S&L piggy bank mega rip-off.

Since the 1989 consent decree, the feds have charged over 100 Teamsters with corruption and thrown 41 out of the union. Meanwhile the IBT treasury is being milked by the court-appointed overseers: while complaining about high salaries for Teamster officials, administrator Lacey is raking in $340 *per hour* and "investigations officer" Charles Carberry ($250 an hour) is leasing plush Manhattan offices and charging the unions $1.1 million a year for his staff of government agents. Federal supervision of local union delegate elections for the convention cost over $4 million. Even the union's monthly magazine has been taken over by the feds; 26 out of the 32 pages in the June issue were written by the government. Perhaps most important of all, Lacey has the power to veto union expenditures. It's not too hard to figure out what that would mean in the middle of a national strike!

Labor Must Clean Its Own House!

Workers democracy is not going to come to the American labor movement as a gift from the bourgeoisie. It will be won by the working class through struggle—struggle which will inevitably, and in the case of the Teamsters immediately, come up against the capitalist state. Opposition to intervention by the bosses' state into the affairs of the workers movement should be elementary for any class-conscious worker. But outfits like the TDU and the "Association for Union Democracy" have made their living suing the unions in the bosses' courts. A recent book by TDU founder Dan La Botz, *Rank and File Rebellion* (1990), boasts:

> "Over the years, TDU has repeatedly gone to the National Labor Relations Board, to the courts and to the Department of Labor (and to many government agencies) to seek justice for union members."

And most of the American left that claims to be socialist has predictably lined up behind Carey and the TDU.

Thus last April, at the *Labor Notes* conference in Dearborn that brought together ex-New Leftists and aspiring union bureaucrats like the New Directions crowd in the UAW, featured speaker Carey declared that, instead of rewarding labor's enemies, he would "reward our friends and punish our enemies." In other words, vote Democrat. Yet the ostensible Trotskyists of Socialist Action call Carey "a fighting alternative" (while conceding his program is "less than clear on political action"!), and the Fourth Internationalist Tendency claims that the TDU is part of an "implied program of progressive unionism" and that the "task at hand is to win the election for Carey. What happens after that will depend on the strength and skill of the TDU caucus in the union." If the Communist Party didn't tilt to Carey, it's because they claimed that "progressive local and district union leaders can be found in each camp."

A slew of social democrats are pumping for Carey and the TDU. The International Socialist Organization, which backs a Carey victory, writes an article on the convention that doesn't even mention the feds' operation against the union. *In These Times* at least admits Carey's Democratic Party politics, but claims that by ousting the old guard such "clean" candidates would open the way to using the union's muscle to win decent contracts. Bullshit! TDU was built on the model of Arnold Miller's "Miners for Democracy," who took over the UMWA in a Labor Department-ordered election in 1972. After several wildcat strikes over the objections of the government-installed "reform" leadership, miners launched the great coal strike of 1977-78, in which they repeatedly burned contracts negotiated by the UMW tops, ripped up Taft-Hartley injunctions and burned Miller in effigy.

All the government claims about "democracy" are so much hooey. The U.S.-controlled "direct election" of International officers is far less democratic than open debate on the floor of a union convention. Moreover, estimates are that it will take over a million dollars to run a campaign for Teamster International president—and that kind of money can only come from the feds, the mob or the bosses. In the hands of the capitalist state and bosses' media, such votes favor candidates who offer themselves as labor cops to "discipline" the unions for the bourgeoisie. Meanwhile, to reverse the losses which have gutted the National Master Freight Agreement through two-tier wages and "double-breasting," where the IBT looks the other way when companies set up non-union subsidiaries, the Teamsters will have to take up the militant tactics which have been the target of the government union-busters from the beginning.

Needed: A Class-Struggle Leadership

The government attacks on the Teamsters have often been most intense under the liberal Democrats. The Kennedy brothers, Robert and John, directed enormous government resources in their obsession to destroy Jimmy Hoffa. The labor-hating McClellan Committee investigated 12 unions in 1957 including the Teamsters. Robert Kennedy became the chief staff counsel and point man attacking the unions for the Congressional Committee (on which his brother John also sat). He called over 1,300 witnesses against Hoffa and the Teamsters alone! McClellan tried to fix the 1957 IBT convention which elected Hoffa president by sending telegrams threatening to throw out half the delegates. Meanwhile, Cold Warrior George Meany expelled the Teamsters from the AFL-CIO at the height of the "get Hoffa" campaign.

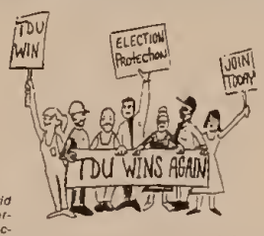
In his book luridly titled *The Enemy Within* (1960), Robert Kennedy declared: "The Teamsters Union is the most powerful institution in the country—aside from the United States Government itself.... They control the pickup and delivery of milk, frozen meat, fresh fruit, department store merchandise, newspapers, railroad express, air freight, and of cargo to and from the sea docks. Quite literally your life—the life of every person in the United States—is in the hands of Hoffa and his Teamsters. But though the great majority of Teamster officers and Teamster members are honest, the Teamster union under Hoffa is not run as a bona fide union. As Mr. Hoffa operates it, this is a conspiracy of evil." Most working people, especially blacks and Hispanics, would consider "a conspiracy of evil" an apt description of the U.S. government.

Robert Kennedy began his career as a witchhunter for Joe McCarthy. As journalist John Bartlow Martin wrote in *Jimmy Hoffa's Hot* (1959), "Kennedy was maneuvering to establish his own fifth column inside the Teamsters Union." TDU is precisely the kind of "fifth column" that RFK wanted. As Kennedy's smear job indicated, the government's interest in the Teamsters is very clear. A top investigator of the New York State Organized Crime Task Force recently said, "they could still tie the nation up in

TEAMSTER **CONVOY DISPATCH**

August 1990

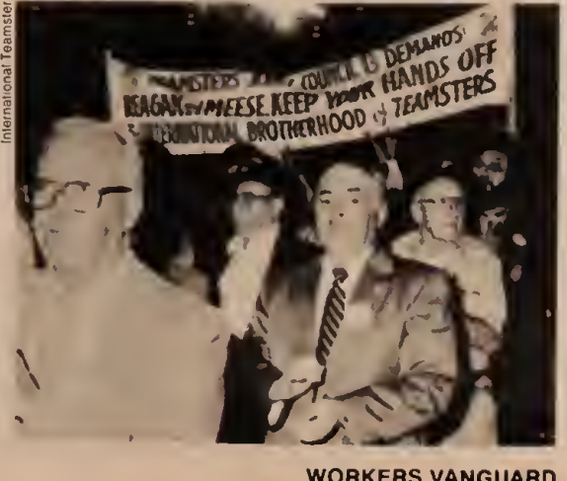
TDU Wins New Rights



U.S. District Judge David Edelstein on July 10 ordered new election protections for all Teamsters, after TDU legal briefs requested them! U.S. District Judge Stanley Harris on July 12 ordered contract voting-rights protections, another TDU victory! (See articles page 1 and page 6.)

TDU is there for you. We need you to be there for TDU. Be part of the solution—$30 is a small price to pay to do your part for a strong, democratic union. Join TDU today!

TDU brings bosses' state into union affairs, hails worst-ever government control of Teamsters as "another TDU victory." For complete independence of the unions from the capitalist state!



International Teamster

Teamsters protest govarnment intervantion at 1987 conference in Cincinnati.

NYC...

(continued from page 12)

And now labor fakers Stanley Hill (AFSCME District Council 37) and Barry Feinstein (Teamsters) want a "divorce" from this administration that they put in office.

Enough! New York labor must use its muscle to fight to save New York. You can't fight City Hall? Like hell! A labor leadership worthy of the name would shut NYC down tight for 48 hours—let the Yupper East Side see what it's like to pick up their own garbage, see how Wall Street likes walking to work! The working class of New York can seal up this city tight as a drum—raise the bridges, shut down the tunnels, nothing moves in or out, and the LIRR and the subways screech to a halt! The bosses need New York, so squeeze: not one layoff, not one furlough—and not a penny to the bloodsucking banks! But such a fight requires a *political* battle against the labor traitors who put NYC workers' and minorities' backs to the wall.

WV Photo

1980 NYC transit workers strike. Integreted labor movement has the power to save New York!

Killer Cuts and Killer Cops

These are killer cuts: Harlem Hospital, the *only* health care for over 100,000 Harlem residents, is losing hundreds of workers—almost all of them front line health care workers. When 300 angry, grim members of AFSCME Local 420 rallied outside the hospital on June 27, all that Local 420 president Jim Butler offered the laid-off workers was "an honored place in the front of the march."

The Hill

The Hill, homeless community next to the Manhattan Bridge.

But not every city agency is being cut. Over the next three years, the cops will get 9,000 more thugs in blue on the streets, racist killers like the ones who used a "camel clutch" to choke Federico Pereira to death on the streets of Queens in February. Despite three eyewitnesses, four of those cops walked when the Queens D.A. dropped the charges, and a fifth faces reduced charges. Outside the courthouse protesters chanted "KKK, PBA" and Federico's mother Laura Nieves tearfully called the killer cops "death squads." As *Daily News* columnist Juan Gonzalez bitterly wrote, "When the history of this city's descent into a near police state is written...the case will certainly deserve special mention."

And in the next two years alone, a billion dollars will go to add new jail cells to what is already the largest municipal penal complex *in the world* (over 23,000 cells, doubled since 1986). The other "growth industry" in New York is the homeless. In the midst of the biggest real estate bust in decades, with *thousands* of apartments sitting empty, warehoused by bankrupt speculators, tens of thousands of homeless roam the streets. In a series of sweeps to "disappear" the homeless before the 1992 Democratic Party convention, the Dinkins administration has brutally closed encampments at Tompkins Square and now the Coliseum. The city's next target is the "Hill," a longstanding community of homeless at the foot of Manhattan Bridge.

New York City is by no means alone. With the federal budget being poured into the Pentagon and the S&L boondoggle, the 1980s saw a deep drop in money to the cities. The federal share of the NYC budget fell from 18 percent in 1980 to less than 10 percent today. Philadelphia is on the ropes, Bridgeport has filed for bankruptcy (as a means to bust the municipal unions). And the states are in big trouble. California is facing a *$14 billion* shortfall—which in a bipartisan move the state government thinks they can squeeze out of welfare payments. If New York City is the target of choice, it's because it is the largest issuer of bonds outside of the U.S. government itself.

Reformists and labor traitors try to divert workers away from the road of class struggle with impotent appeals to "Tax the Rich." But no matter how "militant" their appeals to "redistribute income" or to "make the rich pay," they all boil down to begging the racist, capitalist system to reform itself. *That* is truly pie-in-the-sky.

Dinkins keeps saying there's no money. There are billions upon billions sitting in the Federal Reserve bank. But just try and get it! As urban planner Elliott Sclar writes in *Newsday* (30 June), "Congress now seriously considers only the relative merits of bank bail-outs and Stealth bomber contracts." The decay of New York City is a direct reflection of decaying American capitalism, and the bind that the ruling class faces over state and municipal financing reflects a broader contradiction between its dwindling economic base and its appetite for world domination.

Canceling the debt, expropriating the banks, taking industry from the owners who have run it into the ground—that brings you right up against capitalist state power. The fight to save New York must be part and parcel of a program for socialist revolution, and the forging of a revolutionary workers party to lead it. ■

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knots if they wanted to." Then as now, the Teamsters command respect and the feds' attention for the muscle they have. The government persecution of the IBT goes back to 1941, when Roosevelt used the anti-communist Smith Act to purge the Minneapolis Teamsters of the Trotskyist leaders who led the 1934 Minneapolis general strike and opposed the drive to the second imperialist world war.

The current crop of corrupt and pro-capitalist labor traitors in the Teamsters leadership are the result of that first government "red purge" of the unions (which was cheered on by the Communist Party, screaming about a "Trotskyite Fifth Column"). Jimmy Hoffa was sent by gangster-linked IBT chief Daniel Tobin to "clean out" the Minneapolis local. Earlier, as a Detroit local leader, Hoffa learned the organizing techniques that the Trotskyists used to organize over-the-road drivers. This was what enabled the Teamsters to grow from a disparate collection of local barons into a powerful national union. And this was what the government set out to destroy, from the 1948 Taft-Hartley "slave labor" act to the 1959 Landrum-Griffin "anti-corruption" act. Both targeted the "secondary boycott" ("hot-cargoing") pioneered by the Minneapolis Trotskyist Teamsters.

In 1940, as the witchhunt against left-wing unionists was building in the U.S., Leon Trotsky was working on an article against the growing capitalist state control of labor when he was struck down by a Stalinist assassin. In that article, Trotsky wrote:

> "Monopoly capitalism is less and less willing to reconcile itself to the independence of trade unions. It demands of the reformist bureaucracy and the labor aristocracy, who pick up the crumbs from its banquet table, that they become transformed into its political police before the eyes of the working class."

The consequence for the workers' struggle, declared the co-leader of the Russian Revolution and founder of the Fourth International, was:

> "The primary slogan for this struggle is: *complete and unconditional independence of the trade unions in relation to the capitalist state.* This means a struggle to turn the trade unions into the organs of the broad exploited masses and not the organs of a labor aristocracy.
>
> "The second slogan is: *trade union democracy.* This second slogan flows directly from the first and presupposes for its realization the complete freedom of the trade unions from the imperialist or colonial state.
>
> "The trade unions of our time can either serve as secondary instruments of imperialist capitalism for the subordination and disciplining of workers and for obstructing the revolution, or, on the contrary, the trade unions can become the instruments of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat."

"But," he added, "without the political leadership of the Fourth International the independence of the trade unions is impossible."

This is no abstract or outdated question. A rebirth of class-struggle unionism would directly confront the state. The sellouts and finks and social democrats who just beg for crumbs from the capitalist table think they can use the government as it is using them. But anyone who seriously proposes to fight drug-testing witchhunts, government-supervised union elections, police scabherding and the like had better have a class-struggle program to mobilize against the cops, the courts and capitalist politicians and their flunkeys. For the complete independence of the labor movement from the bosses' state! Feds: get your dirty hands off the Teamsters! ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Union Tops Sacrifice Workers and Minorities to Wall Street

NYC Soak-the-Poor Budget

"Friend of Labor" Dinkins Lays Off Thousands

WV Photo

June 6: 1,500 parks workers protest mass layoffs.

JULY 1—"D-Day" in the New York City budget war came and city workers went, more than 10,000 laid off, and along with them $1.4 billion in cuts of desperately needed services that affect the minority poor first and foremost. Wall Street demanded big bucks in givebacks, liberal Democratic governor Cuomo cracked the whip, black Democratic mayor Dinkins dished it out, social-democratic union leaders served it up, and we're supposed to eat it. With thousands more unemployed on the streets and thousands more cops out there to make the mean streets of New York meaner, the social mixture could be explosive.

David Dinkins announced his "Doomsday Budget" in early May, as a club to extract hundreds of millions of dollars in givebacks from the city unions, while guaranteeing *billions* in interest payments to the banks ($2.77 billion in the coming year). Well, now the day of reckoning is here for the poor and working people of New York, and the cuts are already killing. On June 24, Ollie Hartley, a 29-year-old Sanitation Department worker with two children, leapt from the roof of his Inwood apartment building, after learning that he was being laid off after ten years as a stock clerk.

As the July 1 deadline for the budget approached, Dinkins and the city council engaged in a disgusting bidding war over which city workers to slash, while proposing to shut down shelters for the homeless and cut off medical care for the poor. Meanwhile, the Dinkins administration was squeezing city unions, saying they could "buy back" jobs (at $23,000 a pop) with concessions. Dinkins, a member of the Democratic Socialists of America (DSA), encouraged "the labor community" to "step up to the plate and contribute, to do it for New York."

Over it all hung the threat of another Big MAC (Municipal Assistance Corporation) takeover of NYC finances. "King Felix" Rohatyn, head of the MAC, was looking for "deep concessions from the unions" before he would unlock the cash box and provide $350 million. In the mid-1970s, a big chunk of this country's ruling class agreed with Gerald Ford when he sent the message to New York: "Drop Dead." But having gone through that "fiscal crisis" and seen the gaping holes in the infrastructure that those cutbacks caused, the bourgeoisie today knows that they can't let the capital of world finance sink into the ocean. Yet the big New York commercial banks are on the brink, and they're holding billions in NYC municipal paper.

So the hammer has come down, and the budget battle has been class against class as seen through the green visors of city accountants: will "closing the gap" mean closing the Central Park Zoo on the posh Upper East Side, or Brooklyn libraries filled with poor black kids? While the horse trading proceeded, it was clear that tens of thousands of homeless, AIDS patients, city workers and those whose only medical care is the near-terminal city hospital system would feel the lash. And meanwhile, the city was adding to the army of *more than 35,000 NYC cops*, and *upping payments to the banks by $800 million*, almost 50 percent, in one year.

Last month, Local 1199 (hospital workers) leader Dennis Rivera remarked that "we did not elect David Dinkins to oversee the dismantling of health and hospitals" (*New York Newsday*, 17 June). Actually, that's exactly why the bourgeoisie went for the first black mayor of New York. When the editorial guardians of the ruling class at the *New York Times* endorsed Dinkins 20 months ago, they arrogantly proclaimed that "the next mayor will have to ask for, and sell, sacrifice to all New Yorkers," and concluded that "Mr. Dinkins seems better qualified" to do just that. Dinkins for his part promised that city unions, minorities and the poor will "take it from me."

Now the popular front is presenting the bill: the working people of New York are being bled dry by the Democratic Party politicians who rode the backs of the unions into City Hall and the governor's mansion. Transit workers have been without a contract since April 30 and face deadly cuts in the workforce, as TWU Local 100 chief Sonny Hall tells them to wait on Albany. Sanitation workers, angry at hundreds of layoffs, instituted a slowdown. Hospital workers, social service employees, neighborhood youth service workers and others marched daily on City Hall. But it was all a big game of pressure politics.

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WV Photos

NYC Teamsters head Barry Feinstein, DC 37 chief Stanley Hill cynically use protests to blow off steam (left). Together with 1199's Dennis Rivera (right, thumbs up with Dinkins) they put the mayor in office, now talk of "divorce" while knuckling under to budget cuts.

WORKERS VANGUARD 25¢

No. 531 19 July 1991

Johnson/Time

Supreme Court of Injustice

"The state is an organization for the protection of the possessing class against the non-possessing class."

—Frederick Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property, and the State* (1884)

The U.S. Supreme Court is a hanging court, and the black-robed legal lynchers make no bones about it. In the past couple of months, the high court racists have ruled that you can be sent up on the basis of a "confession" beaten out of you by the cops or "evidence" seized without a search warrant; that having convicted you before a jury not of your peers, the prosecutor can parade the victim's weeping relatives to see to it that you fry; that you have at most one appeal to a federal court to overturn a flagrantly racist death sentence, and not even that if your overworked, often incompetent court-appointed lawyer deviated on even the slightest technicality from state appeals procedure. And the omnibus crime bill, overwhelmingly passed by the Democrat-dominated Senate, will not only codify this drive to death but, by placing under federal jurisdiction all homicides involving firearms, extend it to states which have resisted capital punishment.

In its lust to get the assembly line of death rolling in high gear, the Supreme Court has blithely overturned its own recent precedents, largely shredded what reality there was to the Bill of Rights and even encroached on principles of the 800-year-old Magna Carta. The pace at which "Judge Death" Rehnquist and his cohorts have stripped away what they see as "criminals' rights"—defendants' rights, particularly important for blacks and Hispanics, but protecting everyone who's up against the bourgeois state—has been hair-raising. In a matter of months, the Reagan/Bush Supreme Court has brought to a climax a sweeping judicial counterrevolution, overturning a whole series of decisions which provided some modicum of legal protection for the victims of wanton capitalist state terror and entrenched racial and sexual oppression. And the Reaganites are trying through judicial appointments to extend their reign of reaction well into the "next American century."

Berry/Boston Globe

Clarence Thomas with his patron, George Bush.

As if to underscore his disgust and frustration at the scale of this assault on civil liberties, 83-year-old Thurgood Marshall, the only black justice ever to serve on the Supreme Court, chose the last day of the term to announce his resignation for reasons of age and health. Bush quickly nominated black federal appeals judge Clarence Thomas to replace Marshall. Were it not for his skin color, Thomas' political record would qualify him for membership in the KKK. And now Thomas has been fulsomely endorsed by Klansman David Duke! As the only black assistant attorney general in Missouri in the mid-'70s, Thomas displayed a Confederate-like flag on the wall behind his desk. In a *Village Voice* (16 July) article titled "Uncle Justice Thomas," Playthell Benjamin commented acerbically: "Like the passing of black leadership from Frederick Douglass to Booker T. Washington, the appointment of Thomas to Marshall's chair on the Supreme Court is a sign of the times."

It certainly is. Appointed in 1967, Marshall was seen as the last stalwart of the 1960s "Warren Court," long lambasted by the Reaganite reactionaries for carrying out a "liberal agenda." Marshall, this reputed flaming liberal, toed the line when it came to "national security," refusing to hear a 1974 case against Nixon's covert bombing of Cambodia (*Village Voice*, 16 July). But he made his mark as the attorney for the landmark 1954 *Brown v. Topeka Board of Education* case which ruled that "separate but equal" segregated education was unconstitutional. In 1973, he was a signatory to the *Roe v. Wade* decision legalizing abortion, and he has consistently maintained that the death penalty is flatly unconstitutional. In contrast, Thomas denounces the Brown desegregation decision for leading to "a disastrous series of cases requiring busing and other policies"; hails black nationalist demagogue Louis Farrakhan as a champion of "black capitalism"; and sees the 1973 abortion ruling as an affront to "natural law," praising an anti-abortion tract which called for constitutional protection of the "inalienable right to life of the child-about-to-be-born."

And while he is being presented as a role model for black youth of pull-yourself-up-by-the-bootstraps self-improvement, it turns out that Thomas was accepted into Yale Law School on an affirmative action program!

Even without Thomas' added vote, the Reagan/Bush gang already have a decisive majority on the Supreme Court. In case after case during the past three months Rehnquist & Co. reveled in the

continued on page 8

WV Photo

New York, July 6—Spartacists march in defense of abortion rights, under fire from Reagan/Bush Supreme Court.

Dominican Workers Strike Against IMF

Balaguer Deports Haitian Slave Laborers

The Dominican Republic was brought to a halt last week by a massive general strike which shut down all industrial and commercial activity. The strike, called by the United Confederation of Workers (CTU), the largest trade-union grouping, demanded a 100 percent pay raise for both government and private business employees and the rehiring of 3,000 workers fired by the state-owned Dominican Electric Company. The general strike also opposed signing of an agreement with the IMF that provides for brutal austerity and layoffs. Yet as President Joaquín Balaguer, the 84-year-old despot who has ruled the Caribbean island country for a quarter of a century, denounced the call for an "unlimited" general strike as a "declaration of war," social-democratic trade-union leaders called it off after two days.

Balaguer, who was again sworn in last August after blatantly rigged elections following the bloody suppression of protests in Santo Domingo, has already put the country in hock to the international bankers to the tune of $5 billion. While he builds expensive monuments, like the $100 million lighthouse to celebrate the 500th anniversary of Columbus' arrival, the Wall Street vultures are determined to squeeze repayments out of the Dominican masses, who already suffer food shortages, water and electricity cuts, and almost 30 percent unemployment. In neighboring Haiti, where radical priest Jean-Bertrand Aristide became president in February, the IMF bankers are intent on imposing a crushing austerity program, as they did last year in Jamaica as well as in Trinidad and Tobago.

Whether they are ruled by conservative *caudillos* like Balaguer or "leftists" like Aristide, the Caribbean masses are being pushed into ever deeper poverty by the imperialist financiers while a privileged handful live in splendor. The most dreadfully oppressed workers in the Dominican Republic are the Haitian slave laborers who toil in the cane fields.

Peter Essick

Haitian sugar cane workers (above) are kidnapped and press-ganged into slave labor in the Dominican Republic.

Their hellish conditions have long been exposed by civil rights organizations and have recently been the subject of exposés in the North American and European press—provoking the cynical indignation of Balaguer. In order to divert the growing popular anger against his austerity program, the Dominican chief launched a campaign of expulsion of Haitian workers.

In the last three weeks, 500 people have been expelled according to the government, but in reality the number is much higher and the expulsions continue daily. Balaguer sent the army into the *bateys* (living quarters in the cane fields) and urban Haitian neighborhoods dragging out blacks (including many born in the Dominican Republic) and throwing them out of the country. The mass expulsions have raised fears of a repeat of the gruesome 1937 massacre carried out by dictator Rafael Trujillo, Balaguer's former boss, who unleashed the mass killing which slaughtered as many as 40,000 Haitian workers in the Dominican Republic. Trujillo vituperated against "foreign negroes in our country"; Balaguer demagogically denounces a supposed "peaceful invasion" by Haitians.

In fact, the Haitians are brought to the cane fields by the state, in a system set up under the U.S. military occupation of 1916-25 when American trusts greatly extended sugar cane production by driving masses of peasants off the land. When Dominican peasants revolted in 1918 against the system of obligatory work for the landlords, U.S. Marines used aircraft and modern weapons to mow them down by the thousands. In the '50s, Trujillo began the practice of yearly contracts with the Haitian regime of Duvalier, who used his Tonton Macoute thugs to round up workers in return for millions of dollars. Begun by two U.S.-backed dictators, the slave labor system continued under the "democratic" military-based regime imposed by U.S. troops who crushed the 1965 Santo Domingo uprising.

Since the fall of the Duvalier dictatorship five years ago, the Dominican government has obtained Haitian slave labor through the use of *buscones* (recruiters) who are paid for each person they bring to the border—through false promises or outright kidnapping—and turn over to the Dominican military. On the plantations the helpless victims are locked in at night in windowless barracks without latrines, running water or electricity, and are prevented from escaping by armed guards and nearby army posts. They are forced to cut cane for 12 hours a day—otherwise they can be severely beaten. Those who escape are usually caught by the army patrols which regularly stop buses and trucks, and demand that all dark-skinned passengers produce identification papers.

The existence of this system of bondage has been denounced in several books, including Maurice Lemoine's *Bitter Sugar: Slaves Today in the Caribbean* (1985) and Roger Plant's *Sugar and Modern Slavery* (1987). A 1989 study by Americas Watch and other human rights organizations was followed up by another in 1990 documenting that forced labor continues to be central to the Dominican sugar industry. The latest study, *Harvesting Oppression*, focused on newly arrived cane cutters, known in the days of colonial slavery as *kongos*, who are subjected to the severest abuse. A 19-year-old Haitian forced to work in the cane fields told interviewers:

> "I have no money, and no change of clothes. No one in my family in Haiti knows where I am. They think I've run away, or that I have been murdered. They don't know that I was kidnapped. My poor mother, I want to go home."

A 17-year-old said:

> "We are nothing more than slaves. They take all our things, they pay us nothing, we have no change of clothes. Look at this, I've been wearing this since I got here, they took away everything else.... If I tried to wear these clothes off the field...they'd know I was a cane cutter, and they'd send me right back."

The well over half a million Haitians in the Dominican Republic represent a key question for Dominican workers. Pedro Juan Persia, editor of *Hablan los Comunistas*, newspaper of the Dominican CP, told *Workers Vanguard* in a phone interview that Balaguer was using the issue to divert popular protest, and that the "Left Axis" coalition had issued a statement demanding a halt to the repression against Haitians. He added that immigration is a matter that "the governments must discuss." Yet it is the duty of the Dominican *workers movement* to defend their Haitian class brothers and sisters, demanding full citizenship rights and organizing them into the unions. That kind of united struggle would send shock waves throughout the islands, shaking the bloodsucking IMF and toppling its local puppets.

The Spartacist League declares that it is also an obligation of revolutionaries in the U.S. to take up the cause of Dominican and Haitian workers. More than one million Dominicans and Haitians live in New York City alone. Liberation of the impoverished masses of the Caribbean will not be accomplished by nationalist populists, no matter how radical their rhetoric, within the confines of each individual island, but only through a proletarian *internationalist* struggle, including *unconditional military defense of Cuba* against U.S. imperialism. A fight for socialist revolution would blow through the Antilles with hurricane force, sweeping away all the oppressors, and extend to the imperialist heartland. ■

Proletarian Justice and Bourgeois Injustice

TROTSKY

LENIN

With the Reagan/Bush legal counterrevolution in full swing, liberals today yearn for the "progressive" era of the 1960s Warren Supreme Court. But the bourgeois courts are and always have been agencies for class *oppression, and the so-called separation of powers serves only to further insulate the bourgeois judicial system from any semblance of democratic control. In contrast, as laid out below in the Bolshevik Party's 1919 program, the Russian workers revolution of 1917 set up a judicial system whose aim was to serve the will of the working masses.*

The Soviet government, securing for the working masses an incomparably greater opportunity to vote and to recall their delegates in an easier and more accessible manner than they possessed under bourgeois democracy and parliamentarism, at the same time abolishes all the negative features of parliamentarism, especially the separation of legislative and executive powers, the isolation of the representative institutions from the masses, etc....

Proletarian democracy, taking power into its own hands and finally abolishing the organs of supremacy of the bourgeoisie—the former courts of justice—has replaced the formula of bourgeois democracy: "judges elected by the people" by the class slogan: "judges elected from the workers and only by the workers" and has applied the latter in the organization of law courts, having extended equal rights to both sexes, both in the election of judges and in the exercise of the functions of judges....

The Soviet power, abolishing all the laws of the overthrown governments, ordered the judges elected by the soviets to carry out the will of the proletariat in compliance with its decrees, and in cases of absence or incompleteness of such decrees, to be guided by socialist conscience.

Constructed on such a basis, the courts of justice have already led to a fundamental alteration of the character of punishment, introducing suspended sentences on a wide scale, applying public censure as a form of punishment by obligatory labour with the retention of freedom, turning prisons into institutions for training, and applying the principle of comradely tribunals.

—"Programme of the Russian Communist Party (B)" (March 1919)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co 41 Warren Street New York NY 10007 Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7863 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377 GPO, New York NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions $7 00/24 issues Second-class postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 531 **19 July 1991**

Is Big Sister Watching You?

NOW & the FBI

Strolling through the aisles of the exhibition hall at NOW's 25th national convention at the New York Hilton on July 5-7, delegates and guests did a double-take as they came upon a booth with a giant shield and the sinister question on the backdrop: "Is your future with the FBI?"

Leftists, black militants, antiwar activists, labor movement organizers, victims of the McCarthyite witchhunts which targeted Communists, homosexuals, in fact anybody considered even slightly to the left of Attila the Hun by J. Edgar Hoover's American Gestapo, all have nothing but loathing for the FBI. The Federal Bureau of Investigation's COINTELPRO ("Counterintelligence Program") set up and murdered black militants, including Black Panthers Fred Hampton and Mark Clark gunned down in their beds. Scandalously, however, the bourgeois feminist National Organization for Women *welcomed* the FBI to its national conference.

It wasn't just the booth. In the glossy NOW conference brochure (titled "Empowering Women") there was a full-page ad for the FBI, giving their pitch a special feminine appeal featuring a "wardrobe" with handcuffs and 10mm Smith & Wesson (we can just picture it: "Special Agent Harris wowed 'em in a drop-dead sheath with deep décolletage and major accessories..."). The G-men were also listed among the "Supporters and Advertisers" in the brochure.

At least when Gloria Steinem took CIA money, there was some attempt to cover up, *de facto* acknowledgment that it was a shameful thing to do. But Patricia Ireland, NOW vice president and heir apparent to Molly Yard, *openly* let the spies in; she told one outraged protester, they figured since the FBI would be there anyhow, why not take their money for the booth? Only in the last hours of the conference on Sunday, after growing protests by furious delegates, many with firsthand experience of FBI terror, was she forced to make a reluctant public statement admitting it was a "serious political error."

By the second day of the confab, at NOW's march and rally against the Supreme Court abortion "gag rule," New York Radical Women had a leaflet out calling to "Protest the FBI Participation in the 1991 National N.O.W. Conference." The leaflet noted, "Allowing the FBI to promote a friendly public image as an 'equal opportunity employer' gives cover to its spies and police agents to penetrate more deeply into the women's movement." Women from Gainesville, Florida had initiated an anti-FBI resolution, which was bureaucratically squashed in an "issues" committee.

A little after 3 p.m. Saturday, a speak-out protest against the FBI took place in front of the (by then empty) booth. Alex Leader of the University of Florida Campus NOW said one of the reasons she opposed the FBI was because she had known Judith Brown, one of the founders of the 1960s radical women's liberation movement, for whom a memorial service had been held only a few weeks earlier. She told how Brown had received over 400 pages of (heavily censored) FBI files on herself. "Why do we want to be in an institution that stands for oppression?" was a heartfelt sentiment.

The 30 to 40 activists there quickly sized up the situation and did the right thing. As they were taking down the exhibit, two NOW conference goons, Dixie L. Johnson (who was credited with the conference brochure) and Diane Welsh (New York NOW's "Consciousness Raising Committee" chair), raced over to defend the FBI table. One of them said, "women in the FBI are working on things that are very important for us, like drugs." Conference manager Johnson went for sex-baiting, grabbing the arm of a young man in an ACT UP cap and hissing, "He's a *man*!" He was firmly defended by the protesters.

Ms. Dixie finally personally dragged the FBI's stuff away under the curtains at the back of the booth, presumably for safekeeping. Participants in the action used NOW's own rhetoric to shout down the NOW goons, chanting "Civil disobedience!" and "This offends women!" Getting that obscene booth out of there was undoubtedly a great relief to many of the conference participants, though no credit goes to those so-called "leftists" who apparently sat there in their booths like little lambs for a day and a half cheek by jowl with the FBI. The feds' booth was across from the Women's Commission/FIT; SWP and Socialist Action were a few booths down the aisle. Perhaps they felt constrained not to "make trouble." For years they've been the "best builders" of NOW, claiming that "consistent feminism leads to socialism." Well, here it leads to the FBI.

Sisterhood of Spies?

The NOW leadership knew perfectly well what they were doing when they gave approval for the FBI booth, but it took insistent pressure to get them to own up. By Saturday evening the Gainesville women had gotten over 200 signatures for their anti-FBI resolution, thereby getting it included as number 48 in a list of over 50 resolutions to be supposedly discussed and voted on Sunday (naturally the conference never got to most of them). When a longtime activist from Atlanta finally managed despite bureaucratic obstacles and calls of "He's out of order!" to raise the question of the FBI from the floor late Sunday, Patricia Ireland was prepared with a "point of personal privilege" to lay out the NOW line (no discussion allowed, of course).

"The executive committee had discussed it," she said. "People had a couple of opinions. Our people know who the FBI is, they know about their disruptive tactics. They know they infiltrated various groups and had campaigns that went as long as 40 years, for instance to disrupt the SWP and their relationship with other organizations. We've seen articles that the FBI has gone to libraries and pulled out of the backs of books lists to find out who's reading certain books. And in some measure perhaps, and I don't mean to be flip, I was thinking about *The Silence of the Lambs*. I'm thinking of women who are killed by serial murderers and women agents who were portrayed in that movie as resourceful and intelligent, and who took on her supervisors when they did sexist things."

So Jodie Foster and Hollywood's Hannibal the Cannibal just swept them away? Not really. Ireland went on to say, "I'm thinking about women in positions of power and authority, to help change institutions. We also are trying to get women into positions of power and authority in the military." Sure, NOW came out against the Gulf War and they protest ROTC on campus. But what if "Stormin' *Norma*" Schwarzkopf was calling the shots? Their real aim is to be power brokers and influence peddlers in the world of bourgeois politics.

Many well-meaning women activists treat NOW as if it were some kind of class-neutral parliament of women. In reality it acts as a liberal ladies' auxiliary of the Democratic Party. In the '88 elections NOW was out in force ringing doorbells for Dukakis. One of its leading spokeswomen has been Bella Abzug, the ubiquitous Democratic fixture at popular-front peace crawls. Back in the mid-'70s they had an orgy redbaiting the SWP. But all it took was a phrase from Molly Yard about a "third party" for reformists like the SWP and CP to go into ecstasy.

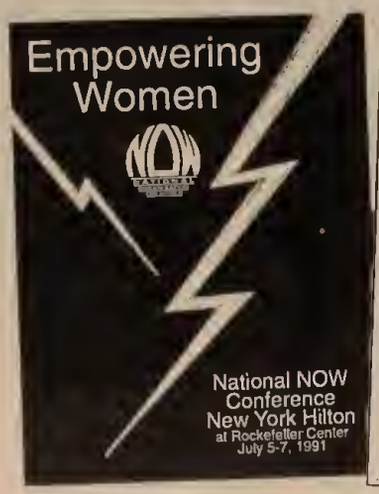
As Marxists who fight for women's liberation through socialist revolution, we oppose the politics of feminism which obscure the critical *class* line. If it's a choice between fighting for social liberation or defending the capitalist status quo, NOW has no trouble deciding—they won't even call for free abortion on demand (women members of the AMA wouldn't like it).

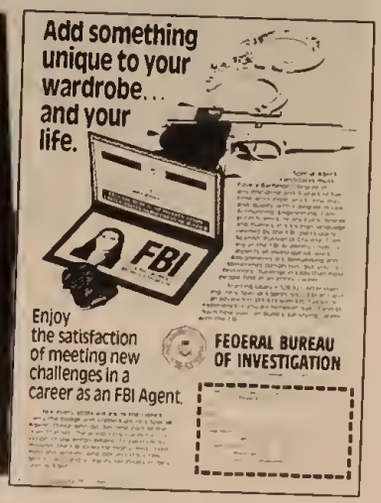
NOW's scandalous embracing of the FBI only underlines the political gulf between middle-class and working-class approaches to the issue of women's oppression. This scandal is the tip of the iceberg, an example of how bourgeois feminism handcuffs women to their oppressors and thus is an *obstacle* to the forward movement of women, and working women in particular.

Some of the women fighting the FBI presence were veterans of the radical women's liberation movement group Redstockings, who quite rightly made an issue of Gloria Steinem's willing receipt of CIA funds early in her career. As we detailed in *Women and Revolution* (No. 38, Winter 1990-91): "The CIA funded cultural institutions like the National Student Association, *Encounter* magazine and even a 1952 Paris tour by the Boston Symphony Orchestra. Gloria Steinem, one of the founders of the bourgeois feminist *Ms.* magazine, knowingly took CIA money as director of the 'Independent Research Service,' which sponsored young Americans going to youth festivals in Vienna and Helsinki in 1959 and 1962." Needless to say, Steinem was a featured speaker at NOW's convention.

The open FBI booth at the NOW conference is a sign of these reactionary times, as were the cop contingents in the San Francisco and New York Gay Pride marches and the LAPD booth at this year's "Gay Pride Festival" in Los Angeles—only a couple months after the videotaped racist beating of Rodney King! A lot of NOW's current law-and-order themes dovetail perfectly with the ruling class' attempts to hire more cops and impose police terror in cities across America.

Only a few days after the NOW conference ended, New York's *Village Voice* (16 July) published a major article titled "ACT UP Under Siege," detailing a suspicious pattern of harassment, anonymous phone calls and bizarre provocations against activists highly reminiscent of the FBI's COINTELPRO disruptions against leftists and blacks. Is Big Sister watching you, now, too? ■





Full-page ad for FBI in NOW brochure (above). Protesters at FBI recruiting booth at conference (below). FBI has long targeted blacks, women, gays, leftists; COINTELPRO operation set up Black Panthers and other black militants for murder.

WV photo

Ethiopia: "New World Order" in the Horn of Africa

At the end of May, after Ethiopia's bloody military strongman Mengistu Haile Mariam had fled the country and guerrilla fighters stood at the gates of the capital, Addis Ababa, there was a brief pause as representatives of the rebel coalition and the rump "government" met in London under the aegis of the United States. With the old regime collapsing, U.S. Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Herman Cohen "recommended" that the forces of the Ethiopian People's Revolutionary Democratic Front (EPRDF) "enter Addis Ababa as soon as possible to help stabilize the situation in the city."

But rather than bringing stability, Washington's highhanded actions provoked anger. While the remnants of Mengistu's army fled, thousands demonstrated in the capital, attacking a car flying a U.S. flag and marching on the American embassy protesting "Cohen's coup." The EPRDF troops mounted a guard using captured tanks and fired into the crowds, killing at least ten people and leaving hundreds wounded. For the Amhara population of the capital, for the last century the dominant people in Ethiopia, the rebel forces based largely on the northern province of Tigre were seen as an occupying army.

At the beginning of July, a U.S.-brokered conference was held in Addis Ababa to form a provisional government. Acting as an imperial proconsul, Cohen himself attended as an "observer" (while the press was excluded). EPRDF leader Meles Zenawi issued a statement affirming the right to secession for Eritrea, the nation on the Red Sea coast which has been fighting for independence from Ethiopia for over 30 years. However, other peoples who suffered under the Amhara yoke, under Mengistu and before him Emperor Haile Selassie, didn't fare so well, and formal pledges recognizing the right to self-determination may just be a delaying tactic.

After slaughtering the population of Iraq to reassert its global hegemony, American imperialism is now bringing its "New World Order" to the Horn of Africa. Instead of the stick of "smart" bombs and cruise missiles, Washington dangles the carrot of U.S. aid. But the purpose is the same: after years of Cold War contest with the Soviet Union for influence, now it seeks to clamp a Pax Americana on the region. Far from bringing peace, U.S. intervention in Ethiopia is already provoking further devastation, unspeakable suffering and carnage.

The fall of Mengistu was a by-product of the crisis of Stalinism. After almost 15 years of supporting its Ethiopian client, the Soviet Union began a couple of years ago to slash military aid to Addis Ababa, and in the fall of 1989 Cuba pulled out its troops. Moscow pushed the shaky Ethiopian regime to settle with the Eritrean rebels and indicated its readiness to "coordinate its diplomacy with Washington" (*New York Times*, 30 January).

As the Kremlin under Gorbachev cut off its Ethiopian client, Bush's White House dropped its puppet despot Siad Barre next door in Somalia, no longer useful as a counterweight to Soviet influence in Ethiopia. After Barre fled last fall, savage many-sided warfare broke out between Somali clans with hardly a semblance of a central government left. Under the thin façade of an EPRDF-led government, Ethiopia too is a seething cauldron of murderous ethnic conflicts. As dissident anti-Mengistu groups in the capital complain they are being left out, hunger spreads in the countryside with relief supplies held up by rival bands.

Glynn Griffiths

AP

New leaders of Ethiopia get American stamp of approval at London conference (above) in late May, as demonstrators near Addis Ababa protest "Cohen's coup."

Torn by ethnic strife, its impoverished peasants living on the edge of starvation, the Horn of Africa already counts half a million people suffering from famine (half of Africa's total), and more than a million refugees. Relief agencies say that up to seven million people will need emergency food supplies in a multi-year drought expected to be far worse than that of 1984-85. Yet the dreadful implosion of Somalia and the imminent breakdown in Ethiopia threaten to provoke a tragedy of human suffering on a scale which can scarcely be captured by statistics, as whole regions are depopulated and the survivors are driven to remote camps where they live or die depending on the next plane or truckload.

U.S. Intervention and Bloody Ethnic Conflict

For the last century, Western colonial and imperialist intervention in northeastern Africa has been based on the Roman imperial principle of "*divide et impera*" (divide and rule), reinforcing the oppressive domination of minorities in power. The Cold War drive of U.S. imperialism for strategic advantage against the Soviet Union raised these conflicts to fever pitch as rival ethnic groups were armed and mobilized in savage "proxy" wars. Washington propped up Haile Selassie's decrepit empire in exchange for diplomatic subservience and military installations like the Kagnew communications station in Eritrea. For the same reasons it opposed Eritrean independence.

But in May the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) rolled into the capital of Asmara on the eve of the U.S.-sponsored London conference and then took the last port, giving them full control of the coastal region. After years of silence in the press about the Eritrean war, one of modern Africa's longest and bloodiest conflicts which has left hundreds of thousands dead and millions more refugees, suddenly EPLF leader Issias Afwerki was the object of admiring personality profiles (turns out he was taught by U.S. soldiers in high school). And Mr. Cohen declared that a vote on Eritrean independence was a "good idea."

At the recent Addis Ababa conference, the new provisional government (which the Eritrean EPLF refused to join) agreed to a referendum on Eritrean independence—to be held in two years time. But the Tigrean-based EPRDF is viscerally hostile to anything that smacks of independence for Eritrea, which would leave neighboring Tigre, like the rest of Ethiopia, landlocked. However, they had to compromise with the Eritreans, who have a battle-hardened army and control the Red Sea ports.

Since all the guerrilla groups are ethnically based, domination by any of them in Addis Ababa will necessarily be oppressive of the other ethnic groups. Meanwhile, their leftist rhetoric is fast disappearing. The EPRDF is led by the Tigre People's Liberation Front (TPLF), which had a bust of Stalin at its 1989 congress and until recently looked to Albania as its model. But with the mounting crisis of Stalinism, the TPLF/EPRDF began espousing the benefits of a "mixed economy." Last year TPLF leader Zenawi traveled to Washington to peddle his services to the State Department, Congress and columnists.

Frilet/Sipa

Addis Ababa mural of military bonapartist Mengistu with "Marxist-Leninist" trappings. Crisis of Stalinism has pulled props out from under Soviet-supported nationalist regimes in Africa.

In Tigre province, which the TPLF has effectively ruled for the last two years, the provincial capital is adorned with banners depicting a hammer and sickle intersected by a Kalashnikov rifle. But "Marxism-Leninism" is an empty reference in one of the poorest spots on the planet. The Tigrean guerrillas have been careful about clashing directly with medieval traditions and interests—particularly concerning the dreadful condition of women. While it has limited the forced marriage of young girls—in certain districts—by setting the marriage age for women at 15, it has turned a blind eye to the barbarous practice of excision (clitoridectomy) which is widespread (*Le Monde*, 11 June).

The Failure of "Afrocommunism"

The events in northeastern Africa are part of a pattern across the continent that reflects shifting power alignments on a world scale. With the collapse of Stalinist rule in East Europe and its crisis in the Soviet Union, Moscow has increasingly withdrawn support from various "Third World" allies and pulled out of "regional conflicts" with the U.S. In Africa, a string of so-called "Marxist-Leninist" governments have disappeared from the map. Contrary to the claims of leftist cheerleaders in the West, these regimes were in no way socialist, but backward capitalist countries where economic growth required a relatively large state sector in the absence of a significant indigenous bourgeoisie.

First to go were the more nationalist (and isolated) military regimes such as Lt. Thomas Sankara in Burkina Faso (formerly Upper Volta), ousted and murdered in 1987, and Gen. Kérékou in Benin (formerly Togo), who was sidelined under pressure from France in early 1990. This year it was the governments more closely linked to Moscow: the ruling MPLA in Angola, after a decade and a half battling CIA/South African intervention, has dropped its claim to be a "Party of Labor" and signed a pact with apartheid puppet Jonas Savimbi. Mozambique has been pounded into subservience to Pretoria, while the Congo has also dropped its "Marxist" trappings and (like Lt. Rawlings' Ghana) is knuckling under to the dictates of the IMF international bankers cartel.

The ignominious fall of Mengistu underlines the bankruptcy of so-called "Afrocommunism," of which Ethiopia was the premier example. The Derg (junta) spouted "socialist" rhetoric, created

the "Workers Party of Ethiopia" and erected arches to "proletarian internationalism," but this was a cover for military bonapartist nationalism. The Derg's slogan was "*Ethiopia Tikdem*" (Ethiopia first), the first point in its platform was the unity of the country—and anyone, like the Eritreans, fighting for independence was subject to the death penalty. Moreover, although it came to power in September 1974 on the back of a strike wave, its first act was to outlaw all strikes and unauthorized demonstrations.

In the following years the military regime moved to physically obliterate all independent forces in Ethiopian society—trade unions, student radicals, peasant association activists, and rebellious minority peoples. It destroyed Ethiopia's fledgling workers movement, exterminated an entire generation of radical intellectuals and drowned in blood the national rebellions against Amhara domination. Yet even as Col. Mengistu was stepping over the bodies of his fellow officers of the Derg, talking of "red terror" and invoking a "historical obligation to clean up vigilantly using the revolutionary sword," U.S. Communist Party leader James Jackson showered fulsome praise on this blood-drenched regime:

> "The newest and a most thoroughgoing revolution has taken place in the oldest country in the world: Ethiopia.... This revolution has propelled aged Ethiopia from a society of oppressive feudal-bourgeois backwardness into the orbit of socialist countries with rocketlike speed."
>
> —introduction to Raúl Valdés Vivó, *Ethiopia's Revolution* (1978)

The bottom-line argument which was put forward by assorted "leftists" to claim that the Derg was "progressive" was that it formed a diplomatic alliance with the Soviet Union. But such alliances have nothing to do with a "socialist road" of development as claimed by the Stalinists and various nationalists. If the ruling despots couldn't get enough aid from Washington or their former colonial

John Jameson

High proportion of Eritrean guerrilla fighters are women.

masters, they turned to Moscow for the funds to run their countries, reinforce their armies and build up their Swiss bank accounts.

Nowhere is the fragility and instability of such diplomatic alliances more apparent than in the Horn of Africa. In the late '60s the Somali regime, seeking to capture the Ogaden, the vast region populated by Somali peoples which had been conquered by Ethiopia in the late 19th century, declared itself "Marxist-Leninist" and turned to the USSR for military aid. When the Derg came to power in the mid-'70s and stepped up the bloody repression of the Eritrean rebellion, Washington balked at its heavy demands for arms, so Mengistu turned to the Soviet bloc—and declared his regime "Marxist-Leninist." Somalia thereupon threw out its Soviet advisers and switched back to being a client of Washington.

We condemned the cynical *Realpolitik* of Brezhnev and Castro who helped Mengistu crush the Somali people's struggle for national self-determination

Il Mondo

Emperor Haile Selassie

and unity, and wage bloody war against the Eritreans (the cause of Eritrean independence had previously been fulsomely supported by the Kremlin Stalinists, and it had been enshrined in Havana's Tricontinental Congress movement). We wrote of this operation: "by rushing military aid to the Ethiopian army the Russian and Cuban forces in Ethiopia become its direct ally in grinding the rebellious minority peoples into bloody submission" (*WV* No. 195, 3 March 1978).

The Ethiopian Empire: Product of Imperialism

Because it was for many years the only country in Africa which remained independent from European colonialism, Ethiopia acquired a heroic stature for generations of colonized Africans and oppressed blacks. Kwame Nkrumah recounts in his autobiography that when Italian imperialism invaded Ethiopia in 1936 he decided to devote himself to "bringing about the downfall of such a system." Marcus Garvey, the black nationalist whose "back to Africa" movement achieved widespread popularity in the U.S. in the 1920s, preached belief in "the God of Ethiopia" (the Ethiopian monarchy claimed descent from the legendary King Solomon and Queen of Sheba). And the Rastafarians, a Jamaica-centered spin-off of the Garvey movement, to this day worship Haile Selassie as god on earth. (Ras Tafari was his name before being crowned emperor.)

In reality Ethiopia was created as the result of the jockeying between rival European powers in their scramble to seize the riches of Africa. With modern arms supplied by one imperialist power and then another, Menelik II, the king of Shoa (an Amharic-speaking region in the Abyssinian highlands), conquered surrounding African peoples. In 1896 he decisively defeated the Italians at Adowa (using machine guns supplied by the French). The British then further armed Menelik and encouraged him to expand his empire to the south, hemming in the French at their Red Sea outpost of Djibouti. While Britain and France raced for control of the rich Nile Valley, they were unwilling to go to war over the hinterland of the Horn of Africa.

The creation of the Ethiopian empire exacerbated ethnic conflicts, deepened the oppression of the peasant masses and reinforced the worst manifestations of tribal backwardness. Something approximating a feudal system arose, in which an Amhara aristocracy lorded it over conquered peoples such as the Oromo and Somalis, whom they viewed as racially inferior. Deprived of their land and reduced to the status of serfs, they were forced to yield to their new masters as much as three-fourths of their produce. One of the cruelest ironies in the fact that many blacks looked to Ethiopia as a beacon in their fight for liberation is that this was one of the last bastions of chattel slavery:

> "To the wealthy, slaves were often luxuries to whisk flies, carry guns or umbrellas and to serve food and drink. Above all, their acquisition was a matter of pride by tradition. Even high ranked matrimony entailed gifts of slaves as part of the dowry."
>
> —*Horn of Africa*, July-September 1979

Yet while the empire of Menelik's heir, Emperor Haile Selassie I, the *Negus nagam* (king of kings), was a prison house of peoples, revolutionaries defended it against the onslaught of Italian imperialism in the 1930s under the fascist Mussolini. Against those who called this a "conflict between two rival dictators," Leon Trotsky wrote:

> "If Mussolini triumphs, it means the reinforcement of fascism, the strengthening of imperialism, and the discouragement of the colonial peoples in Africa and elsewhere. The victory of the Negus, however, would mean a mighty blow not only at Italian imperialism but at imperialism as a whole, and would lend a powerful impulsion to the rebellious forces of the oppressed peoples. One must really be completely blind not to see this."
>
> —"On Dictators and the Heights of Oslo" (April 1936)

Self-Determination for Eritrea!

From the 1800s to today, imperialist intervention was key in shaping the political map of the Horn of Africa, and locking its oppressed populations into hideous backwardness and oppression. The subjugation of Eritrea by the Ethiopian empire was a direct consequence of the imperialist Cold War drive against the Soviet Union.

Under Italian colonial rule since the end of the 19th century, Eritrea underwent an economic and social development which propelled it far in advance of the sleepy feudal kingdom of Menelik and Haile Selassie. When the British seized Italy's Eritrean and Ethiopian colonies early in World War II, they put the emperor back in power in Addis Ababa. When a popular insurrection flared in Tigre, the British dispatched fleets of bombers to massacre the population. Yet in Eritrea under British occupation a strong labor movement and a multiplicity of political parties emerged.

As the U.S. took over for declining British imperialism in the region after World War II, Washington needed a dependable overseer for Eritrea to guarantee its strategic ports and future military bases. When Haile Selassie proved himself by sending a unit of the imperial bodyguard to fight in Korea, the U.S. State Department noted the "great propaganda value" of "a contingent of troops from an independent, colored nation in Africa." The U.S. sponsored a UN resolution attaching Eritrea to Ethiopia (under a phony "autonomy" plan), and the U.S. was granted a naval presence and a military base.

As the U.S. armed and trained his army, Haile Selassie not only suppressed trade unions and political parties in Eritrea but sought to reverse the region's economic development. Entire factories were dismantled and reconstructed around Addis Ababa. When the underground Eritrean trade unions called a general strike in 1958 to demand independence, the army fired on demonstrators, killing or wounding more than 500 people. In 1962 the last vestige of "autonomy" was brushed away as the hand-picked Eritrean parliament was forced at gunpoint to dissolve itself.

There followed a guerrilla struggle for Eritrean independence that has lasted more than three decades. The Eritrean EPLF emerged in 1970 from the early, Muslim-dominated independence movement as a split claiming adherence to "Marxism" and seeking to unite Christians and Muslims. Today the Eritrean liberation movement claims to be carrying out a "democratic revolution," but in Stalinist-nationalist parlance this formula has always meant preserving and administering capitalist rule...to the detriment of the oppressed.

The Eritrean front has been unusually forthright in affirming its commitment to the liberation of women, and over 30 percent of its guerrilla fighters are women. However, in semicolonial countries even the first steps toward the liberation of women require a deep-going social revolution. In Algeria, where there was also a high proportion of women fighters in the FLN, after independence the National Liberation Front demobilized the women and sent them home to endure semi-feudal oppression. The EPLF has taken a stand against infibulation, the scarring and suturing of a woman's labia, widespread among Muslim tribes in Eritrea. However, a spokesman for the Eritrean Relief Association admitted that "if a woman insists," infibulation is carried out—saying that the "more hygienic techniques will do less damage" (*Wall Street Journal*, 18 May 1990).

For Permanent Revolution!

Today the Eritrean EPLF (like the Tigrean-based EPRDF) looks to U.S. imperialism as their sponsor and overlord. But while there is a shift in the personnel at the top, without a struggle for *social* liberation the masses will remain subjugated and condemned to grinding poverty. In 1975, shortly after the Derg came to power, the youth group of the Spartacist League was invited to present greetings to a conference of left-nationalist Eritrean students in North America. Our greetings (which were suppressed by Stalinists in the conference

WV Map

leadership and instead distributed by us as a leaflet) outlined the road to liberation for all the peoples oppressed by imperialism in Asia, Africa and Latin America:

> "The Spartacist League wholeheartedly and unconditionally supports the struggle for the independence of Eritrea. But political independence in itself will neither place land in the hands of the toilers, nor will it give decent wages and working conditions to the proletariat, nor will it place food in the mouths of the starving....
>
> "Even if the proletariat is a numerical minority in countries whose economic development has been retarded by imperialism, nonetheless their social coherence in the productive process means that they alone can draw together and lead the ethnically diverse and geographically dispersed rural toilers. The workers' strikes in Addis Ababa which contributed to the downfall of Selassie were but a partial, episodic and spontaneous demonstration of the massive social power of the proletariat....
>
> "The urgent democratic tasks can only be undertaken with the proletariat, the only consistently democratic class, in power. This dynamic of the Russian Revolution is codified in Trotsky's *Permanent Revolution*."
>
> —*Young Spartacus* No. 36, October 1975

The weight of backwardness in Ethiopia is enormous and the working class is tiny. But the international impact of a truly proletarian struggle for power could inspire the more powerful working class in Egypt, in South Africa, or among black workers in the U.S. The revolutionary transformation of Ethiopia cannot be posed within the narrow national limits of one of the most impoverished countries of the world. It is part of the struggle for world proletarian revolution led by a reforged Fourth International. ■

Beruvides/Granma

Bartoli-Rea/SABA

Hundreds of thousands of Cubans, many of them on bicycles, celebrated May Day 1991 in Havana. Billboards reading "Socialism or Death" express determination to resist Yankee aggression.

Cuba in the Cross Hairs of Yankee Imperialism

The White House and Pentagon, with the blood of a hundred thousand Iraqis still wet on their hands, are looking around for the next target of their drive for untrammeled world domination. And Cuba stands, unbowed, defiant, the only nation in the Western Hemisphere which successfully stood up to the might of the imperialist colossus. Bush, the godfather of repressive tyrannies around the world, lashes out at Fidel Castro as the "hemisphere's last dictator" and hypocritically rails about "human rights" in Cuba to justify the economic strangulation and the spectre of open military intervention.

The U.S. economic blockade against Cuba—like those against Vietnam, and Iraq—is an act of war. The embargo, *now in its 30th year*, is intended to cause untold suffering among Cubans, to punish them for having overthrown the capitalist rule of the U.S. sugar barons and mafia bosses. For three decades, the Cuban Revolution bought time with the aid of the Soviet Union and East Europe. With the collapse of Soviet bloc trade, the capitalist annexation of East Germany and economic paralysis in the Soviet Union, the blows of counterrevolution are being felt acutely half a world away in Cuba, which is valiantly holding out.

Two *Workers Vanguard* correspondents recently traveled to Havana to attend a conference on "The Future of Socialism," sponsored by the philosophy department of the University of Havana, and returned with these impressions of conditions in Cuba today.

* * *

Havana Eyewitness

WV Photo

Der Spiegel

Cuba under siege: Empty Havana streets as gas is tightly rationed (above). Long wait in food lines (left).

The first thing that strikes you in Cuba are the hardships and shortages felt everywhere. These days, there's not much traffic in Havana at rush hour. No oil, no gas. All you see are a few tourist taxis and ancient buses. Gasoline is rationed strictly. Tractors stand idle in the countryside; horse carts are more common. Thousands of bicycles are being imported from China. Factories have been closed or workdays cut for lack of fuel and raw materials. On the coast outside Havana, there is a string of little oil wells pumping. They are said to supply 10 percent of Cuba's oil—the rest must be bought with precious hard currency.

At a briefing by the staff of the Americas Department of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, we were told that since January nothing has arrived from the Russians except a few shipments of oil. Despite the Soviets' assurances that contracts will be honored, their economic chaos at home is paralyzing trade with Cuba. We heard there are warehouses filled with sugar, waiting, but the Soviet ships haven't showed up to take it.

So the Cubans are short of almost everything. Hard to find any newspapers at all, there's a shortage of ink and paper. The phones don't work, especially when it's raining. The effects of the imperialist blockade and the breakdown in trade bring to mind Marx's admonition, in *The German Ideology*, that without international extension an isolated communist society would be condemned to "want made general"—collectivized poverty.

In Cuba under the gun, what's euphemistically called a "special period in peacetime," there are a few privileges for the elite, the bureaucracy, mostly higher salaries which can buy very little. The real goodies go to those Cubans who've kept up their ties to relatives who ran off to Miami. They're the ones who can get VCRs and designer jeans.

There are lines all over. Things are grim, and getting worse. In Havana, bread is now rationed, four ounces a day. So is milk, and eggs, and fish and chicken... And people have to stand in line to collect the rations. But there is no hunger like you see in any Latin American city, or U.S. ghettos for that matter.

Rations for children aren't cut back. We wander into a day-care center at a dairy co-op on the outskirts of Havana: the kids get meals with meat, milk, vegetables, fruit. The contrast strikes you, between the tropical Third World surroundings, rough grimy buildings and dirt floors, and the children: plump, healthy, grinning. They get regular visits from the doctor, the speech therapist, the psychologist. Compares favorably to day-care centers at home, ones that cost $5,000 and up a year for those that can find and afford them.

It's one thing to read the statistics, how Cuban infant mortality is lower than much of the developed world, about half what it is in the South Bronx and Harlem. It's something else to see the difference in the lives of the children. With all the scarcity and austerity here, you can see the value placed on the children, the future. In the U.S. many of these same children would be among the homeless, facing the daily violence of a society indifferent to their pain.

Our van driver introduces us to his wife and two-year-old daughter. She's a doctor, studying for exams to become her community's family physician. We go by their tiny house, with a statue of José Martí in the yard. In the racist U.S., it would be improbable: a black woman, married to a bus driver, with a two-year-old child, being a doctor. Here it's ordinary.

The Cuban public health system is the best in Latin America. But supplies of some vital medicines are running out, because of the blockade and the breakdown of trade. Shortages of imported chemicals mean inadequate chlorination of the water supply, so the citizens of Havana have to use scarce fuel supplies to boil the tap water. Not a few North American visitors came down with stomach problems—and were impressed by the prompt, competent, free medical care they received at Cuban hospitals.

Bush, in a speech to gusano leaders on May 20, demanded that Cuba adopt capitalist-style "free elections" and free all "political prisoners" before the U.S. will restore diplomatic relations. The Cubans responded: You want us to free a few dozen prisoners, most convicted for acts of terrorism? Well, we demand you release the thousands of prisoners held unjustly in U.S. jails, we demand you provide jobs, and homes, and medical care and education to your population.

We heard a moving talk by black militant Assata Shakur (Joanne Chesi-

mard, one of the New York Panther 21), who survived shooting and imprisonment at the hands of racist cops, finally escaping to safety in Cuba. For her, the survival of Cuba's revolution is a matter of life or death. She spoke of the many others who find refuge here, like young Salvadoran guerrilla fighters blinded or maimed in combat against the death squads. To a visitor from the U.S., she said, things may look hard down here. But to a Palestinian from the West Bank, to a Latin American slum dweller, Cuba looks very different.

Articles have appeared in the U.S. press about apolitical Cuban youth who are only interested in rock and roll. Cubans we talked to said that of course there was a difference of perception between the older generation which had lived through the Revolution and Playa Girón (the CIA's ill-starred Bay of Pigs invasion attempt) and young people who take many of the gains of the Revolution for granted. But they also pointed out that this year's May Day celebration was huge (close to a million people), and they were struck by the spirited participation of large numbers of youth.

The Price of Tourism

The Cubans are pushing frantically to finish preparations for next month's Pan American Games, the centerpiece of an all-out campaign to establish a flourishing tourist industry. At the magnificent Cuban beaches, once the playground of North American millionaires, luxury hotels are springing up.

While the Cuban people endure terrible hardships today, the contrast with the tourist luxuries is ever more painful. With U.S. dollars, you can buy anything: Coca-Cola, Marlboros, you name it. Prostitutes are available too, but only for dollars or the goods they buy. Cuban economist Carlos Tablada says, "Sure, we know there's prostitution. We accept it as the price of tourism." The tourist stores at the Habana Libre are covered with long white curtains, to hide from the Cubans the goods they're not allowed to buy.

The Cubans view tourism as a necessary evil, a way to buy time, enough hard currency to survive a few more years. Self-sufficiency in food, perhaps, in five years. Cubans are focusing on high-tech medical and biotechnology industries to generate enough to fund future development. They're earning significant amounts of hard currency selling vaccines to Brazil, advanced medical diagnostic systems to the Soviets.

Even under this tremendous pressure, virtually everyone we talked to said they were determined to resist, to survive,

WV Photo

Ex-Panther Assata Shakur fled murderous repression in U.S.

whatever it takes—and they speak for many more. Antonio Toledo, dean of the University of Havana philosophy department, ended the conference on a somber note: "We look forward to meeting with you again next year. If there's no gasoline, we'll meet you out at the airport and have our conference there. If there's no electricity, we'll sit and talk around a bonfire."

Ernesto Fernández

Bay of Pigs, 1961: Cuban soldiers and workers militia crushed CIA's invasion attempt on the shore at Playa Girón.

One U.S. visitor, calling himself a "revolutionary Guevarist," says straight out, "it's hopeless": Cuba is too isolated, the U.S. will just bomb Havana to rubble and the gusanos lurking in Miami will march back in triumph. But Cuba is not Grenada, or Panama. The U.S. could squeeze the lifeblood out of the Nicaraguan economy and buy an election victory for the forces of counterrevolution there, because private property, the capitalist economy, was never dismantled. But even in poverty, Cuba's socialized economy gives them a tremendous strength. And while there are "capitalist roaders" dreaming of a lusher lifestyle, many Cubans are fiercely determined to resist.

Socialism on One Island?

At the university conference the question of the one-party system was discussed. Some of the U.S. professors, reflecting social-democratic and liberal proclivities, politely argue for political "pluralism" and "free elections"—Bush's code words for counterrevolution. The Cubans defend a single party, saying it's not based on Stalin's model, but on José Martí's call for a single party of the Cuban nation. In retreating from Soviet-style Stalinism, they fall back on old-fashioned Cuban nationalism.

The Spartacist tendency from its inception has fought to defend Cuba's revolution against the vengeful U.S. rulers. But we recognize that any isolated workers state, deformed by the pressures of poverty and imperialist encirclement, must undergo bureaucratic degeneration—which makes so crucial the international extension of social revolution. And we call for workers democracy for all parties and tendencies which defend the revolution, and in this framework we seek to build a Leninist-Trotskyist party, a Bolshevik party contending for leadership of the Cuban working class.

A professor at Havana University, discussing the relevance of the debate in the 1920s Soviet Union between Trotskyists and Stalinists, says: "I don't know, maybe they could have built socialism in one country in Russia. But we sure as hell can't do it here all alone." But Juan Antonio Blanco, of the CC staff, says bluntly: "We're not just building socialism in one country, we're building socialism on one island." He explicitly rejects the idea of an international communist party, counterposing a broad movement of "progressive forces": leftists, Greens, women, Latin American nationalists. It's the old Stalinist popular-front strategy again, what Fidel advised for the Chileans and the Nicaraguans—don't follow the Cuban road, ally with the "progressive" bourgeoisie. And look where it got them.

After the failure of the Guevarist strategy of sparking peasant-based guerrilla struggle in Latin America, the idea of internationalism became identified with support of the Soviet bloc. Now, with the crumbling of the Stalinist regimes of East Europe and the USSR paralyzed by social and economic chaos, with the dissolution of COMECON and the Warsaw Pact, the Cubans dig in and prepare to go it alone. But the Cubans' triumph over capitalism cannot be defended with the bunker mentality of Stalinist nationalism. The Cuban Revolution inspired a generation of revolutionaries around the world—*today it is urgently necessary for all opponents of imperialism to mount an international defense of Cuba under siege in Bush's "New World Order."* And the best defense is the struggle for revolution throughout the Americas.

A *Workers Vanguard* reporter spoke in the opening plenary session of the conference:

> "The victories won through the heroism of the Cuban people are threatened as never before, as much by the slow economic strangulation of the imperialist blockade as by the danger of overt military aggression.
>
> "If we, as internationalists, as communists, want to defend the victories that have been won, we have to look not to the illusion of peaceful coexistence with vengeful imperialism, not to appeasing capitalist reaction, but to extending social revolution, not only to the countries of the Third World but also in the belly of the imperialist beast, where all the social and economic contradictions of capitalism have sharpened dramatically. "This means intransigent class struggle which is not deflected into the dead end of a coalition with bourgeois forces as we saw with Allende in Chile, or the illusory trap of a mythical 'third way' between capitalism and socialism as in Nicaragua.
>
> "Above all, this presupposes the construction of a conscious vanguard at an international level, as envisioned by Lenin and the other founders of the early Communist International. The CI was weakened and finally liquidated altogether by Stalin as a concession to the so-called 'democratic' imperialists. The future of socialism depends decisively on an international revolutionary leadership that can assimilate the history of the international class struggle, and assure a communist future of social justice and material abundance for all of humanity."

Some of the Americans were heard to mutter about ultraleft Trotskyites. But the Cubans applauded, warmly.

A book published here last year, *El Gran Secreto*—"The Great Secret"—finally reveals the heroic role of the Cubans in helping build and maintain the network of roads known as the Ho Chi Minh Trail, strategic in the transport of troops and equipment to southern Vietnam, and crucial to the victory of the Vietnamese liberation forces. For Cubans, internationalism is still seen as a cause worth fighting for, and dying for. One of the *WV* reporters recalled coming to cut sugar cane with the first Venceremos Brigade 22 years ago, and the huge brightly colored billboards everywhere proclaiming "COMO EN VIETNAM"—like in Vietnam.

At the ornate Museum of the Revolution are displayed relics of the Indians massacred by the Spanish, the slaves brutalized for the sugar trade, the Cuban wars of independence, the siege of the Moncada barracks, the guerrilla war in the Sierra Maestra. One wall is painted with a huge map of Angola, where the big battles are highlighted, honoring the heroic Cuban soldiers who defeated and humiliated the army of South African apartheid. Assata Shakur spoke movingly of how the Cubans thronged to line the roads last year when they brought back the bodies of those who fell in Angola, "*los internacionalistas*."

At the museum, we were struck by a display on Cuba's earlier wars for independence and against slavery: in the 1868 campaign against Spain there were military commanders from China, Poland, Russia, England, Santo Domingo ...and Brooklyn. Should Washington try another Bay of Pigs, they will be confronted by *internacionalista* fighters, among them North Americans. And we must fight to mobilize a vigorous and massive opposition by the workers and oppressed against the imperialist rulers who would sink Cuba into the sea. ■

WV Photos

University of Havana: Display honors martyrs who fell in struggle (above). Cuban students today (right).

Spartacist League Public Offices

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Supreme Court...

(continued from page 1)

misery of millions, expressing their contempt for minorities, women, workers and the fundamental democratic rights supposedly guaranteed by the Bill of Rights. The Court upheld federal regulations which assisted coal companies in evading benefits to miners suffering from black lung disease; prohibited family planning centers which receive federal funds from even mentioning abortion to patients; gave the green light to segregated school districts to shelve court-ordered busing plans; and even condemned nude dancing as a "perceived evil," despite acknowledging that it is an expression of free speech "protected" under the First Amendment.

Now along comes Thomas, who not only praises his education by Catholic nuns, but fondly quotes his mother's concern "that when they took God out of the schools, the schools went to hell." The Moral Majorityites, that immoral minority, would like to turn this country into a theocracy, like Ireland or Israel. But the U.S. bourgeoisie has a problem. Unlike Ireland or Israel, the U.S. is neither religiously homogenous, nor does one religious group unambiguously rule over another. There are Baptists, Catholics, Hindus, Jews, Methodists, Mormons, Muslims—exactly *whose* god would reign supreme in an American theocratic "covenant"? Just look at all the religious banishments in the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

In his last dissent, Marshall wrote: "The majority today sends a clear signal that scores of established constitutional liberties are now ripe for reconsideration." He warned that this "will squander the authority and legitimacy of this court as a protector of the powerless." But the Supreme Court has never been a protector of the powerless. The "liberal" Warren Court was a reflection of the capitalist state's response to the level of social struggle, particularly the mass-based civil rights movement of the 1950s and '60s. Likewise, its conservative successor reflects the reactionary capitalist counteroffensive aimed at extinguishing those limited and partial reforms in the absence of social struggle. It is a sign of the times that after threatening "the mother of all confirmation hearings," the NAACP couldn't even bring itself to denounce Bush's latest nominee.

Behind the Black Robes

For Rehnquist, Scalia, Connor et al., the protections of the Fourth Amendment prohibition of unreasonable search and seizure, the Fifth Amendment proscription against compelling an individual to bear witness against himself and the Sixth Amendment right to counsel have no place in the "New World Order"—even to the limited extent to which they have been enforced. As for the right to a trial by a jury of one's peers, in late May the court decided that bilingual jurors could be barred from trials of Hispanics, because their ability to understand the defendant might prejudice them against the official court translations.

The racists in black robes find it particularly intolerable that some 40 percent of death sentences are overturned in federal *habeas corpus* challenges. James Lee Richardson, Clarence Brandley and Ronald Monroe are just a few of those recently proven innocent after being sentenced to death. To Rehnquist, who idolizes notorious post-Reconstruction Arkansas hanging judge Isaac C. Parker, this is an "abuse of the writ." And so with *McCleskey v. Zant*: no matter how glaring the constitutional violations at trial or overwhelming the proof of their innocence, death row inmates now get at most one federal court challenge. For McCleskey, it was the second time he struck out before the Supreme Court. In his famous 1987 appeal, *McCleskey v. Kemp*, the Court endorsed the racist application of the death penalty in the U.S., reopening wide the floodgates to death row.

For years, liberals have been pushing reliance on the courts as the motor of social progress, harking back to the Supreme Court era ushered in by the 1954 *Brown* decision and led by Chief Justice Earl Warren until his retirement in 1968. A series of rulings, which are now rapidly becoming mere footnotes in the law books, gave some meaning to the protections most Americans were taught to believe were embodied in the Constitution by requiring that they be extended to the states: inadmissibility of evidence seized in an unreasonable search and seizure (1961), right to counsel (1963), right to a jury trial (1968), protection against double jeopardy (1969). It wasn't until the *Miranda* decision of 1966 that an individual had to be told of his rights upon arrest, and only with the 1965 case of *Griswold v. Connecticut* were even married adults guaranteed legal access to contraceptives.

Those court rulings came in the context of mass struggles, beginning with the marches against Jim Crow and culminating with the mass protests against the Vietnam War, which shattered the Cold War climate of the early 1950s. Unable to sustain popular support for rabid McCarthyite witchhunting, court rulings after 1956 tended to "restrict" the applicability of the "speech crime" laws, though never declaring them unconstitutional. Most of the landmark decisions of the '60s recognizing the rights of defendants in criminal cases involved disenfranchised blacks caught in the web of racist police-state terror in the South. After World War II and particularly with the Korean War, when the Army was finally integrated, many blacks refused to put up with Jim Crow any longer. Even before 1954 the NAACP had won a number of legal victories for school desegregation in the South.

With a generation of youth repulsed by U.S. imperialist atrocities in Indochina and stultifying sexual and cultural puritanism at home, more far-sighted sectors of the bourgeoisie recognized the need to loosen up state control over personal matters and acceptable modes of dissent. But that was a brief and unusual moment in U.S. history, a period when the capitalist state was attempting to contain, co-opt and eventually destroy the mass civil rights movement and the burgeoning radicalization centered on opposition to the Vietnam War. And the bourgeoisie succeeded. After the 1973 U.S. withdrawal from Vietnam the antiwar movement fell apart. Most black militants of the '60s who weren't cut down by the FBI's COINTELPRO were co-opted by the Democratic Party.

So, with minimal personnel changes the Court immediately began to erode the gains of the preceding 20 years. While liberals today speak of the Warren/Burger court, it was really the Eisenhower/Nixon court, and the replacement for Eisenhower appointee Warren was a Nixon appointee who sought to rein in the court. In 1976 the Supreme Court restored the death penalty in *Gregg v. Georgia*. The racist *Bakke* decision of 1979 against affirmative action signaled the end of any pretension of upholding black rights. And the 1980 *Harris v. McRae* case, affirming the Hyde Amendment (passed under Democrat Carter) which denied Medicaid funds for abortion, gutted the *Roe* decision for the millions of poor, mostly minority, women to whom it was a question of life or death.

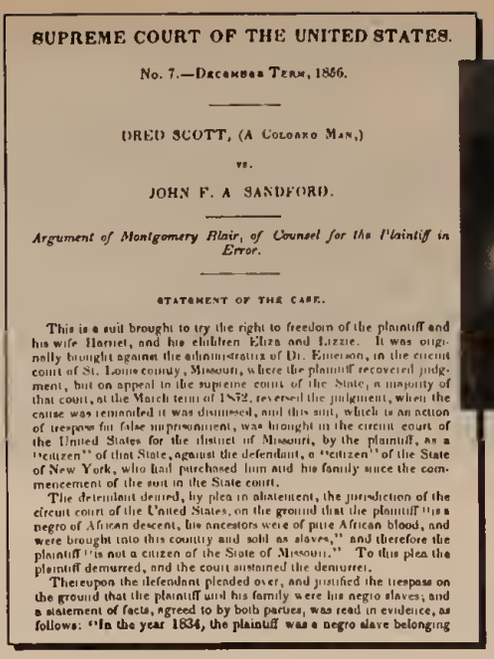
For all the conservative "Impeach Earl Warren" billboards, Warren was no pinko liberal. He was groomed as a protégé of Senator Joe Knowland's big business right wing of the California Republican Party. Warren first received statewide attention as Alameda County D.A. in orchestrating the 1936 red-baiting frame-up of three organizers of the Marine Firemen's union on charges of murdering an anti-union chief engineer on the SS *Point Lobos*. The judge in the case was Warren's former assistant, the jury was handpicked from lists supplied by banks and big business, and several jury members were either blackmailed or bought. As the case was being brought to trial, Warren ranted that it was a "paid assassin's job and the basis of the plot was communistic." Warren also knifed a pardon for long-imprisoned labor organizer Tom Mooney, and the *Point Lobos* trial came to be known as the "Little Mooney" case.

Having thus won his spurs for the bourgeoisie, Warren was elected state attorney general in 1938. Immediately after the U.S. entry into World War II, Warren, a member of the xenophobic Native Sons of the Golden West, spearheaded a drive to evict all Japanese Americans from the area. He mobilized California D.A.s, testified to the Congressional Tolan Committee, lobbied the FBI, Justice Department, Army, Navy and General DeWitt, head of the Western Defense Command. On DeWitt's request FDR issued the executive order that led to the "internment" of more than 110,000 people of Japanese descent in concentration camps. Liberal writer Carey McWilliams said of Warren, "No one person had more to do with bringing about the removal of the West Coast Japanese during World War II." It also helped win him the governorship in 1942.

Nor was the record of the other members of the Warren Court better. Hugo Black, for example, had been a member of the KKK in the 1920s and wrote the Supreme Court decision upholding the concentration camps. Even at its most "liberal," the high court never struck down the anti-Communist Smith Act, the Internal Security Act and the McCarran-Walter Immigration Act excluding from this country leftists, homosexuals and anyone this reactionary government deems deviant.

Legacy of the Civil Rights Movement

Fearful of mobilizing labor/black power in struggle and confronted with a Dixiecrat-controlled Congress and entrenched racist reaction in the South flying the banner of "states' rights," the liberal leadership of the civil rights movement hanked everything on the federal courts, federal troops and the federal government. The Court's 1954 decision was touted as vindication of legalistic reformism, even though it took many years of fighting in the streets before it was given any teeth.



SUPREME COURT OF THE UNITED STATES.

No. 7.—DECEMBER TERM, 1856.

DRED SCOTT, (A COLORED MAN,)

vs.

JOHN F. A SANDFORD.

Argument of Montgomery Blair, of Counsel for the Plaintiff in Error.

STATEMENT OF THE CASE.

This is a suit brought to try the right to freedom of the plaintiff and his wife Harriet, and his children Eliza and Lizzie. It was originally brought against the administratrix of Dr. Emerson, in the circuit court of St. Louis county, Missouri, where the plaintiff recovered judgment, but on appeal to the supreme court of the State, a majority of that court, at the March term of 1852, reversed the judgment, when the cause was remanded it was dismissed, and this suit, which is an action of trespass for false imprisonment, was brought in the circuit court of the United States for the district of Missouri, by the plaintiff, as a "citizen" of that State, against the defendant, a "citizen" of the State of New York, who had purchased him and his family since the commencement of the suit in the State court.

The defendant denied, by plea in abatement, the jurisdiction of the circuit court of the United States, on the ground that the plaintiff "is a negro of African descent, his ancestors were of pure African blood, and were brought into this country and sold as slaves," and therefore the plaintiff "is not a citizen of the State of Missouri." To this plea the plaintiff demurred, and the court sustained the demurrer.

Thereupon the defendant pleaded over, and justified the trespass on the ground that the plaintiff and his family were his negro slaves; and a statement of facts, agreed to by both parties, was read in evidence, as follows: "In the year 1834, the plaintiff was a negro slave belonging

Culver Pictures

In Dred Scott case, Supreme Court in 1857 upheld slaveowners' laws, ruling blacks "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect."

Davis/Greensboro Daily News

KKK/Nazis worked hand in glove with government in 1979 Greensboro massacre of five leftists, then were acquitted by racist courts.

AP

UPI

As Southern cops beat civil rights protesters, FBI "Informer" Gary Rowe carried out Klan terror.

As part of his legal strategy, NAACP leading counsel Thurgood Marshall sought to ingratiate himself with the Eisenhower administration by privately denouncing Martin Luther King as a "first-rate rabble-rouser" for attempting to organize a "Prayer Pilgrimage" to Washington on the third anniversary of the *Brown* decision. The march idea died that year, only to come to fruition in 1963. King at least understood that for school desegregation to become reality, it was necessary to have mass pressure. But he delivered the masses up to the Democratic Party and led them unarmed —literally and politically—into the teeth of the bourgeois state and its KKK dogs of war.

And so when the Freedom Riders, intent on desegregating public bus terminals in the South, pulled into the Greyhound terminal in Rock Hill, South Carolina in May 1961 and youthful black activist John Lewis of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) tried to go to the "white only" waiting room, he found his way blocked by white racists. "I have a right to go in here on grounds of the Supreme Court decision in the *Boynton* case," he told them. "Shit on that," they said, and landed a punch on his mouth. Despite rumors that the Freedom Riders would be ambushed by the Klan in Birmingham, in the name of "nonviolence" nothing was done to organize a defense. The rumors were everywhere because the police were in on the set-up: FBI informant Gary Rowe, a member of the "Klavern," participated in the attack while the local cops conveniently disappeared (see Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters* [1988]).

This pattern of complicity of all levels of the government with the racist terrorists was not limited to the '60s. Nearly two decades later, in November 1979, five labor, black and leftist activists were gunned down in broad daylight by a death squad of Klansmen and Nazis in the streets of Greensboro, North Carolina, the home of the Freedom Rides. In the lead car was an "ex"-FBI informer, pulling up the rear was a Greensboro cop, accompanying this cavalcade of death was a state trooper, and a federal agent planned the attack route. The fascist killers were let off by a lily-white state court jury, and were again whitewashed by a federal court. Together with the smashing of the PATCO air controllers strike two years later, the hail of bullets in Greensboro signaled the opening of the coming decade of reaction.

"Checks and Balances"— Against the Working Class

Today, with the courts and the federal executive in the firm grip of avowed reactionaries, liberals have come full circle and now run to Congress and the states as a bulwark against the courts' onslaught on civil liberties. Thus the ACLU and others seek to do an end run around the push for capital punishment by appealing to Congress to enact a Racial Justice Act, which does not oppose the death penalty outright but seeks only to "make it unlawful to execute someone whose death sentence is the product of race discrimination." As if it were even possible to have capital punishment that was not racially discriminatory in this racist country! Likewise NOW and other bourgeois feminists look to Congress to override the high court's anti-abortion "gag rule."

But from its very origins, the Supreme Court was consciously designed to be a ruling class protection *against* the masses, a bastion of conservatism, "an essential safeguard against the effects of occasional ill humors in the society," as Alexander Hamilton put it in the *Federalist Papers* (1788). And so the "Founding Fathers" created "checks and balances" to make a government well insulated from the "ill humors" of the unpredictable masses, with a powerful executive, the president, who nominates the high court with consent from that exclusive club of millionaires called the Senate. At its inception American "democracy" combined slavery with democratic forms and lofty principles.

Wide World

Thurgood Marshall (center) celebrates victory in landmark school integration case, *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954).

In its time the Supreme Court has declared that blacks "had no rights which the white man was bound to respect" in the infamous Dred Scott case (1857); proclaimed "separate but equal" segregation the law of the land in the post-Reconstruction counterrevolution; used the 1890 Sherman Anti-Trust Act to hold unions responsible for "damages" to employers in a strike; upheld strikebreaking injunctions against the 1894 Pullman strike; upheld the internment of Japanese Americans during WW II; affirmed the executions of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg during the anti-Communist witchhunt of the 1950s.

On this 200th anniversary of the Bill of Rights, the Supreme Court has yet to rule that it is fully applicable to the states. The First Amendment protections of speech, press, assembly and religion were only applied to the states piecemeal, beginning in the 1920s; the prohibition against state establishment of religion as late as 1947. Harold Laski noted in his treatise *The State in Theory and Practice* (1935):

> "...how accidental was the union of capitalism with democracy. It was the outcome, not of an essential harmony of inner principle, but of that epoch in economic evolution when capitalism was in its phase of expansion. It had conferred political power upon the masses; but it was upon the saving condition that political power should not be utilized to cut at the root of capitalist postulates. It would offer social reforms so long as these did not jeopardize the essential relations of the capitalist system. When they did as occurred in the post-war [World War I] years, the contradiction between capitalism and democracy became the essential institutional feature of Western civilization."

Class Struggle and Proletarian Justice

Under capitalism, whatever its constitutional format—be it a democratic republic, a constitutional monarchy or a fascist dictatorship—the judiciary is an arm of the bourgeois state aimed at defending the interests of the ruling class against those whom it oppresses and exploits. This is as true of the august Supreme Court justices as it is of company judge Byrd Hogg in Kentucky, who issued injunctions against striking Harlan County miners in the '70s. The "independence of the judiciary" removes most judges from even a modicum of democratic control by having them appointed for life. Marx described the "separation of powers" as the product of an age in which "the royal power, the aristocracy and bourgeoisie are struggling for supremacy." Indeed, the Supreme Court of the American republic has much in common with the British monarchy's high court—the aristocratic House of Lords—whose members are either hereditary peers or are appointed for life in the name of the queen.

In contrast, under the proletarian democracy of a workers state, judges no less than other officials would be elected and subject to the democratic will of the masses through the right of immediate recall. This is precisely what happened following the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution in Russia. People's Commissar for Justice Kursky laid out the Bolshevik policy: "The proletariat and the poorest peasantry, having conquered political power, were inevitably bound, in order to strengthen their power, to smash the whole juridical superstructure of the bourgeois state and, consequently, the courts. Henceforth the decisive voice in the courts must rest with the workers and poorest peasants in the person of assessors elected by the Soviets."

Under capitalist class "justice," ordinary criminals are subjected to vindictive "punishment" (revenge) and used as slave labor to produce license plates. Talk of rehabilitation is a cruel joke in America's prison hellholes, from Southern chain gangs to Rikers Island and Attica to Folsom Prison. In contrast, the institution of labor camps by the early Bolshevik government for the first time made possible the education and rehabilitation of those found guilty of crimes by the people's courts, through participation in social labor. This was later perverted by Stalin's anti-revolutionary bureaucracy into a monstrous police state, filling the camps with Old Bolsheviks as a way station to the execution wall. But in its first few years, the Soviet Russia of Lenin and Trotsky was the most democratic society on the face of the earth. Women, homosexuals and all national, ethnic and religious minorities were granted full and equal rights. Separation of church and state was strictly enforced. The right to free abortions was decreed and the death penalty was abolished as a standing part of the criminal code.

Today in America, every democratic right supposedly enshrined in the Constitution is under attack. *Newsweek* (8 July) asks in its cover story on the Supreme Court, "How Far Right?" The answer is: pretty far. To women facing back-alley abortions, to the increasing numbers of blacks and Hispanics on death row, to everyone subjected to escalating cop terror, the liberals counsel reliance on Congress one day, on the courts the next, always on some institution of the capitalist system.

The Partisan Defense Committee, a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization launched by the Spartacist League in 1974, has initiated labor/black mobilizations against fascist terror in cities across the country. In Washington (1982), Philadelphia (1988) and elsewhere, the SL and PDC have been able to spark mass united-front actions, based on the power of organized labor, which have stopped the Klan and Nazis in their tracks. The PDC is also fighting for the freedom of framed-up ex-Black Panthers Geronimo Pratt in California and Mumia Abu-Jamal on death row in Pennsylvania. The campaign seeks to bring the force of labor, minorities, death penalty abolitionists, human rights organizations into the struggle to save Jamal's life.

We look to the tradition of the International Labor Defense, whose first secretary, James P. Cannon, was the founder of American Trotskyism. In the ILD's campaign to save Sacco and Vanzetti from the electric chair, Cannon elaborated the strategy on which we fight:

> "One policy is the policy of the class struggle. It puts the center of gravity in the protest movement of the workers of America and the world. It puts all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts. While favoring all possible legal proceedings, it calls for agitation, publicity, demonstrations—organized protest on a national and international scale....
>
> "The other policy is the policy of 'respectability,' of the 'soft pedal' and of ridiculous illusions about 'justice' from the courts of the enemy. It relies mainly on legal proceedings. It seeks to blur the issue of the class struggle."
>
> —"Who Can Save Sacco and Vanzetti?" *Labor Defender*, January 1927

Ultimately it is only socialist revolution that can end the system of capitalist lynch law and guarantee the rights of the oppressed. And for that it is necessary to build a revolutionary workers party modeled on the Russian Bolsheviks, following Lenin's dictum to serve as a "tribune of the people" in fighting all instances of capitalist injustice. Then the Supreme Court of injustice will join the other relics of the barbaric past, the medieval rack and the modern death chamber. ■

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Yugoslavia...

(continued from page 12)

with these provocations, the Yugoslav military command, overriding the civilian authorities in Belgrade, struck back with warplanes, artillery and additional tank units. Army chief of staff Blagoje Adzic, who saw his entire family massacred by the Ustasha in 1942, declared: "We are going to carry this war through to the end."

However, over the weekend of July 6-7 another cease-fire arrangement was brokered by the EEC on terms more favorable to Slovenia. The Ljubljana and Zagreb regimes are now slated to negotiate the conditions of secession with the central Yugoslav institutions. In the interim, Slovenian police will man the border posts as "agents" of the federal government. Everyone claims to stand for a peaceful solution and everyone knows the breakup of Yugoslavia will be a very bloody affair. Western leaders and the bourgeois media now deplore the revival of "primitive" nationalism in the Balkans. But the counterrevolution in Yugoslavia and throughout East Europe is orchestrated by the ever-so-civilized men of Wall Street and Washington, of Brussels and Frankfurt.

WV Map

Western Imperialism and Counterrevolution in Yugoslavia

With the rotating collective presidency paralyzed, the leading figure in what remains of the central government has been the prime minister Ante Markovic. Since taking office in early 1989, Markovic has been the principal agent for the Western bankers in bleeding Yugoslavia. Industrial production has plummeted 30 percent in the last 18 months, over a quarter of the country's 20,000 enterprises are insolvent, workers have not been paid for weeks and 20 percent of the labor force is unemployed. Speaking to the Yugoslav legislature in April, Markovic lambasted those who talked of "social justice," declaring:

> "There is no market without its own 'justice,' based on the superiority of the strong over the weak regardless of nation or republic. This must be the basis of economic, political and national programmes."

Lacking any popular support at home, Markovic's entire political strategy lies in convincing the Western powers to transform Yugoslavia as a whole into a neocolony of the Common Market. At a meeting of European leaders in London a few months ago, he argued: "It is not in the West's or in Europe's interests for an explosion to occur in Yugoslavia. European countries want to see Yugoslavia Europeanised, not Lebanised or Balkanised" (*Guardian* [London], 16 April).

Until the present crisis Markovic's line met with diplomatic success. In late March Bush wrote a letter to the Belgrade prime minister expressing "admiration" for his policies and support for a "united and democratic" Yugoslavia. Similar statements were made by West European heads of state. And no foreign capital recognized Slovenia and Croatia following their declarations of independence.

The right-wing nationalists in Slovenia and Croatia, and their followers abroad, were of course incensed that the Western powers favored preserving Yugoslavia, still a nominally Communist state. But Washington and the other Western capitals do not view the Yugoslav government as any longer Communist. Markovic is just as committed to restoring capitalism as the secessionists in Ljubljana and Zagreb.

A few months ago the generals, organized in the League of Communists—Movement for Yugoslavia, still spoke of preserving Yugoslavia as a "socialist society." But now a decisive section of the military leadership seems willing to transform the country into a vassal of imperialism so long as it remains a unitary state. The defense minister, general Vejko Kadijevic, although a veteran of Tito's partisans, has conspicuously associated himself with Markovic's pro-Western stance. From the vantage point of Washington and Brussels, the issue is not the breakup of Communist Yugoslavia. It is whether capitalism is restored within the framework of Yugoslavia or through its dissolution into small, contending states.

International financiers and multinational corporations want to operate in a broad-based market with few restrictions on foreign trade and a convertible currency. What they are now facing in the Balkans is the creation of fanatically nationalistic micro-economies. One U.S. official lectured, "if they balkanize into little countries, they will set themselves back economically. And if they do, they shouldn't come to us to help them out of the economic mess that they created through runaway nationalism" (*Washington Post*, 17 May).

However, the Western rulers' main concern is not just that Balkanization is bad for business. It is that the breakup of Yugoslavia will usher in a wave of ethnic blood feuds and nationalist border wars in East Europe. Bulgaria and Greece have long-standing claims on Macedonia. The new, right-wing regime in Albania could well intervene in Kosovo, where the Albanian majority is brutally oppressed by Serbia. A border war between Serbia and Croatia over Krajina could rekindle a similar conflict between Hungary and Romania over Transylvania. And the secession of Slovenia and Croatia will mightily encourage Slovak separatists in Czechoslovakia. (Father Tiso's Slovakia, like Ustashi Croatia, was a clerical-fascist puppet state of Nazi Germany during World War II.)

In the land of the South Slavs, where the several peoples are far from geographically compacted but rather heavily interpenetrated, with a good deal of intermarriage besides, national separation and capitalist restoration will be a bloody affair. Undoubtedly, the most important repercussion of Yugoslavia's disintegration will be felt in the multinational Soviet Union, where the Baltic nationalists will be inflamed to fever pitch. This would come at an embarrassing moment for the American and West European imperialists, since Gorbachev has just made a major move toward the outright restoration of capitalism. A new law allows Soviet industry to be sold off to private parties, including and especially foreign corporations.

Western financiers and industrialists would like to see an orderly restoration of capitalism in East Europe. But forces of counterrevolution, on the march from the Baltic to the Adriatic, are *inseparable* from fratricidal nationalism. And counterrevolution in East Europe has also intensified *inter*-imperialist rivalry over who will dominate and exploit this half of the continent.

German Fourth Reich Bids for Mastery of the Balkans

The West European bourgeoisies seized on the Yugoslav crisis to assert themselves vis-à-vis Washington. "This is the hour of Europe. It is not the hour of the Americans," proclaimed Luxembourg's Jacques Poos, who headed the EEC delegation to Belgrade. There is no small irony in the foreign minister of lilliputian Luxembourg proclaiming supremacy over the United States. But if the Luxembourger's posturing is comical, the strongest European power—newly reunified Germany—is dead serious about gaining hegemony in the Balkans and throughout East Europe. There is now a virtual all-party front in Bonn for the breakup of Yugoslavia.

Scherl-Fellinga

Federal Committee for Information, Belgrade

During World War II, Croatian Ustashi fascist führer Ante Pavelic (left) unleashed slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Jews and gypsies.

A few days after Slovenia and Croatia declared independence, Germany broke the Western diplomatic united front in favor of preserving Yugoslavia. Chancellor Helmut Kohl declared that the presence of the Yugoslav federal army in Slovenia and Croatia was "completely unacceptable." Bonn foreign minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher stated that if the decision were his alone, the Common Market would recognize the independence of Slovenia and Croatia. And Volker Rühe, general secretary of the ruling Christian Democrats, called to "recognize the right to self-determination in Slovenia and Croatia," a demand trumpeted even more loudly by the opposition Social Democrats' spokesman Norbert Gansel.

The German rulers' newfound enthusiasm for "self-determination" in East Europe has naturally upset their West European partners, such as Spain, who have large, oppressed national minorities demanding independence. If the Croats can have it, why not the Basques and Corsicans? It is obscene for Kohl & Co. to preach about the "rights of minorities" when superexploited Turkish and Yugoslav *Gastarbeiter* ("guest workers") in Germany are treated like dirt and are attacked by neo-Nazi terrorists buoyed by the Greater Germany nationalist mania over reunification. In the mouths of Kohl, Genscher and the Social Democrats "self-determination" is but a formula for a new German-dominated empire in East Europe.

The masters of the Frankfurt banks and Ruhr factories believe that with reunifi-

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Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

GM Workers Strike for Safety

JULY 14—In a strike over life-or-death safety issues, 3,200 auto workers at GM's Baltimore, Maryland minivan plant, members of UAW Local 239, have been on the picket line for over four weeks. On June 24, workers shut down the line in the middle of the day shift, after a union rep blew a whistle indicating the start of the strike. Since February, when General Motors laid off 400 workers, there has been a *tenfold* increase in injuries caused by the killing pace of the assembly line. One worker told the press the body shop is "like an amusement park—jobs come flying in and stop in front of you."

After absorbing 3,000 layoffs in the past few years, plus in-transfers of workers from closed-down GM plants, those who are left chasing the vans down the line tend to be older, high-seniority workers. Local 239 president Rodney Trump told the *Baltimore Sun* (28 June) that workers are driven 55 minutes every hour, without enough "time to get a drink of water, blow your nose or tie a shoestring." Strikers on the picket line told *WV* that many of the worst injuries are carpal tunnel injuries to the wrist from repetitive, heavy motion.

This is what GM calls "using workers to the maximum of their abilities," as the company moves toward "100 percent" use of its North American plants. Such three-shift, 24-hour production, common in European plants of the Big 3, results in huge profits—while other plants are shuttered.

It's about time there was a strike to defend beleaguered auto workers! But from Dodge Main in 1979 to Chrysler's Jefferson Avenue plant last year, the UAW tops have let the companies close scores of plants, giving away hundreds of thousands of jobs without so much as a whimper. Instead they wrap themselves in the American flag while spewing poisonous anti-Japanese and anti-Mexican protectionist swill.

GM workers have plenty of power. Baltimore is the only source of GM's immensely profitable minivans. Within hours of the strike's beginning, parts plants in the closely integrated supply network began laying off. On the Port of Baltimore docks right next to the plant, longshoremen are under attack from the state port authority, which wants to slash the cost of labor, whipsawing them against their union brothers in the Tidewater, Virginia ports. A win against GM in Baltimore would have a big impact in the D.C./Baltimore area—and throughout the auto industry.

WV Photo

Strikers outside GM's Baltimore minivan plant, June 27.

Strike BART! Government Hands Off!

OAKLAND—When their contract expired, nearly 2,000 union workers at Bay Area Rapid Transit (BART) walked out at midnight, June 30. Both maintenance and clerical workers, members of Service Employees Local 790, and the train operators, who belong to Amalgamated Transit Union Local 1555, were eager to fight—BART is out to gut health care benefits and effectively freeze wages. But the union bureaucrats quickly caved in when California governor Pete Wilson invoked anti-strike legislation to order the unions back to work, citing the "great harm to the Bay Area in terms of gridlock and pollution" that would be caused by a strike.

Gridlock? Damn right! In order to win, a solid BART strike must be joined by Muni, AC Transit and the rest of the transit workers of the Bay Area. That would give a lot of grief to Wells Fargo and Bank of America, who are sitting on a financial San Andreas fault. Instead the union tops folded: "Of course, we'll go back to work," said Milt Waalkens, president of Local 790 (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 1 July). ATU Local 1555 president Jim McGrath blustered that "a strike is unavoidable at the end of 60 days," giving Wilson and the BART board lots of time to wear down the workforce and impose their "last best offer" under which union members could end up paying a big chunk of their health insurance.

Around the country the capitalists and their political agents, Democrat and Republican, are slashing everything from wages to homeless shelters, with health care a particular target. A day before he imposed his strike-breaking order on the BART unions, Wilson banned a strike by 5,000 Los Angeles-area bus drivers. In the Bay Area, city workers from San Francisco to Richmond face budget-ax layoffs and wage freezes and speedup. Denouncing the "greed" of workers injured on the job, Wilson has added workers' compensation to his hit list. And California state workers, whose contract expired June 30, are being targeted with a 5 percent wage cut and another 15 percent cut in health care.

By hitting the bosses hard, BART workers are in a good position to show the rest of Bay Area and California labor how it's done. BART now carries 250,000 passengers a day—up 70 percent from when the unions last struck in 1979. And the freeways destroyed in the 1989 earthquake are still down. Labor has a strong hand, but if you play by the bosses' rules, you lose. Shove Wilson's "back to work" order down his throat—the only "illegal" strike is one that loses. Shut down the maintenance barns tight, and if they try to run trains with management scabs, mass picketing to shut down "Central" (the computerized control center in Oakland) could turn BART into one giant snafu.

The unions can make a strike wildly popular with the working people of the Bay Area by adopting as one of their demands free public transportation! To guarantee victory, BART workers must appeal to the Golden Gate Transit workers, whose contract just expired, to Muni drivers and to AC Transit to join them in a solid *Bay Area-wide transit strike!* ■

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cation last year they have reversed the Third Reich's defeat in World War II. In Yugoslavia they are seeking to reverse Germany's defeat in World War I. One of the members of the Christian Democrats' recent "fact-finding" mission to Ljubljana and Zagreb (referred to as Laibach and Agram in the German press) was Otto von Habsburg, the 78-year-old son of the last ruler of the Austro-Hungarian Empire!

Before 1914, Slovenia and Croatia were provinces of this ramshackle empire, the junior partner of the Second German Reich. Serbia, then an independent monarchy, claimed territory in the Habsburg-ruled Balkans and looked to tsarist Russia as its great-power protector. It was the assassination of the Austrian heir apparent by a Serbian nationalist in Bosnia which triggered the first imperialist world war.

After Germany's defeat, the victorious Western powers established Yugoslavia under the domination of the Serbian monarchy. During the interwar period, King Alexander's Yugoslavia was a client state of France and Britain. In reaction, the Croatian nationalists of the Ustasha appealed to fascist Italy and later Nazi Germany for support, and were installed in power when Hitler's Wehrmacht overran the Balkans in 1941.

The defeat of Nazi Germany by Soviet Russia and the struggle waged by the Communist partisans laid the basis for the reconstruction of Yugoslavia as a socialized economy on a genuinely federal basis. Having come to power through a popular revolution, Tito was able to break with Stalin in 1948 and govern Yugoslavia as an "independent" "national-Communist" state tacking between Washington and Moscow.

AFP

Workers demonstrate last year carrying portrait of Josip Broz Tito, the founder of Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and leader of Communist partisans in World War II.

Only Communism Can Defeat Murderous Nationalism

However, it was impossible to build socialism in one relatively backward Balkan country. Economically, the bureaucratically deformed Yugoslav workers state became heavily dependent upon exporting its surplus labor to capitalist Europe, particularly West Germany. The 1974-75 world depression hit the Yugoslav economy especially hard. Tito, like other East European Stalinist regimes, responded by mortgaging his country to Wall Street and Frankfurt bankers. As the Yugoslav economy was drained by debt peonage, the forces of nationalist revanchism grew apace.

During the past few years the loudest voice in Yugoslavia against the Croatian and Slovenian secessionists has been Serbian nationalist strongman "Slobo" Milosevic, who has had substantial sympathy among the federal army officer corps, which is heavily Serbian. However, Milosevic is more interested in building a Greater Serbia than in preserving Yugoslavia. He has been talking about forming a separate Serbian army with this aim. And in a dramatic about-face he has now given the green light to the secession of Slovenia. In his own way Milosevic realizes that Yugoslavia cannot be preserved on the basis of Serbian nationalism with or without the cover of "socialist" verbiage.

The basis for the Yugoslav Revolution of 1941-45, despite its Stalinist deformations, lay in the Communists' entire previous struggle against nationalism, especially the then-dominant Serbian nationalism. In 1929, when King Alexander staged a royalist coup in the name of Yugoslav "unity," the Communist Party declared that "the great-Serbian bourgeoisie, with the support of the bourgeoisie of the oppressed nations" aimed to bring about "the division of oppressed nations, their even greater and more ruthless oppression and exploitation."

A decade and a half ago, we wrote:

> "Now even the great achievements of the Yugoslav revolution—the overthrow of capitalist property relations and the overcoming of bloody national conflicts which racked bourgeois Yugoslavia—are themselves threatened by the bureaucracy's fostering (largely against its own will) of centrifugal forces. The conditions are being accumulated for a bloody civil war in Yugoslavia, and, given the regional economic differences, one which may well be cloaked in the form of a 'national liberation' struggle. This is the legacy of Titoism, of Stalinism 'with a human face.' It is a legacy that the working masses must overcome by constructing a Trotskyist vanguard party capable of carrying through a workers political revolution to oust the Tito bureaucracy and thereby create the conditions for international extension of the revolution."
>
> —"The National Question in Yugoslavia," *WV* No. 110, 21 May 1975

Today, the peoples of Yugoslavia and throughout East Europe face ruthless oppression and exploitation at the hands of resurgent bourgeois nationalist forces manipulated by American and West European imperialism. Only a return to proletarian internationalism, to the principles of the Communist International under Lenin and Trotsky, can save the workers and peasants of East Europe—from the Balkans to the Baltic—from a new wave of communalist massacres and nationalist wars. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Bloody Nationalist Warfare and Counterrevolution

Yugoslavia Shattering

Ponzio/Lucky Star

Panorama

Sebastiano Visintin

In the vortex of new Balkan wars. Top left: Demonstration for Serbian ex-Stalinist nationalist demagogue Slobodan Milosevic. Bottom: Croatian militia confronts rebellious Serbian communities. Right: Tanks set aflame during fighting between Slovenian nationalist forces and Yugoslav federal army.

Long predicted and long prepared, the bloody breakup of Yugoslavia has begun. In late June the wealthiest, northernmost republics of Slovenia and Croatia—traditionally Roman Catholic and more Westernized—declared their independence. This led to several days of sharp fighting between Slovenian militias and the federal Yugoslav army. A cease-fire now in place can at most postpone the showdown for a few months. Meanwhile, armed conflict is escalating between the Croatian authorities and rebellious Serbian communities which rightly fear for their existence under the right-wing nationalist regime in Croatia's capital Zagreb.

The Western imperialists, having economically bled Yugoslavia for the past 15 years, are exploiting and manipulating the forces of local nationalism in the service of capitalist counterrevolution. The German Fourth Reich in particular is bidding for mastery of the Balkans by championing secession for Slovenia and Croatia. While Serbian papers accuse Germany of seeking hegemony over a "chain of Catholic nations" stretching "from the Baltic to the Adriatic," the Paris *Le Monde* (4 July) writes: "Having regained its unity and sovereignty, Germany is determined today to play, without complexes, a major role in a region with which it has always maintained close ties." And the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* (14 July) headlined, "Phantom of the Fourth Reich."

The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is now being ripped apart by the same forces defeated by Tito's Communist partisans in World War II—the fratricidal Croatian and Serbian nationalists and their imperialist godfathers. The pro-Western Yugoslav liberal Aleksa Djilas (son of the dissident ex-Communist Milovan Djilas) recently wrote:

> "The Partisans' simultaneous campaign against occupiers, collaborators, and Croatian, Serbian, and other nationalist extremists made it possible after the war for the Communists to present themselves as the sole unifying force and to receive support even from many non-Communists. Their postwar federal system was an irreversible step toward national equality among the nations that compose Yugoslavia."
>
> —*The Contested Country: Yugoslav Unity and Communist Revolution, 1919-1953* (1991)

Unfortunately, it was *not* irreversible. The Yugoslav Revolution was from the outset deformed by Stalinism. And now with the passing of the partisan generation and disintegration of the Titoist bureaucracy, the forces of fratricidal nationalism have returned with a vengeance.

Croatia's new leader Franjo Tudjman, a former general and history professor, is a notorious apologist for the wartime Croatian fascist Ustashi regime, which killed hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Jews and gypsies under the protection of the Nazi Wehrmacht. Serbian irregulars now fighting Tudjman's gendarmes call themselves "Chetniks" after the Serbian royalist guerrillas who slaughtered Croatian villagers and attacked the Communist partisans. Croatian information minister Hitrec remarked that "bloody battles are likely in Croatia, with thousands of dead," compared to which "what happened in Slovenia will be remembered as something out of Disneyland" (*La Repubblica* [Rome], 7-8 July).

Only the construction of a genuinely communist party can counter the new wave of genocidal massacres which again threaten the peoples of Yugoslavia.

Slovenia Overcome by Nationalist Mania

For the past few months Croatia has been in a state of low-level civil war between armed Serbian communities and the nationalist regime in Zagreb. Serbs constitute 10 percent of the republic's population and are a majority in the region of Krajina. Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic—erstwhile Stalinist party boss turned nationalist demagogue—is demanding that this region become part of a Greater Serbia if Croatia secedes from Yugoslavia. And Milosevic has been bargaining secretly with Croatian *Führer* Tudjman over redrawing the borders, including carving up Bosnia-Herzegovina, with its predominantly Muslim population.

Thus the Tudjman regime in Zagreb has moved more cautiously in carrying out its declaration of independence than the Slovenian secessionists. When Slovenian militias took over the border posts, tore down the Yugoslav flag and hoisted their own, the army sent in tanks and armored personnel carriers to retake control of the international frontiers.

At this point the European bourgeoisies moved in to act as arbiters of Yugoslavia's fate. On June 30, a delegation from the European Common Market (EEC) announced a cease-fire arrangement. Slovenia and Croatia would suspend implementing their declarations of independence for three months, while federal army units returned to their barracks. Key to the agreement was that the "moderate" Croatian nationalist Stipe Mesic would take over Yugoslavia's rotating collective presidency. Mesic was to assume this post in May but was blocked by Milosevic's veto.

But by now Slovenian leaders in their capital of Ljubljana were in the grip of nationalist mania and illusions of martial grandeur. They refused to give up the border posts. They blockaded army units seeking to return to barracks, demanding these surrender their weapons, held army families hostage and even ambushed troops withdrawing from the fray. Faced

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Havana Eyewitness

Cuba in the Cross Hairs of Yankee Imperialism

SEE PAGE SIX

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 532

2 August 1991

30 Million Blacks Still Can't Vote, Endure Abject Poverty

South Africa: ANC Pushes "Post-Apartheid" Swindle

Gamma Photos

While Nelson Mandela and South African president De Klerk shake on "deal," blacks are still victims of apartheid terror.

Government Unleashes Inkatha Killers

"The new South Africa is on the march," crowed President F.W. De Klerk after the segregated parliament voted in June to repeal the remaining key pillars of "grand apartheid." The Population Registration Act, which classified everyone born in South Africa into four racial categories (white, African, "coloured," Indian), the Group Areas Act, which set up segregated living areas, and the Land Act, guaranteeing white ownership of 87 percent of the land, are now officially abolished. Thereupon, the European Common Market voted to lift sanctions, and the 21-year ban on South African participation in Olympic competition was removed. To the chagrin of those leftists and would-be radicals who looked to the imperialists to clean up the South African racist regime, George Bush issued an executive order lifting U.S. sanctions on trade, investment and banking.

Now the formal statutes of apartheid have been eliminated (the pass laws and Separate Amenities Act were scrapped earlier), but the cruel oppression of the regime of white supremacy remains and the hopes of the impoverished black majority are being dashed. In the "new South Africa," thousands are slaughtered by government-instigated terror, millions are disenfranchised and condemned to abject poverty. There can be no democracy for the toilers who

continued on page 7

Gorbachev Puts Soviet Union on the Auction Block

Soviet Workers Must Defeat Capitalist Counterrevolution!

They called it the "grand bargain." It was cooked up by economic advisers of Gorbachev and Yeltsin along with Harvard's Kennedy School. The seven richest capitalist countries (the G-7) would give Moscow, say, $30 billion a year. In return, the Soviet Union would be transformed into a full-fledged market economy within five years.

As an entry fee for Gorbachev to make his pitch to the G-7 meeting in London in mid-July, the Supreme Soviet passed a law allowing for privatization of 70 percent of the USSR's industrial enterprises. And now, on the eve of Bush's visit to Moscow, Gorbachev is calling on the Communist Party to drop all remaining lip service to Marxism, Leninism and even the working class.

Harvard's Jeffrey Sachs, the man who designed the electrodes for the economic "shock treatment" in Poland, argues that the "grand bargain" is a steal for Wall Street and Washington. Thirty billion dollars is a mere two-fifths of one percent of the gross national product of the industrialized capitalist countries. The proposed U.S. share, $3 billion, is one percent of the Pentagon budget.

But the masters of the G-7 didn't buy the "grand bargain." Despite entreaties from German chancellor Kohl for massive aid to the Soviet Union now, they're demanding that capitalist restoration be *in place* before Gorbachev sees any real money. They want proof, as the *New York Times* (18 July) put it, that "the Soviet Union really planned to undo the Bolshevik Revolution."

And even that is not enough. Japan, Inc. will give no yen to Moscow until the Soviet Union gives up the strategically vital Kuril Islands, which the Red Army occupied at the end of World War II. And if the Japanese *zaibatsu* want to get back the Kurils, the American rulers lust to take back Cuba, before the revolution a playground for the mafia and sugar plantation for United

continued on page 5

From Death Row, This Is Mumia Abu-Jamal

A Rage in the District

Fires dance upon the upturned metallic corpses of police cars cooking in twilight.

Sirens wail in electronic alarm, as strobe lights sweep in a maddening circular arc.

America's capital city experiences one of the first riots of the season, but this burst comes with a difference. Recent history, since the 1960s, reflects Blacks in riot, enraged at a system of total economic, political exclusion. The recent unrest in Washington, D.C. was marked by brown faces, not Black ones, and indeed, was directed at a political system headed and faced by Blacks.

Recent immigrants from Central America, fleeing America's deadly policies of low intensity warfare against workers, peasants in lands like El Salvador, found, upon arrival, not the promised land of milk and honey, but of menial jobs, ethnic alienation, and hostility born of the eternal conflict between the newly-arrived and those who came before.

The reported genesis of the riot, that a Black female police officer ordered a Latino drinker to cease his open, public drinking, is, as always, insufficient.

It may have been a spark, but even a spark needs kindling to catch, to expand, to explode into flame.

People riot when other methods of redress are foreclosed, and when despair reaches intolerable depths of the soul. Many of the peoples of the riot areas of D.C. came to El Norte when government repressions at home left few options; leave or die—and so, they came, by the tens of thousands, drawn by promises of peace, of freedom, of a better life north of home.

Many found crippling, poisonous toil in the fields of the nation's hotlands; grapes, oranges, and tomatoes picked in a daily grind of survival. Some fled to U.S. cities and, when they sought government help, were stunned to find Black faces in civil service. Blacks who, like their predecessors before them, viewed the newcomers with suspicion, for "they were foreigners," "they talked funny," or "they can't even speak English!"

America has historically been hard on its newcomers, as evidenced by the Kensington Riots of May 1844 Philadelphia, where Protestants attacked (predominantly Irish) Catholics, destroying neighborhoods; and in 1902, when Irish, aided by a predominantly Irish police force, attacked N.Y. Jews; also when Wyoming whites in summer 1885 massacred Chinese miners.

To every people who arrive in America is given resentment and resistance to their presence.

Blacks, surely among those who received the rawest of receptions (and the only people who did not come here willingly), can ill afford to continue this cycle, for among all America's peoples, we have the least hope of fading into the fiction of a so-called "melting pot" (nor should we wish to!).

Though Black faces sit in high places, they still possess no true power, only the curious "option" of continuing "business as usual."

The politics of exclusion, of distinction, of high & low, must give way to the commonality of human, for it is precisely "business as usual" that has brought us to this hour of alienation, of bubbling hatreds, of riotous anger, of social and psychic discontent.

It is past time for fundamental change.

Lustig/Washington Post

D.C. cops block street, May 6.

Imperialist Rivalry and World War

TROTSKY

LENIN

With the outbreak of the First World War in August 1914, the capitalist great powers turned Europe into a slaughterhouse. In response to the "patriotic" betrayal of the official "socialist" leaders (signaled by the German Social Democrats' vote for war credits on August 4), Lenin called for a new Communist International. Its watchword: turn the imperialist war into a civil war. The continued survival of capitalism, propped up by the social-democratic and later Stalinist bureaucracies, led a generation later to the second imperialist world war marked by the Nazi extermination of the Jews and American A-bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. In the "postwar" era U.S. world domination has meant more war and mass terror from Korea to Vietnam to Iraq. As Lenin wrote in 1915, capitalism in the imperialist epoch is inseparable from wars over markets and spheres of colonialist exploitation.

Imperialism is the highest stage in the development of capitalism, reached only in the twentieth century. Capitalism now finds that the old national states, without whose formation it could not have overthrown feudalism, are too cramped for it. Capitalism has developed concentration to such a degree that entire branches of industry are controlled by syndicates, trusts and associations of capitalist multi-millionaires and almost the entire globe has been divided up among the "lords of capital" either in the form of colonies, or by entangling other countries in thousands of threads of financial exploitation. Free trade and competition have been superseded by a striving towards monopolies, the seizure of territory for the investment of capital and as sources of raw materials, and so on. From the liberator of nations, which it was in the struggle against feudalism, capitalism in its imperialist stage has turned into the greatest oppressor of nations. Formerly progressive, capitalism has become reactionary; it has developed the forces of production to such a degree that mankind is faced with the alternative of adopting socialism or of experiencing years and even decades of armed struggle between the "Great" Powers for the artificial preservation of capitalism by means of colonies, monopolies, privileges and national oppression of every kind.

—V.I. Lenin and G. Zinoviev, *Socialism and War* (July-August 1915)

Urgent Appeal for Jamal: $$$ Needed Now

Mumia Abu-Jamal writes his eloquent defense of the oppressed from Pennsylvania's Huntingdon state prison, where he sits on death row because of a vindictive frame-up against this former Black Panther Party spokesman. This Philadelphia MOVE supporter and courageous journalist achieved prominence as the "voice of the voiceless." His columns appear periodically in *Workers Vanguard* and other newspapers.

Now Jamal and attorneys are preparing an important legal challenge to expose the frame-up and prove his innocence. Contributions for this legal action are tax-deductible and can be sent to the Bill of Rights Foundation, earmarked Mumia Abu-Jamal Legal Defense, c/o Rabinowitz, Boudin, Standard, Krinsky and Lieberman, 740 Broadway, New York, New York 10003.

Money is urgently needed! New Supreme Court rulings and the Senate's death penalty crime bill are pushing toward an escalation in state-sanctioned murder. Recent cases which have succeeded in overturning death sentences and freeing innocent defendants have cost at least $1 million in legal fees and expenses.

Mumia Abu-Jamal will not be saved by courtroom battles alone. Like the Scottsboro case in the '30s, it will take mass protest and publicity to win his freedom. At their national convention in May, the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists voted to support Jamal, as have a number of union locals across the country. To support the growing campaign to save Mumia Abu-Jamal, contact the Partisan Defense Committee. Send your contribution for the campaign to the PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, New York 10013. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007 Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions $7.00/24 issues Second-class postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER Send address changes to Workers Vanguard, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

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No. 532 **2 August 1991**

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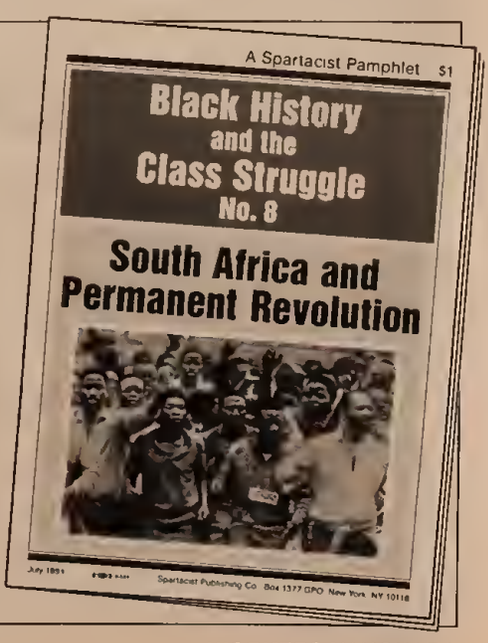

Florida Sex Vigilantes

If some enchanted evening you should meet a stranger under the Florida palms, keep your eyes peeled for peeping Toms with camcorders. One summer night recently, a couple got together in Tampa, went to his place and made love in the privacy of the home, or so they thought. Next thing they knew, they were forced to spend a night in jail, after being arrested by the Hillsborough County sheriff's office for allegedly performing "a lewd and lascivious act in the presence of a child under 12" (*New York Times*, 20 July). They were later released on *$15,000* bail.

It all began, according to the *Times*, when a snooping kid finked to his parents that he could see the couple in the guy's hot tub. Then somebody called the sheriff's office. Then *another* neighbor went out with a videotape to catch the couple in the act, after he said he heard neighbors talking about it. "I shot right through the blinds," said Lee Adler. To add insult to injury, Adler is trying to peddle his home video to the "Oprah Winfrey Show," the "CBS Morning Show," and "Current Affair," all of whom have reportedly expressed interest. The man has now been kicked out of his condo by the manager, who sounds like he was practically charging admission.

Columbia Pictures

Cold War era movie promo for George Orwell's *1984*. Who's looking through your window?

This is sick, and it's part of a whole repressive climate. Anti-abortion bigotry kills women. Health fascists are trying to take away cigarettes and other smokes, booze and recreational chemicals. The Supreme Court just outlawed evening entertainment such as nude dancing at the Kitty Kat lounge, and Moral Majorityites have been busy cleaning up the local Seven-Elevens so it's hard to even get a *Penthouse* anymore. The forces of law and order have been even going after cable channels offering spicy viewing. From the 1986 *Bowers v. Hardwick* Supreme Court decision upholding reactionary state "sodomy" laws to this Florida "lewd and lascivious" regulation, this country's patchwork of sex laws is cruel and absurd—abolish them all!

At least the couple has the dubious honor of having a country and western tune written in their honor by Tom Downs, a friend of the woman. Under the title "Sex Behind the Minihlinds," the song says it all:

> "One minute you're makin' magic,
> then you're makin' license plates,
> because priorities are twisted,
> here in these United States." ■

Jersey Teamster Heavies Scab

Victory to White Rose Teamster Strike!

JULY 24—Chants of "Fight, fight, fight!" and "Shut the country down!" echoed on Wall Street today, as 400 striking members of New York Teamsters Local 138 gathered outside Bankers Trust. Since February 1, when the White Rose grocery drivers and warehousemen voted by 407 to 2 to strike, the local has been solid. Two thousand members and supporters marched and rallied outside the White Rose warehouse in Farmingdale, Long Island in April. They are defending their union against junk bond dealer and takeover artist Arthur Goldberg, who acquired White Rose's parent company, DiGiorgio Corporation.

Goldberg, labeled "a small-time greenmailer" by *Forbes* magazine, is demanding scores of givebacks. A striker at the Wall Street rally told *Workers Vanguard* that besides striking against cuts in days off, medical benefits and pensions, they are determined to fight Goldberg's full-scale assault on seniority rights. And the local is taking an all-too-rare principled stand against Goldberg's "insulting" demand to "fire a worker who honors a sister union's sanctioned picket line!"

But after almost six months their strike against the White Rose Foods grocery wholesaler is in trouble, misled into "corporate campaign"-style boycotts and appeals to consumers, bowing before judges' injunctions against pickets, and *knifed in the back by Teamster union bureaucrats who are sending other Teamster members across Local 138's picket lines*. A black Teamster veteran of 26 years bitterly told *WV* that the last big strike in 1974 "was different than this. We set up a picket line—nothing went in, nothing went out."

WV Photo

Striking warehousemen and drivers of Teamsters Local 138 rally on Wall Street: caught in vise between gangster-ridden bureaucracy and government-linked "reformers."

Goldberg also owns Federated, another grocery warehouse near the Port Elizabeth, New Jersey docks which is supplying groceries to White Rose's 2,000 customers in New York City. And the drivers and warehousemen at Federated, who are crossing Local 138's picket lines every day, are members of Teamsters Local 641 and Local 97, both part of Jersey's Joint Council 63. The gangster sellouts in the Jersey council especially have it in for Local 138, which is seen as an "upstart" local after it elected members of a slate from the Teamsters for a Democratic Union (TDU) "opposition."

This scabbing must be stopped! Local 138 should appeal to Teamster locals across the New York area—from Metro-North track workers to UPS workers to Newark brewery workers—as well as ILA longshoremen and machinists from nearby Newark airport, to join them in a massive demonstration of union power at the Federated warehouse: set up picket lines that scabs won't dare cross!

But at the Wall Street rally only one speaker, Teamster Local 843 president Gene Giacumbo from the Newark Anheuser-Busch brewery, even *mentioned* the IBT bureaucrats' scabbing! Instead Local 138 tops are directing strikers into leafletting the 2,000 individual grocery stores, pleading with customers to shop elsewhere and begging the likes of Bankers Trust to pressure the company. This is playing by the bosses' rules, a loser's game.

At the rally, workers roared approval at speeches calling for a "one-day strike" or a "national general strike." But whether coming from the mouths of Workers World Party supporters in United Labor Action, or "progressive" local Teamster officials (like Dan Kane of Local 111), this is all hot air aimed at roping the workers into begging the Democratic Party to "outlaw" scabbing. These fakers would have you believe you can get class struggle from Congress—they sure as hell don't want to anger their Democratic Party friends by building solid picket lines that stop scabs. Only a couple of months ago, the Democrats in Congress forced rail workers back to work under their anti-labor laws.

It is no accident that all this hot air is coming from the TDU and other supporters of "reform" candidate Ron Carey, head of the giant UPS Teamsters local in New York. In two articles in *Convoy-Dispatch*, the TDU barely mentions Local 97 and never condemns the scabbing. No surprise, since the paper is filled with praise for the feds' takeover of the union and running the recent convention! The TDU crows that the Teamster tops "had to dance to the tune of the rank and file." Bullshit! The tune was called by the feds, who approved the literature, the candidates, the procedures, the voting and even sat on the dais to instruct Teamster chiefs what to say (see *WV* No. 530, July 5, "Feds Hands Off Teamsters!").

Those who bring the capitalist state into the labor movement are the *enemies* of class struggle. How can these "reformers" rip up a judge's anti-labor injunction or bring thousands of workers out to sweep away the scabs if they're tied hand and foot to the Labor Department and the bosses' courts? They can't and they won't. The White Rose strike is in danger because it is caught in a vise between a gangster-ridden union bureaucracy and government-linked "reformers": both are pro-capitalist.

Teamster strike militants must fight to build mass picket lines that shut down Goldberg's Federated operation, stop the scab trucks and win the strike! Above all, a class-struggle leadership is needed that will sweep clean the Teamsters of the thugs and feds who are throttling the union. ■

Spartacist Forum

East Germany: From Political Revolution to Capitalist Counterrevolution

Speaker from Spartakist Workers Party of Germany

Saturday, August 10, 7:30 p.m.

SAN FRANCISCO

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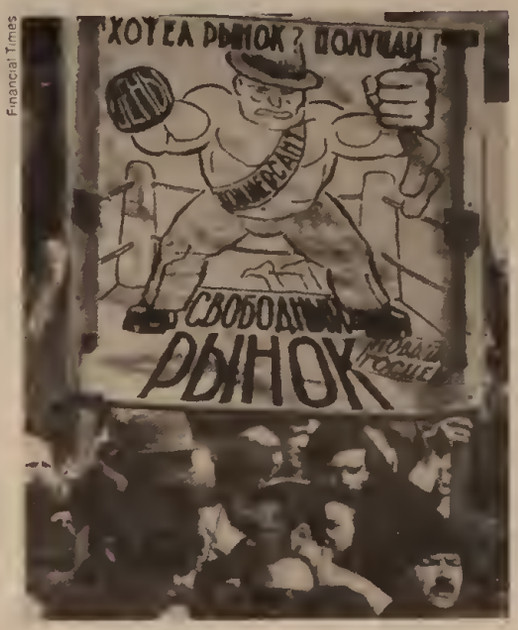
Trotskyists Speak at Moscow Workers Conference

On July 20, a conference of Moscow workers was held in the Soviet capital. The gathering was called by representatives of the Moscow Workers Club and the Moscow Workers Council. The meeting brought together 700 participants, with 561 delegates from 400 of the major plants in the area. According to one organizer, this represented perhaps half a million workers. Among the initiators were Communist Initiative, the United Front of Toilers (OFT), and various groupings in and around the CPSU (Communist Party of the Soviet Union). The conference took place in the meeting hall of the Vladimir Ilyich Factory under a medallion of Lenin.

The conference participants, with varying political impulses, agreed on the need to organize plant committees to establish workers control and management as immediate steps to stop and reverse all privatization and layoffs. Another resolution called for workers committees to stop price rises and control prices. They called for factory-based elections to "resurrect workers soviets" as the basis to disband the capitalist-restorationist Gorbachev government. "Let's call perestroika by its right name," said a featured speaker, "capitalist counterrevolution!"

Out of the meeting came the call for an all-Moscow union of workers and the election of a citywide council. The party question was strongly debated, between a weaker tendency rejecting the CPSU outright as an alien formation and the more dominant desire to "take over the party by driving out the anti-Communist traitors and make it into a genuine workers party!" But it is not Gorbachev but Stalin who transformed the CPSU into an anti-working-class bureaucratic apparatus.



Financial Times

May Day demonstrators in Moscow protest drive toward capitalist restoration. Placard says: "You wanted the market? You got it!"

The conference came during the week before a CPSU Central Committee plenum, as so-called "patriots" and other Stalinist hardliners were reportedly gearing up for a showdown with Gorbachev that never came. Among the organizers of the meeting, groups like the OFT have a history of covering for Great Russian chauvinism and conciliating outright fascists and anti-Semites like Pamyat.

But while the initiative for the workers conference came from the "patriots" milieu, it was far from homogeneous. The best example of this was the meeting's ready acceptance of greetings on behalf of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). While there was some anti-Trotskyist muttering in the corridors, the reception in the hall was enthusiastic. The official press release of the conference noted the greetings of the Trotskyists of the ICL (FI).

We print below notes by our reporter of some interventions at the conference as well as the greetings of the ICL:

Gubanov (*economist, leading member of OFT*): We can see where things are sliding. No conscious worker can allow things to go any further. There is a renewal of the workers movement not just in Moscow. There are those who want to come out for the liquidation of Soviet power. Obviously we must address power, property and economic policy. Let's call perestroika by its right name—capitalist counterrevolution!

What have the workers gotten from perestroika? Foreign debt is up three times, capitalism is flourishing. The capitalists are going to come and save us? They are counting on us to save them! There is a severe depression facing

Greetings by the International Communist League

Comrades, we bring you greetings on behalf of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)! We stand before you today as internationalists, as communists! [Applause]

Comrades, I am a longtime union member. I have worked many years in U.S. factories and I know from first hand that what the comrade earlier said about America and imperialism is true!

The imperialists want to destroy and dismember the Soviet Union. They want to do what Hitler tried and failed to do. [Applause]

Now is our chance, we must address in time the greatest danger that the Soviet Union has ever faced. Today the imperialists gloat, especially the American imperialists after their massacre of the Iraqis and Kurds. The imperialists think that it is their time. They underestimate the strength of the working people of the Soviet Union—once again! [Applause]

It is our honor to address representatives of the Moscow proletariat whose history includes the 1905 Revolution, the October Revolution, and the heroic defense of this city against German imperialism in World War II.

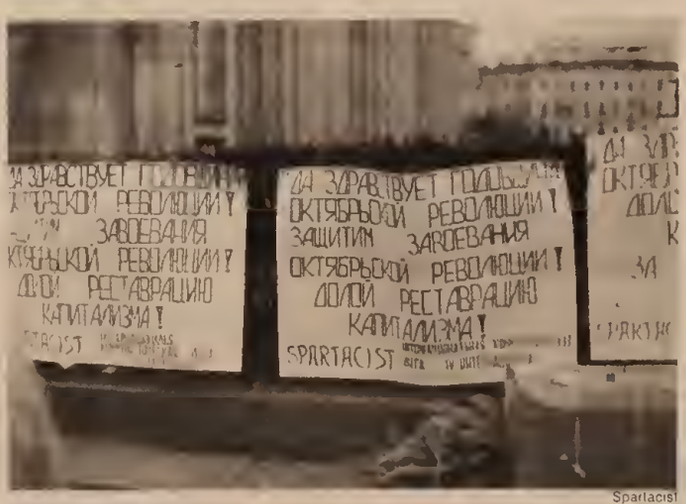
But the greatest battle lies before us. We agree with those comrades who say now is the time to create genuine workers soviets in Moscow, today! We say, "Drive the speculators, parasites, exploiters and their ideologues out of the soviets!" so that they become genuine workers soviets! [Applause]

Comrades, let us tell you about the realities of what capitalist restoration has meant. In the former DDR [East Germany] by many accounts suicide rates have doubled. Many of the child-care centers are closed. Abortion is to be a crime. Unemployment is now close to 50 percent, the level it reached in 1932 on the eve of Hitler's coming to power.

Today, the neo-fascists are on the rise and feel free to attack foreign-born workers with impunity.

Our comrades of the German and Polish sections of the International Communist League ask us to pass along to you their warning: now is the time to fight in the Soviet Union. Because it is much harder, it is much worse to have to fight the capitalists after they have gained state power—it is necessary to organize defense against their attacks! [Applause]

We are proud to say that it was our German comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party who were the one party which at the time mobilized, warned and swam against the stream, in their unconditional opposition to capitalist reunification of Germany. We are proud to say that it was our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party who initiated the call for the tremendous workers united-front demonstration in defense of the Berlin Treptow Park monument to the Soviet soldiers who fell in the battle to smash fascism. This monument was defaced by neo-fascists. This was a demonstration together with the SED [East German CP] of 250,000 workers, communists, a genuine workers united front that mobilized in the defense of the Soviet soldiers who smashed fascism. [Applause]



Spartacist

Banner of Trotskyism is raised in Leningrad on Revolution Day, 7 November 1990. Signs call for defense of the gains of the Bolshevik Revolution against capitalist restoration. For power to soviets of the working people!

To be a Trotskyist means above all to stand for unconditional military defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and internal counterrevolution!

Today the imperialists and the native restorationists strive to dismember the USSR by splitting, paralyzing the Soviet proletariat with nationalism. This is their greatest weapon. But the proletariat has its own weapon—internationalism. We need to forge a party that mobilizes against all forms of discrimination, nationalism and anti-Semitism!

Comrades here today have posed the question of the need for a party. Indeed, we need the kind of party that Lenin built. [Applause] A party that will be a genuine tribune of the people to fight all forms of discrimination. Look to the women workers and the youth!

Comrades, the Soviet proletariat has suffered more than any other in this century. But, comrades, you are not alone. It is a lie that the workers in the West will not fight. Now, once again, all eyes are turned to the East—waiting to see if the Soviet proletariat will defend the gains of the October Revolution! The gains of 1917 do not belong to the Soviet working people alone. They are the common legacy of the international workers movement! The imperialists are waiting to see if the Soviet working people will passively swallow counterrevolution.

We say no! It is time to take back what is ours! Form factory committees to stop privatizations! Form soviets—genuine soviets based on factory elections! [Applause]

All power to the workers soviets!

Stop capitalist counterrevolution!

Long live the international socialist revolution! [Applause]

Long live the Soviet Union! [Applause]

the capitalist West. They want to steal our raw materials at bargain prices. When they are through gouging us, workers will have no power.

The question today is a question of power. The Supreme Soviet is 5 percent workers. We need a restoration of real soviet power based on factory elections. Do the workers need a new party? Of course, the capitalists are all forming their own parties. They know perfectly well they can't get political power without a party.

Do we need a new party? Many people say this. And many people say that this party is no longer communist. Indeed if we are speaking of the leadership, then we must say that it is not only non-communist, but anti-communist. We have a party, but we need to purge it.

Speaker: Unity is our strength. We must take a position on privatization, against the price rises, addressing unemployment. I want to speak particularly to the problem of women. The women work twice as hard; they have the hardest jobs and then they have to wait in long lines, to serve us, to feed us, to stay sweet and kind, to put us to bed like children.

Financial Times

Communist Party members demonstrate in Leningrad. Signs read: "No to the Dictatorship of Shopkeepers" and "Private Owners: Get Out of the Party."

Speaker: People denounce the planned economy, but this isn't a real planned economy. First they sabotaged it and then they held it up as a terrible example. Under market relations production is being geared to those who have money to buy, not for what is needed.

Woman childcare worker: The day-care center that was previously free is now being told to pay exorbitant rent. On the second floor of our building there is now a fancy cooperative restaurant, and on the first floor there is a commission store [charging speculators prices]. And we have to look at these people's faces every day while we turn away children of workers who cannot pay the new fees!

We have been robbed of our children's center. I dread September when the children come to school only to find the doors closed. I appeal to you workers not to let this happen, not just in words, but in deeds.

Older man: I am a janitor, and if you don't believe me, you only have to smell the way I just came off work! For decades we built, serviced the buildings of this very region of Moscow. During the war, we spilled the blood of our families to defend these buildings that they now tell us that we must "buy"! "BUY" these apartments! What prices are we to pay to buy these apartments?

I remember World War II, how we moved all of industry, how we changed the face of Europe, how we rebuilt this country. And now when I hear about the closing of the childcare center from the earlier speaker, I think back on how we related to each other during the war, how this scene of speculators driving out children would have been impossible. We must act so that this case is not lost. For our children, it makes me so angry.

They say that all that we did in the history of the Soviet economy was for naught. But when we were attacked by the mightiest armies of the world, we were able to organize the transfer of industry out of this very area of Moscow and over to Siberia—was that not an economic achievement? When we had to, we changed the face of Europe. Now we are supposed to be powerless in the face of children put on the street. ■

Gorbachev...

(continued from page 1)

Fruit. Bush told Yeltsin during his recent visit to Washington that "it wouldn't hurt my feelings a bit if they cut off all foreign aid to Cuba."

Gorbachev's ultimate plea for extracting money from the capitalist powers is to threaten that he will be overthrown, plunging the Soviet Union into anarchy, civil war and bloody national strife. His personal aide Yevgeni Primakov told reporters in London that if the G-7 didn't come through with "grants, debt relief, investment," there would be "a risk of social uprising, of civil war." One White House official derided the latest Gorbachev line as "telling us we have to help save the system they've got or they're going to lose control of their nukes."

The U.S. rulers' answer is to tell Soviet leaders to scrap their nuclear arsenal, so that in the future the Pentagon war machine could do to the Soviet Union what it just did to Iraq! Writing in the *Wall Street Journal* (9 July), Martin Feldstein, a former chief economic adviser under Reagan, maintained: "Although the vision of a capitalist Soviet Union is certainly appealing, the West's real interest lies in reducing the Soviet Union's offensive military capacity rather than in strengthening the Soviet economy."

U.S. Demands Counterrevolution Now, Money Later...Maybe

Another Harvard guru, Marshall Goldman, argues that the prospect of a "grand bargain" is illusory: "But even if we could come up with our part of the deal, there's no guarantee the Soviets can do theirs. I'm not sure anyone is in control [illegible] Goldman is right on this score.

The Soviet Union is in a state of political and economic chaos beset by conflicting laws and policies issued by the central government, various national republics, autonomous regions and localities. The nationalist regimes in the republics are refusing to pay taxes to the central government, which is flooding the country with worthless rubles to meet its expenses. The economy is in a free fall with total output plummeting 15 percent in the past year and a half. Economic chaos and misery have fueled the rise of bloody nationalist strife from the Baltics to the Caucasus to Soviet Central Asia.

But the most fundamental obstacle to a "grand bargain" between Gorbachev and world imperialism is the deep hostility among Soviet working people to capitalist exploitation. Speaking of the new privatization law, Fyodor Burlatsky, "free market" ideologue, noted: "Simple people, workers, worry very much that the property that formerly belonged to everyone will be purchased by a small group of rich people." That's exactly what privatization will mean. First up for sale is the giant VAZ auto factory—the buyer won't be the workers but an [illegible]

For now, multinationals do not want to invest in the USSR until they're sure the workers can be kept in their place, namely, down. The international vice president of Tambrands, which runs a tampon factory in the Ukraine, stated, "we can't risk shareholders' money expanding into chaos." A Polaroid executive in charge of Soviet operations warned: "Don't put in a hundred million dollars if you're not willing to walk away from it some day." But capitalists *don't* put in $100 million if there's a good chance they'll have to walk away from it. Thus Wall Street and Washington are demanding capitalist counterrevolution now.

But capitalist counterrevolution must break the resistance of Soviet workers who have already experienced the miseries of Gorbachev's market-oriented "reforms" dubbed perestroika. A woman worker at a tractor (formerly tank) factory in Leningrad exclaimed to a British journalist: "We lived better before *perestroika*, now all the working people are poor" (*Independent* [London], 16 July). Last spring *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, the official organ of the Communist Party youth and now a mouthpiece for aspiring Soviet yuppies, wrote:

> [illegible] begin to be threatened not so much by the machinations of the nomenklatura [old bureaucratic elite] as by the workers' movement, which is gaining momentum spontaneously, and by the radicalization of the population's sentiments due to the price hikes."

Union Soviética

Lohr/NY Times

To sell perestroika to workers, Gorbachev talked of "self-management," Soviet press hailed VAZ auto workers (above) as model. Now VAZ, which produces Lada cars, is to be sold off to Fiat.

For a Government of Workers Soviets

However, the workers movement remains trapped within the political framework set by the contending factions of the disintegrating Stalinist bureaucracy and the intelligentsia. Last winter and early spring striking coal miners lined up with Yeltsin's anti-Communist campaign against Gorbachev. Many miners then felt betrayed when in April Yeltsin and Gorbachev agreed to an "anti-crisis" program which demanded an end to political strikes as a condition for hoped-for Western economic support.

Other sections of the working class, such as those organized in the United Front of Toilers, are under the sway of old-line Russian-nationalist Stalinists who now call themselves "patriots." While claiming to stand above all for the unity and preservation of the multinational USSR, such "patriotic" organizations as the United Front of Toilers, the Russian Communist Party and Soyuz embrace Great Russian chauvinists, tsarists and vile anti-Semites whose program can only fuel nationalist and communalist bloodletting. Both the pro-Western "democrats" and the Stalinist "patriots" are enemies and oppressors of the Soviet working people. Soyuz leader Colonel Viktor Alknis declares, "My model is the market first and democracy later." This is generally known as the "Chilean model." Significantly, Yeltsin, Gorbachev and the hardline Stalinist Soyuz group all stand for banning workers strikes.

It is only through strikes, the fight for workers control in the factories and political mobilization against Pamyat and other fascist groups that the drive toward capitalist restoration can be defeated. Strike committees and factory committees can become the basis for genuine soviets (councils), drawing into their ranks collective farmers, oppressed minorities, working women, Red Army soldiers and officers, old-age pensioners, those at all levels of society who would be communists. But the key is a revolutionary leadership, otherwise such committees can easily be sucked in behind one or another counterrevolutionary faction, as happened in Poland in 1981 and with Soviet miners this spring. The Soviet working class must reforge a Bolshevik party on the internationalist program of Lenin and Trotsky, to oust Gorbachev, Yeltsin and the other traitors, and establish a government based on [illegible] democracy such as was established by the October Revolution of 1917.

There can be no socialism in one country. The regeneration of the Soviet economy under workers democracy must be linked to the perspective of socialist revolutions worldwide. As we wrote a few months ago in "Where Is the Soviet Union Going?" (*WV* No. 522, 15 March):

> "Capitalist development itself has brought into being an international division of labor. Thus the struggle to secure for the Soviet masses the good things of life—both material and cultural—presupposes participation in the world economy. And this means the replacement of the imperialist-dominated world market by an internationally planned socialist economy. A planned economy, implemented on the scale of the world productive forces and under the control of democratic workers soviets, would have spared mankind the wars, Holocaust, misery, hunger and threat of nuclear annihilation of the last half century." ■

New World Order "Socialists" on South Africa

Uproar Over Winnie Mandela Trial, ANC/SWAPO Prisoners

After a trial lasting 14 weeks, in May Winnie Mandela was found guilty by a Johannesburg court of kidnapping and an accessory charge in the brutal beating of four youths, one of whom was subsequently murdered, who were held in her home in Soweto in December 1988. The wife of African National Congress (ANC) leader Nelson Mandela was sentenced to six years, and is appealing her conviction. The trial and conviction of Winnie Mandela was high political drama which reverberated among those around the world who solidarize with the struggle against the apartheid state. In South Africa, the "Winnie trial" became a focus for the swirling political currents in the country.

At the heart of the maelstrom is the ugly killing of 14-year-old "Stompie" Seipei. Obviously, we are not in a position to know really what happened in the house at 8115 Orlando West in Soweto. All evidence indicates that, owing to a feud among rival ANC factions, Stompie Seipei and three companions were forcibly taken from a Methodist church home in Soweto to the Mandela residence. Here they were brutalized by the heavies who constituted Mrs. Mandela's bodyguard, known as the "Mandela Football Club." Stompie was later found with his throat slit in a nearby field. This torture and murder were a heinous crime.

AFP

Winnie Mandela with "Mandela Football Club" bodyguard, February 1989.

Beyond the question of Mrs. Mandela's responsibility in this murky and grisly affair, the murder and trial crystallized discontent of upwardly mobile middle-class forces in the ANC who are upset about the "young comrades" in Soweto and elsewhere. When they talk about "Winnie's boys," they are referring to the plebeian youth who fought the army and police during the 1984-86 township revolt, who crudely enforced the many boycotts and were the shock troops of the ANC's campaign to "make the townships ungovernable." Most never went to school (a product of the years-long anti-apartheid school boycott) and have never had a job. In the "new South Africa" of the "reformed" apartheid regime, this combative but lumpenized layer is an embarrassment for the newly respectable ANC.

From Johanneshurg to London, the furor over the "Winnie trial" coincides with the imperialist triumphalism over the "death of Communism" and Bush's "New World Order." The trial has become the point of demarcation for South African white liberals around the *Weekly Mail* and the liberal anti-apartheid militia in London, who have responded to the daily barrage of "ANC atrocities" in the rabidly anti-Communist yuppie *Independent* to distance themselves from one-time allies.

UPI

Black demonstrators flee police "hippos" (armored cars) in Sebokeng, during 1984 township rebellion.

On the "left," the exile grouping around the London-based journal *Searchlight South Africa* launched a virulently Stalinophobic campaign linking the ANC to heavy-handed repression by the ANC security apparatus in its guerrilla camps in Angola, Tanzania and elsewhere. And the pseudo-Trotskyist British Workers Revolutionary Party of Cliff Slaughter trumpeted the cause of former detainees of the South West African People's Organization in Namibia, accusing SWAPO of being "infected" with Stalinist "violence" and guilty of torture and murder of thousands of its own members. It has now been revealed that in this affair they were caught up in a major disinformation campaign orchestrated by the South African security forces.

With South Africa in flux, people are visualizing what the outcome will be. Much of the furor over the "Winnie trial" reflects fears, especially among whites, that a black-nationalist victory would usher in a brutal regime, as well as illusions that De Klerk will junk apartheid. But what's now being "negotiated" is a "reformed" capitalist regime in which entrenched white domination (commanding enormous military and economic resources) is masked by the presence of ANC leaders in cabinet seats. But whatever the direction it goes, so long as the working class does not take power, the result will be the continued exploitation of the black African, Indian and coloured masses.

As Trotskyists, we fight for a communist leadership to unchain black labor from its petty-bourgeois (would-be bourgeois) nationalist leaders and to mobilize its tremendous power in struggle for a black-centered workers revolution, which could enroll those from all racial and ethnic groups in this divided land who want to work for a society of genu- program is the fight for a revolutionary proletarian morality against a climate of wanton political violence orchestrated by the apartheid regime and endemic to the competing nationalist cliques.

Murder Among the "Comrades"

Winnie Mandela really rose to prominence in 1985 when, with her husband a prisoner on Robben Island, she defied the apartheid rulers' "banning orders" and returned to her Soweto home from the Orange Free State. But the liberals (black and white) were infuriated over her puhlic defense of "necklacing," the township youths' method of dealing with apartheid collaborators and spies by placing burning tires around their necks:

> "In 1986 it was over her appalling statement that blacks would be liberated by 'our boxes of matches and our necklaces,' an implicit endorsement of the murders that did so much to damage the liberation struggle of the mid-1980s...."
>
> —*Guardian* [London], 14 May

Two years later, Mrs. Mandela's bodyguards were throwing their weight around in Soweto. There was a turf war going on between Winnie Mandela and Albertina Sisulu, a president of the ANC-related United Democratic Front (UDF) and wife of Walter Sisulu, Nelson Mandela's most senior prison colleague on Robben Island. While Mrs. Mandela would parade in fatigues with the young "comrades," Mrs. Sisulu had a base among church people and homeowners in the Orlando district. But Winnie Mandela is no less interested in ingratiating herself with Western imperialist leaders than "moderates" like Mrs. Sisulu. Just a year ago the Mandelas were hobnobbing with George and Barbara Bush in the White House.

In 1988 the rivalry between Winnie Mandela and Mrs. Sisulu led to a gangland-style settling of accounts. One of the most repulsive aspects of this whole sordid business was the claim by Winnie Mandela and her housekeeper that they were "rescuing" children from a Methodist home because the *white* pastor, associated with Mrs. Sisulu, was supposedly engaging in "homosexual abuse" of teenagers. In addition to the murder of Stompie Seipei, one of the members of the Mandela "football club" was killed by the son of an associate of Mrs. Sisulu. Later a doctor associated with AZAPO (Azanian People's Organisation, an ANC rival) was found dead in his office.

This affair reminds us of a case in the Black Panther Party in the U.S., the New Haven, Connecticut. The Panthers

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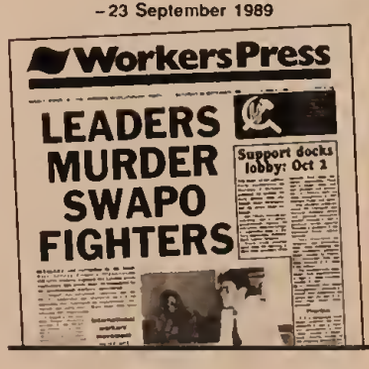
– 23 September 1989


Workers Press

LEADERS MURDER SWAPO FIGHTERS

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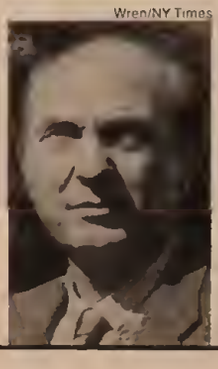

Cliff Slaughter's *Workers Press* retailed Pretoria disinformation during 1989 Namibia elections (far left), recently exposed by army intelligence major Nico Basson (left), then claimed to have been "duped" in another apartheid scam (right).

Workers Press

25 November 1989

WE FALL VICTIM TO 'DIRTY TRICKS'

South Africa...

(continued from page 1)

produce fabulous riches from the mines, fields and factories until they wrest power from their oppressors. Talk of a "post-apartheid" capitalist South Africa is simply a cover for the continued extraction of superprofits from black labor held in check by a massive police force and military armed to the teeth. To smash white-supremacy it is necessary to fight for a black-centered workers government, in which those who labor shall rule and those who have expropriated the fruits of that labor will themselves be expropriated.

So now apartheid is supposed to be history. In a finishing touch, even the ruling apartheid National Party declared itself "non-racial" and has co-opted a near-majority of the "Labour Party," giving the Nats control of the "coloured" house of parliament as well. In the complicated minuet of dismantling apartheid's legal armature, Nelson Mandela was released from jail in February 1990, the African National Congress was "legalized," and last August the ANC signed an agreement to "suspend" "armed actions." In return, the thousands of anti-apartheid political prisoners were supposed to be freed, and 30,000 exiles permitted to return home. In fact, barely 1,000 ANC supporters have been allowed back. Many of those returnees have been subjected to harassment, witchhunts and, increasingly, assassination at the hands of thinly veiled government death squads. In the past 17 months more than 4,000 people have died in the Transvaal in the bloodbath unleashed by the government.

As for political prisoners, the government claims over 1,000 have been released, but Justice Minister H.J. Coetsee says that *90 percent* of the 15,434 prisoners who applied do not meet the "guidelines" for release. Those who were ing army barracks to participating in demonstrations where police "hippos" (armored cars) were sabotaged or tear gas canisters hurled back—are not classified as "political prisoners" but as "common criminals." Hundreds are condemned to death by hanging for courageous acts or simply (allegedly) being present when some of the blood-drenched oppressors or their flunkeys were killed. In June scores of anti-apartheid prisoners went on extended hunger strikes to bring worldwide attention to their plight.

In a *New York Times* (23 June) article, "Even in 'New South Africa,' Apartheid's Legacy Lives On," Christopher Wren wrote truthfully:

> "The Government made blacks sojourners in the land of their birth, stripped more than seven million South Africans of their citizenship and consigned them to impoverished tribal homelands that only Pretoria considers independent."

Of the estimated 39 million people in South Africa, 30 million are black, and not one black person has the right to vote. "It's the economics of this country that's going to rip the guts out of any constitutional accommodation," said David Welsh, professor at University of Cape Town, quoted by Wren. Now blacks supposedly are free to buy houses with swimming pools in the white suburbs, if they can afford them. But new laws such as the "preservation of norms and standards" acts are cropping up to keep white neighborhoods white. And seven million black people have no housing at all, surviving in squatter shanties which line the major cities.

AP

"Inkathagate": Racist government armed and financed Buthelezi's thugs. Police oversee Inkatha killers at April "peace rally," at which six people were killed.

Dhladhla/AFP

Now revealed: the grisly slaughter aboard Johannesburg-Soweto commuter train, 13 September 1990, was carried out by army unit.

The "Hidden Hand" Revealed

The euphoria sparked by Nelson Mandela's release from jail and the legalization of the ANC and South African Communist Party has turned to bitter disillusionment and dismay. The ANC/SACP "alliance" has long banked on becoming or joining the government of a "post-apartheid" state—which means becoming the policemen for the Randlords. But the "new South Africa" may look suspiciously like the old South Africa before 1948 when the Afrikaner Nationalists took over: a country dedicated to making a lot of money for a few whites, and where the Boers were on the outs. While the De Klerk regime will not, because it cannot, bend an inch to grant "one person, one vote," the ANC has even backed off virtually all the stated demands outlined in its liberal 1955 Freedom Charter, including nationalization of the mines and a constituent assembly.

In a carefully orchestrated plan, modeled on the operation successfully carried out in Namibia in late 1989, the apartheid masters are seeking to preserve white-supremacist rule behind a "demo-[illegible] scheme from blowing up in its face. Spectacular revelations confirm the Pretoria government's "hidden hand" in the massive bloodbath unleashed in the Transvaal against the ANC. This only proves what every leftist and anti-apartheid fighter has known for years, that the Inkatha forces of KwaZulu bantustan chief Buthelezi are apartheid's dogs of war. As De Klerk basks in newfound international respectability, the scandal proves that the man Nelson Mandela called a "man of integrity" was a "man of duplicity" who "negotiated" with the leaders of the ANC while orchestrating a bloodbath of its members.

In leaks to the liberal *Weekly Mail*, it is now confirmed that the government funded Inkatha's March 1990 rallies in Natal to counter the big ANC rallies greeting Nelson Mandela upon his release after 27 years in jail, and financed Buthelezi's outfit for years beforehand. The Natal rallies were followed by a rash of violence in Natal and the Transvaal. A former sergeant in the South African army's Five Reconnaissance Regiment told the *New Nation* that the commando unit was behind many of the attacks and carried out the hideous massacre aboard the Johannesburg-to-Soweto commuter train on 13 September 1990, in which 27 passengers were hacked to death and 137 others injured. The revelations sparked a wave of anger, throwing the whole timetable for "negotiations" up in the air.

The "militant" nationalist rivals of the ANC, the Azanian People's Organisation and the Pan-Africanist Congress, were buckling under in their half-hearted opposition to "negotiations" with the government. Church and business groups were to host an "All-Party Congress" in the late summer/early fall. "So far Azapo and the entire ANC 'family' of organisations...have announced their attendance," reported the *Johannesburg Star* (15 June), and "the PAC...has also indicated it would attend any summit convened by a neutral body." As laid out by Mandela, this body would endorse an "interim government...broadly acceptable to the various political formations in our country," supposedly marking the end of white minority rule, and sanction a new constitution endorsing some kind of electoral system giving preferences or guarantees to whites.

ANC—Tool of Neo-Apartheid

Five years ago South Africa was exploding in black rebellion. The townships were "ungovernable," strikes of black unionists were threatening capitalist rule and, faced with the "instability" of profit-making, the multinationals had fled to safer shores. Now South Africa is no longer a pariah state, and is welcomed back into the "community" of capitalist nations under the aegis of the "New World Order." For De Klerk, De Beers and Anglo American, the key to achieving this is to have the anti-apartheid activists lined up through the ANC. That is the importance of the ANC congress which took place July 2-8 in Durban.

This was the first congress held inside South Africa in 30 years, since the ANC was banned and its members driven underground and into exile. The congress opened amid complaints from the rank and file that the government was running circles around the ANC in the 17 months of "negotiations." So at the congress, Mandela referred to negotiations as a "terrain of struggle." The ANC's direction was codified in the election of a layer of "militant pragmatists" to top leadership. "The five most senior officials," noted the London *Financial Times* (8 July) approvingly, "are all moderates in ANC terms." The election of Cyril Ramaphosa as ANC secretary general is significant. Ramaphosa, 38, is an ambitious lawyer who flirted briefly with the black consciousness movement, came to prominence as head of the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) and was a leader of the moderate Mass Democratic Movement (MDM).

In the late '70s, Ramaphosa served on the board of directors of the Urban Foundation, a fund launched by Oppenheimer (head of the Anglo American mining empire) to promote a black middle class. This investment in Ramaphosa did not go unrewarded. His cooperation in the mass layoffs of 50,000 miners last year earned him kudos from the capitalists. The *Financial Times* (6 July) noted his reputation as a "flexible bargaining partner," commenting: "Praise for Mr Ramaphosa comes not only from his obvious constituency—the miners...but from whites in business and government. Corporate executives who show nothing but disdain for most ANC leaders admit the highest respect for Mr Ramaphosa, even though he is a socialist."

After the ANC congress, the bourgeois press unleashed a red scare, screaming that more than half of those elected to the 90-member National Executive Committee are alleged to be members of the SACP. Ramaphosa issued the requisite denial, reminiscent of the days of McCarthyism: "Categorically I am not at present, nor have I been in the past," a member of the Communist Party. And more perceptive journalists noted that CP influence is not in contradiction to the moderate direction. As David Ottaway wrote in the *Washington Post* (9 July), "The communists, who make up about half of the new National Executive Committee's 56 elected members, proved strong proponents of negotiations, contrary to what analysts expected."

On the other hand, there was a good deal of support for reputed militants. Chris Hani, a CP leader and the chief of staff of ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, and SACP general secretary Joe Slovo scored first and third in the balloting, and hardline Stalinist Harry

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South Africa...

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Gwala came in eighth. And Winnie Mandela, despite her recent trial and conviction for kidnapping in the murky business of the murder of "Stompie" Seipei, held captive in her home in Soweto, and despite being rebuffed by the Women's Committee of the ANC, still won well over half the votes and a seat on the exec.

Meanwhile, Nelson Mandela hastened to announce the ANC was distancing itself from the Communist Party. At the congress he had declared the CP "a firm and dependable ally in the common struggle to rid our country of the system of white minority rule." But in an interview afterward, he said, "The SACP has declared that its co-operation with us is only up to the point of the overthrow of the apartheid state." Mandela added, "We won't follow socialism. We have got our own programme," and "We perhaps placed too much emphasis on... nationalisation." The ANC president made more specific his earlier remarks that the organization would no longer stand on its historic call for "one person, one vote." Instead, Mandela said, "We are not in favour of black majority rule. We are in favour of majority rule" (*Independent* [London], 19 July). What this amounts to was spelled out earlier by an ANC youth leader, Mrs. Lyndall Shope-Mafole:

> "We must make sure that the constitution which comes out of negotiations defends the rights of [fascist terrorist leader] Eugene Terreblanche as well as my rights."
>
> —*Financial Times*, 2 July

ANC leaders Thabo Mbeki (below left) and Secretary General Cyril Ramaphosa at July congress in Durban. Black miners (right) want socialist fight against apartheid, leaders bind them to Anglo American bosses.

Reuters

Work in Progress

Black Labor: Gravedigger of Apartheid Capitalism

The enormous power of the black workers who create the wealth of South Africa is the key to real emancipation. Ever since the Durban strikes of 1973, the black union movement quickly became the backbone of anti-apartheid struggle. South African capitalism is rooted in the *superexploitation* of black labor, keeping profits up by keeping the wages below even the minimal level necessary for reproduction of the labor force. That is why black workers are forced to live in hovels, the labor supply is constantly replenished by mass migration from the rural areas, and the vast non-white majority is denied the most basic democratic rights. The structure of white-supremacy, established under colonialism, permeates the society, long predating the apartheid laws, and is *necessary* to capitalist rule in South Africa. And thus the organization of black labor can quickly threaten the state's existence.

The South African state initially sought to control it through the 1978 Wiehann Commission, which "recognized" black unions in the hopes of containing them. "Progressive" capitalists led by Anglo American and the "multinationals" sought to arrange private deals with "their" unions. But they wanted control from within. The black labor movement was forged largely in an end run around the ANC, whose leaders were in exile. Belatedly, the ANC moved to bring it under control, through the agency of the South African Communist Party. The "workerist" tendencies which had sprung up in FOSATU and "socialists" such as Metalworkers leader Moses Mayekiso were co-opted into the party, and debate in the unions over a "workers charter" was deflected into demands for protection under a recast "post-apartheid" capitalist state.

The role of the SACP in disciplining black labor was seen in the squashing of the Mercedes-Benz Port Elizabeth strike last September. With a situation close to dual power in the auto plants, where defiant workers controlled the assembly lines wearing mock AK-47s strapped to their backs, CP chief Slovo and Metalworkers leader Mayekiso were brought in by the company to get the workers back to work. While the CP talked of "factory tribalism" in denouncing the demands for wages higher than the industry average, the Mercedes-Benz strikers commented bitterly about the "Wabenzi," the "tribe" of well-to-do blacks who want to make it into the boss class. Here the SACP showed how it was ready and able to break strikes in policing the labor movement for the ANC and in the interest of capitalist stability (see "Sit-Down Strikers Raise Red Flag, CP Sells Them Out," *WV* No. 515, 30 November 1990).

This role is now being played out, adjusting workers' expectations and demands in line with the "new reality" of the nascent "post-apartheid state." In April, the NUM's seventh national conference was called around the theme of "restructuring the mining industry." This meant accepting tens of thousands of layoffs, ripping the guts out of the miners' organized power to increase the Randlords' profits. Now Ramaphosa has negotiated a profit-linked pay deal at East Rand Goldfields, and the NUM has launched an initiative for a "tri-partite conference" between the miners unions, the Chamber of Mines and the state to discuss "how a post-apartheid economy can be reorganised" along the lines of "joint economic management" with "worker participation" (*Weekly Mail*, April 26). So despite all the talk about "socialism" at NUM conferences, the workers are to "participate" in their own exploitation!

Meanwhile, voices are being raised in the black unions questioning the alliance with the SACP and ANC. Labor "theoretician" Karl von Holdt writes in the *South Africa Labour Bulletin* (June 1991) that "over the past twelve months there has been increasing concern within COSATU over whether the working class has real influence within the ANC." A COSATU leader is quoted as saying, "The ANC has paralysed COSATU and other MDM organisations politically." However, the "alternative" mooted about by von Holdt is that the unions must break from "the politics of resistance" and "militant abstentionism" to instead "strive for greater productivity and less industrial action" and embrace "a social contract primarily between business and labour, but also involving the state" (*SALB*, March 1991). In other words, a more direct subordination of labor to capital without the medium of the SACP.

Revolutionary Perspective for South Africa

The ANC/SACP/COSATU alliance is the contemporary South African version device by which the working masses are tied to the supposedly "progressive" wing of the exploiters. With Nelson Mandela as the linchpin, combative unionists and socialist-minded militants are being coupled to another "triple alliance" of the ANC with De Klerk and the Randlords. And while Anglo American publishes ads in the London *Guardian* promising that South African business will "address the deeply felt and justified grievances as well as the aspirations of those whom apartheid pushed aside," black miners at Anglo are still kept behind barbed wire in all-male hostels and receive *one-seventh* the pay of white workers! As the black trade-union movement veers right under the pressure of the popular front, those who genuinely seek to break the chains of apartheid slavery must fight to forge a genuinely communist vanguard party of the working class.

The treacherous SACP, meanwhile, is far from monolithic. Together with the collapse of the Stalinist regimes in East Europe has come a cutoff in Soviet aid to the ANC and SACP. And along with handing over East Germany to an expanded imperialist Fourth Reich in the heart of Europe, Gorbachev's Kremlin has been pushing for a negotiated "political solution" in South Africa. This line is welcomed by some right-wing CPers, such as Jeremy Cronin, who specializes in denouncing Trotskyism, i.e., revolutionary Marxism, as an "infantile disorder" in *The African Communist* and *Work in Progress*. Others appear more conflicted. Thus while Moses Mayekiso helped spike the Mercedes-Benz strike, he balked at going along with the new Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber (in which Ramaphosa is a leader of the Soweto delegation) which includes the same local councillors of the Pretoria regime that he and his Alexandra comrades rose up against in the township revolt, for which they were sent to jail. "Joint government" with their jailers may be hard to stomach.

The *Wall Street Journal* (6 May) reported that, contrary to expectations, the Communist Party in Soweto has grown *more* not *less* popular in the 17 months since the ANC was legalized.

> "When Pretoria last February ended its 40-year ban on the South African Communist Party, known as the SACP, it reckoned that the crumbling of communism elsewhere would soon discredit the party here. Instead, Communists have been streaming back from exile and coming out of the closet internally to organize Africa's largest industrialized working class....
>
> "On factory floors, in the mines and throughout the simmering, overcrowded black townships, workers talk of the two-phase revolution: first, black liberation from white domination, and then the creation of a thoroughly socialist state. The view from here is that it is apartheid—and its perceived cohort in racial oppression, capitalism—that has failed, not communism."

The bosses are clearly worried that a "post-apartheid state" could be derailed by workers and township youth fighting for socialism. History makes all too clear that the key in South Africa, as elsewhere, is a revolutionary leadership fighting not for the Stalinist shibboleth of a "two-stage revolution" (democracy now, socialism in the sweet by-and-by), but for revolutionary Trotskyism. As we wrote:

> "South Africa today expresses the quintessence of Trotsky's program of *permanent revolution* in which the most basic democratic demands—'one person, one vote,' land to the tiller, ending slave-like oppression in the mining compounds and bantustans—can only be solved when the working class comes to power.... The urgent task is forging a Trotskyist party to lead the struggle for workers revolution."
>
> —"South Africa and Permanent Revolution," *WV* No. 515, 30 November 1990

One South African group which is frequently mistaken for Trotskyist is the

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Mandela Trial...

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had allegedly put Rackley up before a kangaroo court on suspicion of being a police agent. In 1970, 14 Black Panthers, including party leaders Bobby Seale and Erica Huggins, were put on trial for the murder of Rackley. Given the tangle of government provocation and lumpen criminality involved, it was impossible for Marxists to make a serious judgment in the case. Certainly with the enormous FBI COINTELPRO conspiracy to disrupt and annihilate the Panthers, just about any scenario was possible: Rackley could have been an informer, the feds could have planted the story he was an agent to set up an internal war and frame Seale and the others. Or it could have been a bloody settling of factional squabbles. It was clear the government utilized the case to discredit and persecute the central leadership of the Panthers.

Murderous feuding is common in outfits based on militaristic organization of the lumpenproletariat, particularly in periods of defeat when they often turn into simple gangs. This phenomenon is also common among defeated guerrilla armies, which after they no longer have the perspective of seizing power tend to degenerate into banditry. In South Africa, some of the same idealistic youth who in '84-86 courageously fought against the apartheid state, a couple of years later had become disillusioned and were using the same methods against each other.

Presently in South Africa, violence is rife in the townships. There are the government-organized death squad assassinations of ANC activists and the attacks on township dwellers by hostel dwellers organized by Buthelezi's Zulu-based Inkatha. In addition to financing Inkatha, the government supplied it with AK-47s, and the army and police often transported the *impis* (squads) and stood by as they carried out their massacres. At the height of the fighting last fall, this turned into tribal clashes between Zulus and Xhosas. In addition, in recent months there has been a wave of random violence and crime, including by former "comrades" turned into common criminals. This gave rise to the term "comtsotsis," tsotsis being the petty criminals who are ubiquitous in the downtrodden townships. This all reflects the lack of a *class* axis. For the working class learns a discipline based on the organization of work and a unity of purpose, coming from common struggle against a common capitalist enemy, that can overcome racial, ethnic and sectional differences.

Trial Divides ANC

During the trial, the liberal Johannesburg *Weekly Mail* (17 May) reported:

> "To the black youth in the streets, the Winnie Mandela mystique lives on, no matter what the verdict of white man's justice....
>
> "Mandela's supporters could argue, quite rationally, that even if she did hold Kgase, Mekgwe, Mono and Stompie, this was far less than the regime itself did at the time by incarcerating thousands under the official cover of the State of Emergency and the Internal Security Act....
>
> "Her statements such as those on necklacing articulated what many thousands of alienated black youths in the eye of the township rebellion felt, but were too embarrassingly frank and tactless for the liberation movement."

The trial became the focal point for forces who wanted the township youth brought under control in the interest of "stability" in a "post-apartheid state" presided over by the "*verligte*" (enlightened) wing of the white ruling class and the "moderate" wing of the ANC. Independent of Winnie Mandela herself, the trial has thus crystallized a growing split in the liberal-radical "anti-apartheid" popular front between those who would make their peace with (and get a piece of) a "post-apartheid" capitalist state in South Africa, and those who don't fit in. However, the split between the ANC "moderates" and the youthful "comrades" remains a division between two wings of petty-bourgeois nationalism. The key to socialist revolution in South Africa, which alone can bring a decent life to the toiling black masses, is breaking the working class from *all* factions of the ANC and other petty-bourgeois nationalist currents. Over the past decade and a half, a powerful black trade-union movement—embracing millions of African, Indian and coloured (mixed-race) workers—has come into being. For a number of years trade-union militants, called "workerists," counterposed the independence of the proletariat to the pro-ANC "populists." Today, the most prominent "workerists" have gone over to the ANC/Communist Party camp.

Lopez/NY Times

Nelson and Winnie Mandela welcomed to the White House by George and Barbara Bush, June 1990.

AFP

Township youth with burning car of suspected collaborator.

But there unquestionably exists an impulse among South Africa's unionized black proletariat to assert their own power and interests against the contending petty-bourgeois nationalist factions. The strategic key is the fight for the creation, however embryonic, of organs of proletarian dual power. Thus we have called for the formation of union-based ethnically integrated workers militias to suppress the violence between the Inkatha Zulu killers and ANC supporters in the townships. In the absence of a proletarian-centered socialist revolution led by a racially integrated communist party, South Africa will experience the same kind of nationalist and tribalist bloodletting characteristic of the rest of neocolonial black Africa.

Searchlight South Africa Fans Anti-Communist Hysteria

The London-based journal *Searchlight South Africa* has been especially strident in claiming that the ANC perpetrates criminal terrorism in the service of "Stalinist totalitarianism." Thus they explained both the violence of the township "comrades" and the imprisonment of ANC dissidents as due to "the deep-seated Stalinist ideological leanings of the ANC leadership." And they deliberately *amalgamate* the 1986 "necklacing" of collaborators with the violence of 1990-91:

> "Since 1985—the incubatory period leading to the township slaughter of the 1990s—responsibility for legitimating violence as a primary means of political control 'within ourselves' has lain first of all on the ANC and its supporters, with its leading text in Winnie Mandela's homily on the liberatory authority of necklaces and matches."
>
> —Paul Trewhela, "The Trial of Winnie Mandela," *Searchlight South Africa* (July 1991)

Like Margaret Thatcher at the time, *Searchlight* here reduces the 1984-86 township revolt to the practice of "necklacing." But the revolt centrally consisted of confrontations between youth armed with sticks and stones, and the South African police and army, who slaughtered hundreds at a time. This period also saw massive stayaway strikes organized by the black unions and enforced by the "comrades" in the townships, as well as the school and rent boycotts. "Necklacing" was a subordinate aspect of the revolt, a crude means of getting rid of the police spies and wreaking vengeance on collaborators who were a deadly threat to the population. Later these same methods were used in the feuds between the ANC, PAC and AZAPO, and now are tools for robbery.

For fighters for black liberation and socialism, it is in any case a travesty for the apartheid state, the murderers of tens of thousands and oppressors of millions, to decide upon "justice" in the Winnie

continued on page 10

Cape Town-based Workers Organisation for a Socialist Africa (WOSA), led by Neville Alexander. While the ANC accommodates De Klerk, and the SACP accommodates ANC, WOSA's practice is to accommodate nearly every anti-apartheid group, while talking in the abstract about a class line. Thus while running a long article about the need to smash the capitalist state not enter it, the bulk of WOSA's work and propaganda consists of a campaign for a Constituent Assembly (the "CA") as "synonymous with the demand for unfettered democracy" (*Workers' Voice* No. 2, March 1991). The same issue does a survey rating all left groups on their stand on a constituent assembly, calls for a "united front" for the CA, and puts forward "a platform of 8 points which we believe constitute a minimum basis for a democratic process."

WOSA tries to give their demand a left twist, by saying that the CA "must involve the informed participation of the masses in general and the working class in particular." But what's going on here is that these fake-Trotskyists have simply picked up what used to be the ANC's main demand and are running with it while Mandela and the SACP have dropped it in favor of the temptations of "participation" in a "reformed" apartheid "interim government." Trotskyists support the demand for a constituent assembly in the South African context where, from the days of colonialism on, the black masses have been denied any semblance of democracy. But we do so as part of a program for *workers revolution*, understanding that bourgeois democracy under South African capitalism is *impossible*. In his December 1917 "Theses on the Constituent Assembly," Lenin emphasized:

> "For the transition from the bourgeois to the socialist system, for the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Republic of Soviets (of workers', soldiers' and peasants' deputies) is not only a higher type of democratic institution...but is the only form capable of securing the most painless transition to socialism."

WOSA's response would be that it doesn't see the struggle for socialism on the agenda. But the objective conditions for revolution in South Africa are more than ripe—the problem is the crisis of revolutionary leadership, and ostensible socialist groups from the SACP through WOSA who oppose a proletarian struggle for power are the biggest obstacle. Thus *Workers' Voice* (August 1990) writes: "In effect, therefore, the pro-socialism lobby will for the next few years function as a left-wing pressure group within the broad liberation movement, watching over the interests of the urban and rural poor and attempting to wrest the steering wheel of the movement from the grip of the middle-class, pro-democracy leadership." This perspective corresponds to that of the Mensheviks in the 1905 Revolution, who saw themselves "watching over" workers' interests while a bourgeois-liberal government would take power. But in 1905 and 1917 it was not the liberals but tsarist and militarist reaction that was the real alternative to the workers soviets.

Today there are various groups falsely labeled Trotskyist, which however reject Trotsky's perspective. We of the International Communist League are dedicated to the struggle to forge a South African section of a reforged Fourth International that Trotsky would have recognized as his own. This is the key task and the only road to the emancipation of the South African masses from apartheid slavery and, following their lead and with their aid, liberation of the toilers of the entire continent. ■

Spartacist League Public Offices

— MARXIST LITERATURE —

Bay Area
Thurs 5:30-8:00 p.m., Sat 1:00-5:00 p.m.
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Oakland, California Phone (415) 839-0851

Chicago
Tues 5:00-9:00 p.m., Sat 11:00 a.m.-2:00 p.m.
161 W. Harrison St., 10th Floor
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New York City
Tues 6:30-9:00 p.m., Sat 1:00-5:00 p.m.
41 Warren St. (one block below Chambers St. near Church St.)
New York, NY Phone (212) 267-1025

Mandela Trial...

(continued from page 9)

Mandela trial. *Searchlight South Africa*, however, has grabbed the "Winnie trial" with both hands as its ticket into the "new South Africa." Thus in their recent issue, they write: "That the trial nevertheless proceeded to its conclusion was a small augury of hope for the future." In fact, their main worry is that, for political reasons, the apartheid courts may not actually put Mrs. Mandela away. They write that if "this woman can go free," then "*the future of the country looks even grimmer than we had thought*" [emphasis in original].

Searchlight wants to use the "Winnie trial" to enlist in Bush's "New World Order." Thus, in February, in the heart of "Operation Desert Storm," they are horrified because:

> ".. Mrs. Mandela delivers a passionate implied justification of the occupation of Kuwait by the regime of Saddam Hussein of Iraq.... Not out of character, Saddam's secret police introduce the necklace to the streets of Iraq a month later as a means of control over the revolt of their own citizens."

While ostensibly taking a neutral position in the Persian Gulf War, *Searchlight* emphasized that "there could be no support [to] the Iraqi dictatorship." So in the middle of the U.S. bombing blitz in January 1991, they came out denouncing those leftists who demanded "Hands off Iraq" and the "rationalisation" that the U.S. was conducting an "imperialist venture to keep control of oil." Now an article by leading editor Baruch Hirson has openly repudiated Lenin's position on imperialism, which he blames for "the underlying supposition of most leftist and nationalist movements that the [Gulf] war was the outcome of imperialist aggression." "This was not an 'imperialist war'," he adds, "and Iraq was not a 'semi-colonial' state—whatever that meant...."

The War in Angola and the ANC Camps

Searchlight connects the "Winnie trial" and her defense of "necklacing" with the imprisonment of ANC guerrilla fighters who mutinied in the MK military camps in Angola:

> "There is a direct line of connection between the ANC reign of terror in the prisons, and the 'necklace killings' exercised by ANC supporters within South Africa.... This is the significance of the 'Winnie issue'."
>
> —*Searchlight South Africa*, July 1990

In the mid-1980s, militants in ANC's guerrilla wing Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) became disillusioned and mutinied. A number of them were arrested by ANC security, imprisoned under the most harsh conditions, some tortured and several reportedly killed. *Searchlight* treats this as an atrocity comparable to the Nazi death camps (referring to the ANC/SACP's "Buchenwald" at Quadro prison). But what, in fact, was the mutiny about?

Gubb/JB Pictures

Young "comrades" in the townships, 1986.

In early 1984, the mutineers, saying they wished to "go home" to fight in their own country, refused direct orders to fight with the MPLA and Cuban soldiers in Angola *against the South African invasion and the puppet Savimbi of UNITA*. This was at a crucial turning point in which the concerted South African offensive in Angola almost won. Stopping it was vital. And here were soldiers, anti-apartheid fighters, in Angola where the war was going on, refusing to fight. The *Searchlight* article stated this explicitly:

> "The combatants of MK had refused to go into counter-insurgency operations against the forces of the Union for Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) in the civil war in Angola and defied the security personnel of ANC."

While we are quite prepared to believe that the internal regime in the ANC camps was plenty brutal and arbitrary, revolutionaries can in no way solidarize with mutineers who refused to fight the South African army and called for an end to the war against the CIA-financed UNITA forces of Jonas Savimbi. At bottom, the mutineers' action reflected the nationalist politics to which the ANC recruited them. Instead, we solidarized with the Cuban forces who at this same moment at the battle of Cuvelai inflicted on the South African army significant casualties, forcing it to withdraw from Angola. As we wrote then of the Soviet-backed Cuban forces:

> "Every time they give the white supremacists a bloody nose in Angola, it emboldens the brutally oppressed non-white masses of South Africa to fight to throw off their shackles. The stinging defeat of South Africa's 1976 invasion was followed by the Soweto rebellion and a rising of black proletarian militancy and unionization struggles."
>
> —"Cuban Troops Defend Black Angola," *WV* No. 346, 20 January 1984

And the South African army's forced withdrawal from Angola in 1984 ushered in the two-year township revolt at home.

While we recognized that the Cuban forces were on the front line of the fight against the Washington-Pretoria axis in southern Africa, the Stalinophobic *Searchlight* railed against the "KGB in Africa," and argued that the ANC prison camp at "Quadro became worse than any prison than even the apartheid regime... had ever had." This position in fact serves to prettify the De Klerk regime and justify its continuing suppression of the "militant wing" of the ANC and the South African Communist Party.

Slaughterites Peddle Apartheid Regime Disinformation

Both *Searchlight* and Cliff Slaughter's pseudo-Trotskyist Workers Revolutionary Party have devoted themselves to a campaign on behalf of dissident former members of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO), which led the guerrilla struggle against the South African colonial occupation of Namibia. Before World War I, this territory was colonized under the name of South West Africa by the Germans who wiped out the Herero tribe. As a result the numerically dominant tribe was the Ovambo, which became the social base of SWAPO.

In June, a retired South African army major who worked for military intelligence revealed that he was assigned to orchestrate a disinformation campaign in the media to discredit SWAPO over the issue of the detainees in order to deal the nationalist group a blow in the November 1989 Namibian elections. As we go to press, the Pretoria government admitted that it had funded seven anti-SWAPO political parties in that election, including parties of an electoral bloc *in which the Namibian Slaughterites participated*. So now Cliff Slaughter & Co. have egg all over their face.

Mark Peters

South African invaders in Angola (above) in early 1984 were stopped by heroic Cuban troops.

The political infighting behind the imprisonment of SWAPO militants by the Nujoma leadership during the prolonged guerrilla struggle is very murky. They claim that they were forced to sign confessions (obtained under torture) that they were "spies," and that many were kept in hideous deep holes in the ground for years in SWAPO camps in Zambia and Angola. After protests were filed through the United Nations High Commission on Refugees and the World Council of Churches, SWAPO in early 1989 began to release these prisoners. In July 1989 the first of these detainees returned to Namibia. They told their story at a press conference in Windhoek that was organized by the "Parents' Committee." Here, a former leader of the SWAPO youth, Erica Beukes, whose brother was murdered in the camps, documented their tale. Beukes and the small group around her had launched the Workers Revolutionary Party and linked up with Cliff Slaughter's British WRP.

Slaughter's *Workers Press* (which only a few months earlier was a big booster of SWAPO) erupted with a slew of articles headlining "LEADERS MURDER SWAPO FIGHTERS," and claiming that Nujoma & Co. had "murdered up to 10,000 opponents" (Namibian WRPer Hewat Beukes claimed "up to 20,000" were killed). They linked the SWAPO repression to the "Stalin murder machine," saying it was "reminiscent of the days of the Moscow trials." Supposedly to document SWAPO atrocities, they published a photograph that was in fact of a mass grave *of victims of the apartheid army*.

The Namibian WRP participated in the November '89 elections in a political bloc called the United Democratic Front. The UDF included several bantustan parties and tribal "chiefs" who were collaborators of the Namibian puppet government of South Africa. Its purpose was to pull votes away from SWAPO in the November 1989 elections. The Slaughterite WRP made only the barest reference to socialism or the pro-capitalist nature of SWAPO. Their entire platform was the "atrocities" of the SWAPO camps.

Now, retired South African army major Nico Basson has come forward with spectacular revelations about the plot to discredit SWAPO and the ANC. He says he posed as a "public relations man" for the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance (DTA—the second largest party in Namibia). "To fuel fears of Swapo, he said, the plotters exploited reports that the organization had imprisoned dissident members in Angola," reported the *New York Times* (1 July). Basson maintained this smear campaign was quite successful since SWAPO only received 58 percent of the vote, short of the two-thirds majority needed to amend the constitution imposed by the South African colonial regime. Basson noted: "They used Namibia as a dress rehearsal for what's happening in South Africa." This is seen in the funding of the Inkatha Zulu forces and the manipulation of the ANC factions.

When he was an agent of South African military intelligence, Nico Basson co-edited the main book on the SWAPO prisoners, *Call Them Spies* (1989). This book was cited repeatedly as a reliable source by *Searchlight South Africa*. So now *Searchlight* and the Slaughterites have been exposed as willing, even eager conduits for lying disinformation by the white-supremacist apartheid regime.

For Workers Revolution

There is nothing new in all this, nor is it unique to southern Africa. From the very beginning Western colonialism has portrayed the dark-skinned peoples it conquered and subjugated as bloodthirsty savages. The Spaniards of the Inquisition conquered Mexico in the name of the Holy Church while denouncing the human sacrifices practiced by the Aztecs. The British in India shouldered the "white man's burden," condemning the hideous backwardness of India's pre-capitalist social institutions. Using such excuses the imperialists carried out the systematic slaughter, starvation and super-exploitation of whole populations.

In the modern era, European imperialists and their social-democratic lackeys have pointed to the crimes of Stalinism and nationalist movements to justify the suppression of national liberation struggles. French Socialists condemned the terrorist tactics of the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) while the French army tortured FLN militants and killed a million Algerian Arabs and Berbers. The British Labour Party denounced the terrorism of the Mau Mau to support the "pacification" of Kenya by the British colonial army. Now Cliff Slaughter and the editors of *Searchlight* (who sometimes sound like "socialist" Rudyard Kiplings) have in the same way become "left" apologists for imperialist subjugation and mass murder.

The real crime of the ANC nationalists and Stalinists in South Africa is that they aspire to govern the country as junior partners of Wall Street, the City of London and the Anglo American Corporation. But unlike the neocolonial states of sub-Saharan Africa, there exists in South Africa a powerful black-centered proletariat which can lay the basis for a decent and humane society. The working class under the leadership of a genuinely communist party can smash the efforts to set up a new form of white-supremacist rule, and prevent the descent of South Africa into nationalist and tribalist bloodletting. ■

NOTICE

Workers Vanguard **skips an issue in August. Our next issue will be dated August 30.**

Cop Terror...

(continued from page 12)

On the evening of July 16, Maximino was helping a friend work on his car along with two other Hispanic men. Eyewitnesses told *Workers Vanguard* that plainclothes cops Chris Henne and John Chiusolo, driving by with a prisoner, pulled over for no apparent reason, rushed up to Cintrón and slapped him with a ticket for "unauthorized repairs." This was based on some racist, anti-working-class city ordinance that forbids people working on their cars, the only place most of them can, on the street. When Maximino ripped up the ticket in disgust, Henne threw him against the wall. As María pleaded in horror that they stop beating her husband, the cops screamed "Bitch!" at her. "Show some respect for my wife," Maximino demanded. Henne responded by shoving a flashlight against his throat. Maximino broke loose. Chiusolo pulled out a 9mm pistol. With both arms at his side and his back against the wall, Cintrón said: "What, are you going to shoot me now?" That's when the cop shot him.

Three hours later, Maximino Cintrón was dead, executed by a bullet through his stomach at ten feet. For nearly *an hour* after the shooting he lay bleeding to death on the ground. An ambulance arrived after a few minutes, but instead of treating Cintrón, medics were ordered to deal with the cops, who claimed to have been injured. Only much later did a second ambulance arrive to remove the dying Cintrón. The cops lied that Cintrón threatened them with a pipe and that the shot was fired to ward off a "mob" of 20 attackers. These lies were picked up and broadcast by the *Jersey City Journal*, angering the many witnesses to this cold-blooded killing.

This is not cop Chiusolo's first racist attack. At the July 25 protest, Filipino Rodin Rodriguez told the crowd of 400, mostly Puerto Ricans from the community, how the same cop who gunned down Cintrón beat him up three years ago, leading to permanent nerve damage that cost him his job as an illustrator for DC Comics. The cops have gone on a killing spree in recent years, as northern New Jersey has become home to an increasing number of Hispanics and other minorities who work across the river in New York City. A quarter of the population of Jersey City and Newark now is Hispanic, two-fifths of Elizabeth and Paterson. The Filipino and Indian communities have also been expanding considerably and likewise face racist police repression.

The past few years have seen a series of brutal police murders of blacks, Hispanics and other minorities in northern New Jersey. On July 1, New Brunswick cop Zane Grey gunned down black unemployed truck driver Shaun Potts, a promising semi-pro football player for the New Brunswick Panthers. Three weeks earlier, Newark and Hillside police pumped 43 shots into a stopped van, killing 20-year-old Lamont Russell Jones and 16-year-old Tasha Mayse, who was five months pregnant, and seriously wounding four other unarmed black teenagers. Their names now join the ever-growing roll call of victims of racist cop terror: Efrain Rodriguez in Perth Amboy, Santana Hannah in Plainfield, 16-year-old Phillip Pannell in Teaneck, Arnaldo Ortega in Jersey City, Carmen Coria in Perth Amboy, are only some of those killed in the past three years.

The evening after Maximino Cintrón was gunned down, friends and relatives gathered at a shrine erected at the scene of the murder, where a Puerto Rican flag was hanging with pictures of Maximino pinned to it. His cousin Migdalia Cintrón spoke of the family's distress and wondered aloud how this hideous crime could be perpetrated over a $20 ticket. His brother Max said simply: "I want justice for my brother." Locking Chiusolo away will certainly get one racist killer off the streets. But justice for the family of Maximino Cintrón and all the victims of cop terror will only come when the integrated working class sweeps away this whole racist system of capitalist injustice.

Chicago

On July 12, 29-year-old Mexican immigrant Miguel Mireles was murdered in cold blood on the streets of Maywood, a working-class suburb of Chicago. Drug Enforcement Administration agent George Ohlin pumped seven bullets through the windshield of the pickup truck Mireles was driving as he and his brother Luis returned from cashing his $45 paycheck at a nearby store. Ohlin then shot at Luis Mireles, who was saved only when neighbors poured out of their homes and shouted at the cops.

The cops claim that the pickup had been used for transporting drugs the day before and that Mireles tried to run down the narcs as they approached to make a bust. But eyewitnesses contacted by *WV* say the cops' story is nothing but a cover-up. Among those eyewitnesses was Rosa Santamaria, who led a spontaneous protest of more than 60 outraged neighbors against the DEA killers and their Maywood police accomplices.

WV Photo

Friends and relatives of Maximino Cintrón gather at memorial shrine erected at the site of his murder.

The murder of Miguel Mireles comes in a context of escalating terror against blacks, Hispanics and other minorities. Two days after Mireles was gunned down, a mob of racists wielding baseball bats stormed the home of a Mexican migrant farm worker in the town of Harvard, north of Chicago.

Miguel Mireles left his hometown of Durango for "El Norte" in search of a better life. Instead of the "American Dream," he found Bush's "New World Order" of racist murder.

Boston

The black community of Boston has been targeted by a wave of police terror this summer. On July 12, black high school student Christopher Rogers was shot dead by Boston cop James Hall. Rogers was a 16-year-old honors student in math and science. His killer had a record of shooting unarmed victims, among them a Hispanic man three years ago.

Hall claimed that his service revolver went off as he looked for someone hiding under a parked car. But the youth had been shot in the chest. Neighbors recalled how Hall, who is black and lives in the same area, had threatened Rogers and other kids on many occasions.

Rogers' funeral was attended by hundreds of angry mourners. Christopher's mother, an AFSCME member at the Fernald school in Waltham, told the *Boston Herald* (14 July): "I hope to see this police officer stripped of his badge and his uniform and fairly punished for my son's death." But the killer cop is back on the job, after a five-day suspension with pay for being "out of his area."

Two weeks earlier, six cops blew away Herbert Jones of Roxbury. And a month before that, they slew 25-year-old Nathaniel Lackland Logan. Over 250 people turned out for a candlelight vigil to protest what a family friend denounced as "cold-blooded murder."

Sinister forces are trying to silence those who dare to speak out against the murderous cop terror campaign. Black community activist Shakur Ali, who has called for the resignation of Mayor Ray Flynn and Police Commissioner Frances Roache, has been the target of numerous death threats. After four white men in a passing car fired on him, his wife and a member of the Rogers family, Ali got an ominous phone call warning him to "stop talking about the Boston Police Department." But calls for reforming the police, like appeals by black mayoral candidate Graylan Ellis-Hagler for a civilian review board, are a dead end. The cops are the armed fist of the racist capitalist state.

AP

Christopher Rogers, 16-year-old victim of Boston police murder.

Last March a militant, integrated crowd of 1,500 turned out to protest Klansman David Duke in response to a call initiated by the Partisan Defense Committee. This showed that it's possible to overcome the racial divisions of this deeply polarized city, the home of the anti-busing backlash, and pointed the way forward to stopping all the racist killers. Workers revolution will avenge Christopher Rogers, Nathaniel Lackland Logan and all the victims of the killers-in-blue. ■

Louisiana...

(continued from page 12)

placed it under federal court supervision. Of 5,200 inmates, 85 percent are black, among them Gary Tyler and numerous other victims of racist frame-up.

The executioners have now decided to have their killing table built by outside contractors, but not before the electric chair is used once more, to kill Robert Sawyer on August 22. Now the vindictive prison authorities intend to punish the strikers for their courageous stand. Some will temporarily lose access to the prison store and get job demotions, others will be transferred to the notorious "Camp J," where "prison revolutionaries" are allowed only three hours of sunlight a week.

Aping the Nazi death camp commandants, this barbarous ruling class, which oversees the highest incarceration rate in the world, demands that its victims prepare their own executions. But *this* the denizens of the Angola prison hell refused. Pilgrimage for Life, a New Orleans death penalty abolitionist group, is calling for telegrams to Governor Roemer demanding that the prison protesters not be disciplined. Hands off the anti-execution strikers! Free Gary Tyler now! Abolish the death penalty!

We print below a telegram sent by the Partisan Defense Committee:

27 July 1991

To: Charles E. Roemer
Governor, State of Louisiana
P.O. Box 94004
Baton Rouge, Louisiana

The Partisan Defense Committee demands an immediate end to the lockdown of 400 prisoners and disciplinary action against hundreds more at the infamous Angola State Penitentiary. These men were victimized for downing tools to stop construction of a new execution facility, the *day after* Andrew Lee Jones was executed at the prison.

Ordering prisoners to build a "bed" to be used for administering lethal injections recalls the unspeakable Nazi commandants who forced Jewish prisoners to dig their own mass graves.

We and all opponents of the racist death penalty applaud the Angola prisoners' strike for dignity and humanity which stands in bold contrast to the wanton, racist brutality of the capitalist "justice" system. Abolish the racist death penalty!

Richard Dundy
for the Partisan Defense Committee

S.F. Cop Candidate's Thugs Menace Socialists

SAN FRANCISCO—"What happened to Huerta could happen to you!" This menacing reference to the near-fatal 1988 cop beating of United Farm Workers leader Dolores Huerta was directed at a young woman Spartacist League supporter selling *Workers Vanguard* at a supermarket here. And the threat came from a campaign worker for former police chief Frank Jordan, now running for SF mayor.

The Jordan-for-mayor crew didn't want people reminded that their boss was top cop when Dolores Huerta had her spleen ruptured and several ribs broken as police savaged protesters against then-vice president Bush. Jordan was police chief when the cops stormed into the gay Castro area, imposing virtual martial law, clubbing and arresting ACT UP protesters (and bystanders). He was police chief when Tony Grohse, a retarded 13-year-old Samoan, was blown away by two cops in broad daylight. To name but a few of the reported incidents. And as police chief, Jordan stood by his thugs, none of whom has ever even faced criminal charges.

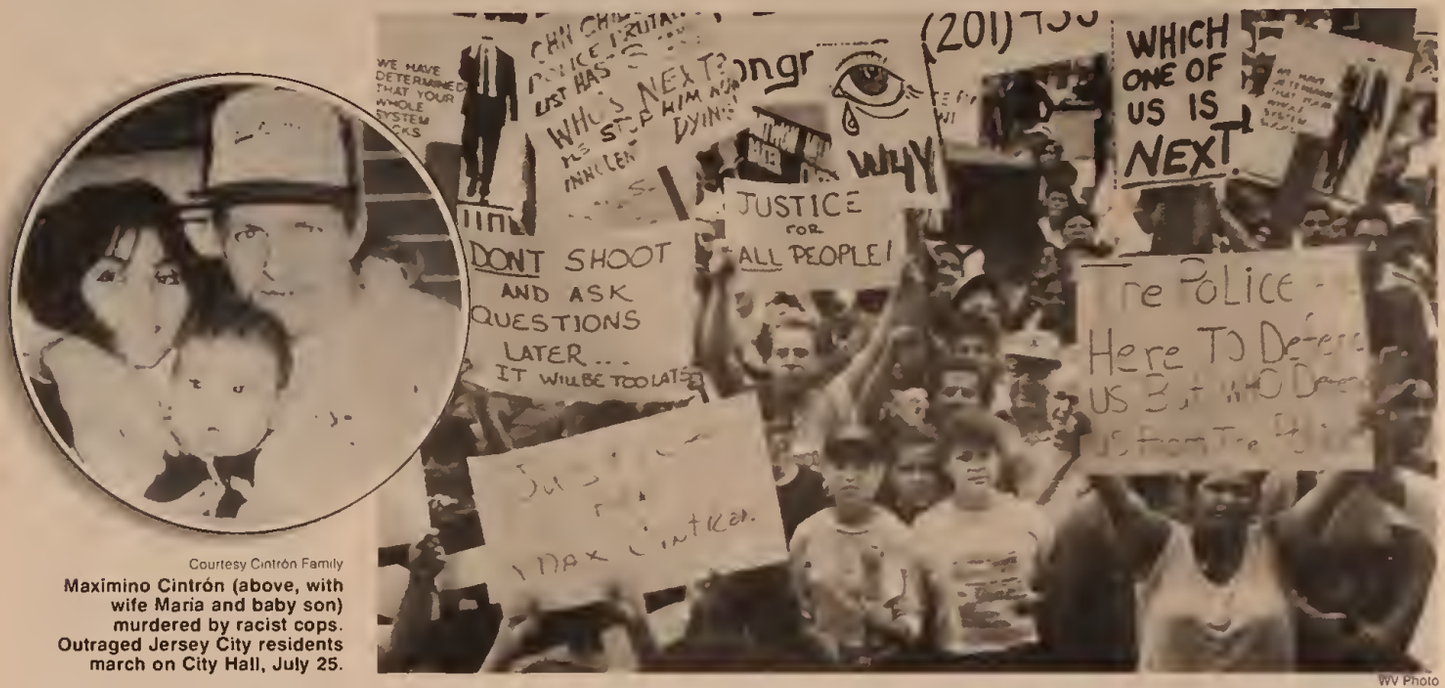
Now Jordan's running on ominous promises to jail and terrorize the homeless (including an ID system to "track" them) in order to wipe out the "haven" that supposedly "soft" Mayor Agnos has offered them and to generally unleash the cops from Agnos' "restraints." Some restraints! Agnos blithely stood by while the cops bashed his old friend Huerta and now orders them to arrest any homeless person who won't move into an unbearable, overcrowded shelter. But that's not enough for Jordan, who seeks to tap the fear and economic insecurity of the layer that Dan White spoke to—white, racist, anti-immigrant and anti-gay bigots who clamor for "law and order."

No surprise that Jordan's flunkey gloats over Huerta's beating, but it does tell you what his crowd consists of. We wonder how many of them are cops or ex-cops. The working class needs to sweep all this bourgeois garbage out of power.

WORKERS VANGUARD

Hispanics and Blacks Under the Gun

Hot Summer of Cop Terror



Courtesy Cintrón Family

Maximino Cintrón (above, with wife Maria and baby son) murdered by racist cops. Outraged Jersey City residents march on City Hall, July 25.

WV Photo

On the heels of his mass murder of 100,000 Iraqis, George Bush called for the same "moral force and national will" to "free America's cities from crime." Now the Democrat-controlled Senate has overwhelmingly approved a draconian new crime bill, as the Supreme Court slashes away at what its capitalist masters regard as "criminals' rights." For this racist ruling class, a "criminal" is anybody—particularly blacks and Hispanics—who comes up against the business end of a police billyclub or hair-trigger pistol. Taking their cue, the cops have been on a rampage of racist murder across the country.

The brutal beating of black motorist Rodney King by a score of California Highway Patrol and Los Angeles cops in March shocked the country when it was captured on videotape and played over the airwaves. A mayoral commission appointed to investigate the LAPD has now "discovered" that racist and sexist slurs are rampant among L.A. cops (including messages typed out on patrol car computers), the police enforced a "code of silence" to discourage any queasy elements, and complaints of racist treatment were at best ignored. But as succeeding weeks showed again, what happened to Rodney King is standard operating procedure for cops in the ghettos and barrios of America.

Jersey City

Under a sweltering sun, 23-year-old Maximino Cintrón Ortiz was buried on July 22. Nearly 500 predominantly Hispanic mourners wearing black armbands attended the funeral in Jersey City. Some 200 people marched in procession down Jersey Avenue to San Bonifacio's church on First Street, a few blocks away. His coffin was carried by 16 pallbearers, many of them young men who, like others in the community, could be found out on the street working on their cars on any late afternoon or evening. That's what Maximino was doing on the night he was gunned down by a Jersey City cop. That—and being Puerto Rican—was enough to get the young unemployed meatpacker killed, to make his pregnant wife María a widow, to leave their one-year-old son without a father. In a protest march on city hall three days later, demonstrators' signs asked bitterly "Why?" and "Which One of Us Is Next?"

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Louisiana Prisoners Refuse to Build Execution "Bed"

Strike at Angola Prison

On July 21, the Louisiana State Penitentiary at Angola carried out the state's 20th legal lynching since 1983, as 35-year-old black inmate Andrew Lee Jones was strapped to the electric chair and murdered. Sneering, "This man deserves what he is about to get," Governor Roemer even rejected a parole board recommendation to delay the execution two months until a supposedly "humane" lethal injection system was installed.

One day later, an organized and integrated protest by prisoners struck a powerful symbolic blow against the execution bloodbath. Two workers in the metal fabrication shop who were ordered to make a "hospital examination" table refused, understanding that they would in fact be building the "bed" to which future death row victims would be strapped for injections.

The next day, 40 more inmates, including one whose brother had been executed at Angola, refused to work on the death device. As warden John Whitfield threw the protesters into solitary in the "dungeon," word rapidly spread through the 20,000-acre prison and 400 inmates working in the fields put down their hoes in solidarity. Baton Rouge federal judge Frank Polozola authorized an immediate lockdown. Tactical police clad in riot gear were called in and, according to one prisoner, so were the National Guard.

Angola prison is notorious for slave labor worse than any chain gang. Its camps were constructed on former plantations, and inmates in the cane fields were regularly worked to death. Despite a series of "reforms" after Angola's horrors were exposed by a brave prison nurse in the 1950s, conditions today are more desperate than they were 40 years ago. So abhorrent and overcrowded is this state prison that a consent decree

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WORKERS VANGUARD

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No. 533

30 August 1991

Bankrupt Stalinism Opens Floodgates to Capitalist Restoration

Soviet Workers:
Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!

AUGUST 27—The working people of the Soviet Union, and indeed the workers of the world, have suffered an unparalleled disaster whose devastating consequences are now being played out. The ascendancy of Boris Yeltsin, who offers himself as Bush's man, coming off a botched coup by Mikhail Gorbachev's former aides, has unleashed a counterrevolutionary tide across the land of the October Revolution. The first workers state in history, sapped and undermined by decades of Stalinist bureaucratic misrule, lies in tatters. The state power has been fractured, the Communist Party—its bureaucratic core—shattered and banned from the KGB and armed forces, the multinational union is ripping apart as one republic after another proclaims secession.

But while Yeltsin & Co. now see a clear field to push through a forced-draft reintroduction of capitalism, *the outcome is not yet definitively decided.* As the imperialists rejoice and the pro-capitalist petty bourgeoisie exult, Soviet workers are facing a disaster of catastrophic proportions: every gain for which they, their parents and grandparents sacrificed is on the chopping block. An explosion of even greater nationalist strife is looming. The lash of capitalist exploitation being introduced amid universal economic dislocation threatens widespread hunger and mass unemployment in the coming winter. The Soviet proletariat, whose capacity for militant action was dramatically shown in the miners strike of the summer of 1989, has not been heard from. Opposition from the factories against the ravages of capitalist assault could throw a giant wrench in the works and prevent the rapid consolidation of counterrevolution.

Laski/Sipa

Spartacist

August 21—Pro-Yeltsin crowd in front of Russian "White House" (below). Bush and Yeltsin congratulate themselves earlier this year.

Soviet Stalinism has breathed its pathetic last gasp. Even up to the coup, many of the most advanced workers, who opposed Yeltsin's plans for wholesale privatization and Gorbachev's market reforms, looked to the so-called hardline "patriotic" wing of the bureaucracy. *There is no room anymore for such illusions.*

The coup's collapse and the ascendancy of counterrevolution in the Soviet Union buttresses, for the present moment, Bush's proclaimed "New World Order" militarily dominated by the U.S. Following its annihilation of Iraq, the triumphalist and vengeful American ruling class threatens to turn its wrath, unrestrained by the deterrent of a powerful USSR, against myriad peoples of the world. Cuba, in particular, is in Bush's cross hairs, and its defense is more than ever a duty of all opponents of Yankee imperialism.

From the time of Stalin's bureaucratic usurpation of power in 1924, Leon Trotsky and the Left Opposition waged an unrelenting fight for the internationalist program of the Bolshevik Revolution. Under the deadly blows of Stalinist terror and slander, the Trotskyists persevered as the best and only consistent defenders of the remaining revolutionary gains. Today the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) continues this struggle.

Stalinism was the political rule of a bureaucratic caste parasitically sitting atop the proletarian property forms created by the October Revolution of 1917. Whether during the bloody purges of the 1930s or the myriad "reforms" from Khrushchev and others, this system based on lies and repression of the working class not only blocked further progress toward socialism but clogged every pore of Soviet society. After decades of self-sacrifice extracted from the proletariat in the name of building "socialism in one country," Gorbachev's perestroika was the last desperate attempt of the Stalinist bureaucracy to preserve its position by adopting capitalist measures. But like Nikolai Bukharin's appeals to the rich peasants (kulaks) in the late 1920s to "enrich yourselves," perestroika fueled the forces of capitalist restoration which have now reached their fruition with Yeltsin's countercoup.

Boris Yeltsin is not a "Westernizer"—he is an extreme Russian chauvinist who intends to *sell out* the Soviet Union to

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Spartacist

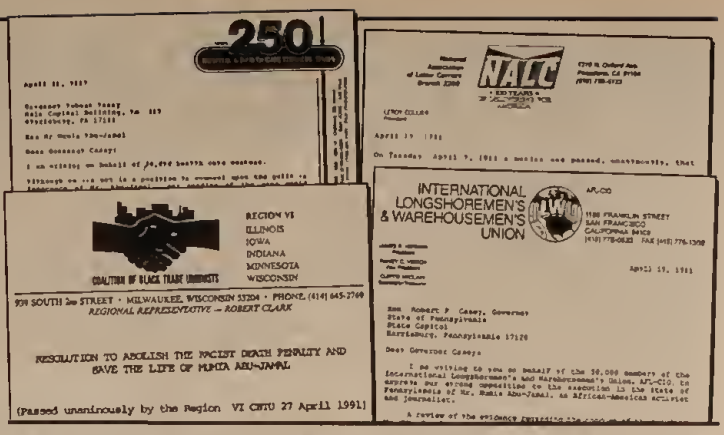
Red Square: Soviet tank facing the Kremlin during coup attempt.

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

"An Injury to One Is an Injury to All"

A decade of Reagan/Bush reaction: 1981, PATCO union leaders in shackles; 1985, Mother's Day bombing of Philly MOVE; 1991, precision bombing of a Baghdad civilian shelter. With their bloody victory over Iraq, and the broad but thin patriotic fervor it unleashed, Bush & Co. stepped up their war on labor, blacks and Hispanics at home. Racist cop terror is epidemic, a national death penalty is in the works, segregated schools and school prayer are on the way back, and now the city of Wichita is hostage to anti-abortion fanatics while poor women die from back-alley abortions. Workers, minorities, gays and women—we're all under the gun in this "New World Order." It is time for the organized working class to get off its knees to smash this onslaught against their rights, won through years of bitter and often bloody struggle.



Labor support for Mumia Abu-Jamal grows. Power of labor must be mobilized in defense of all victims of capitalist state repression.

The Partisan Defense Committee is a class-struggle, non-sectarian legal and social defense organization which champions cases and causes in the interests of the whole of the working people. Launched by the Spartacist League in 1974, the PDC seeks to mobilize the power of labor in defense of all those targeted by capitalist reaction. Fighting for justice against the world's most dangerous capitalist power, we recognize a special responsibility to oppose our "own" government, which props up repressive regimes all over the world. So when American troops headed for the Gulf, the SL and PDC fought at home for the defeat of U.S. imperialism and in defense of its victims around the world. We defended all those whose civil liberties and rights were among the first victims of the war—Arab immigrants, antiwar protesters and GI "resisters."

When KKKer David Duke sought to carry his program of fascist terror north with a speech at Boston's Ford Hall Forum on March 28, a PDC-initiated united-front protest of 1,500 blacks, unionists, socialists, minorities, women, gay rights activists, students, Jews and Catholics turned out to say, "Stop KKK Hitler-Lover David Duke!" The anti-Duke protest, the latest of many labor/black mobilizations against fascist terror initiated and organized by the PDC and SL (Washington 1982, Philadelphia 1988 and elsewhere), was a small but important point of struggle against the reaction fueled by the Middle East slaughter.

Today's fighters against war, union-busting and racist reaction owe a special debt to those imprisoned in the struggle. In the U.S.' dungeons are dozens of political prisoners, thrown behind bars for standing up to racist capitalist repression. They must not be forgotten! We have been active in the campaign to free former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt). As an expression of solidarity we send monthly stipends to 19 class-war prisoners: Geronimo and other former Black Panthers such as Mondo we Langa (David Rice) and Ed Poindexter, prison activist Hugo Pinell, members and supporters of the Philadelphia MOVE organization, and Irish Republican Socialist Party member Eddie McClelland.

A central focus of our recent work is the campaign to save death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal. Jamal—a former Black Panther Party spokesman, prominent radio broadcaster known as the "voice of the voiceless," well-known supporter of the MOVE organization and president of the Philadelphia chapter of the Association of Black Journalists at the time of his arrest—was shot and framed up, charged with killing a cop in 1981. Long a target of Philly cop terror because he used his radio booth to speak for the poor, the homeless and

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TROTSKY

LENIN

Stalinism: Gravedigger of the October Revolution

More than half a century ago, Leon Trotsky warned that Stalinism was a mortal danger to the survival of the Soviet Union. Having usurped power from the Soviet workers by gutting the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky, the nationalist bureaucracy headed by Stalin proceeded to undermine the gains of the 1917 October Revolution and sabotage revolutionary struggle worldwide. While demoralized "anti-Stalinists" simply wrote off the first workers state, Trotsky's Left Opposition fought to restore soviet democracy and Bolshevik internationalism to the USSR. As Trotsky emphasized time and again, the only alternative to capitalist restoration was a proletarian political revolution to defend the remaining gains of October by ousting the treacherous bureaucracy. *Now the utter collapse of Soviet Stalinism has opened up the floodgates of bloody capitalist counter-revolution. The key to defense of the Soviet working people against Bush/Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary onslaught is the forging of a Leninist-Trotskyist party.*

Under the conditions of the transitional epoch, the political superstructure plays a *decisive* role. A developed and stable dictatorship of the proletariat presupposes that the party functions in the leading role as a self-acting vanguard, that the proletariat is welded together by means of trade unions, that the toilers are indissolubly bound up with the state through the system of soviets and, finally, that the workers' state is aligned through the International into a fighting unit with the world proletariat. In the meantime, the bureaucracy has strangled the party and the trade unions and the soviets and the Communist International....

Which is closer: the danger of the collapse of the Soviet power that has been sapped by bureaucratism or the hour of the consolidation of the proletariat around a new party that is capable of saving the October heritage? There is no a priori answer to such a question; the struggle will decide. A major historical test—which may be a war—will determine the relation of forces. It is clear, in any case, that, with the further decline of the world proletarian movement and the further extension of the fascist domination, it is not possible to maintain the Soviet power for any length of time by means of the internal forces alone. The fundamental condition for the only rock-bottom reform of the Soviet state is the victorious spread of the *world revolution*....

Every political tendency that waves its hand hopelessly at the Soviet Union, under the pretext of its "nonproletarian" character, runs the risk of becoming the passive instrument of imperialism. And from our standpoint, of course, the tragic possibility is not excluded that the first workers' state, weakened by its bureaucracy, will fall under the joint blows of its internal and external enemies. But in the event of this worst possible variant, a tremendous significance for the subsequent course of the revolutionary struggle will be borne by the question: *where* are those guilty for the catastrophe? Not the slightest taint of guilt must fall upon the revolutionary internationalists. In the hour of mortal danger, they must remain on the last barricade.

Today the rupture of the bureaucratic equilibrium in the USSR would almost surely serve in favor of the counterrevolutionary forces. However, given a genuine revolutionary International, the inevitable crisis of the Stalinist regime would open the possibility of revival in the USSR. This is our basic course....

The problem of the world revolution as well as the problem of the Soviet Union may be summed up in one and the same brief formula: *The Fourth International.*

—Leon Trotsky, "The Class Nature of the Soviet State" (October 1933)

Petition for New Trial Denied, Geronimo Still in "the Hole"

Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), America's foremost class-war prisoner, was dealt a double blow by the courts of California. On August 15, *just one day* after receiving Geronimo's 284-page petition for a new trial, Judge Gary Klausner dismissed it as "without merit." Just days earlier, federal court judge Stanley Weigel refused to order Geronimo released from "the hole" (disciplinary confinement) at Tehachapi prison, where he was thrown on April 1 as he was preparing his state court petition for a new trial.

Geronimo, a victim of the FBI's racist COINTELPRO conspiracy to crush the Black Panther Party, has been locked away in California prisons for more than 20 years for a murder that the FBI, the cops and millions of people know he did not commit. The petition for a new trial presented new evidence concealed from Geronimo at trial and for almost two decades thereafter: statements from six former Black Panther Party members that Geronimo was with them in Oakland at the time of the 1968 Santa Monica murder; testimony from two legal investigators who saw FBI wiretap logs proving Geronimo answered a phone at a Panther house in Oakland just before the murder; statements from former Panther Tyrone Hutchinson that in 1970 he reported overhearing two associates of FBI fink Julius Butler admit they committed the murder, but was told by the cops to keep his mouth shut. Butler, the witness on whom the government's frame-up rested, was an LAPD informant as early as 1966 and FBI fink by May 1969.

Lead attorney in the application for a new trial, Robert Bloom, said of the judge's cavalier dismissal of Geronimo's demand for a new trial, "In 25 years of practicing criminal law, I have never seen anything like this."

Because Geronimo remains true to his political beliefs, state authorities are determined to make his prison hell even hotter. Geronimo's disciplinary confinement was based on a bogus marijuana trafficking charge on the uncorroborated testimony of a jailhouse snitch. Federal court judge Weigel's ruling denying Geronimo's appeal of the marijuana frame-up

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions $7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 533 **30 August 1991**

Cops, Nationalists, Zionists Fan Flames in Brooklyn

Death in Crown Heights

Gavin Cato, a seven-year-old black child from Guyana, and Yankel Rosenbaum, a 29-year-old Hassidic scholar from Australia, died on the streets of Crown Heights, Brooklyn, on August 19. They were strangers in a strange and increasingly ugly land. Gavin's father brought him here searching for a better life. Yankel, the son of Polish concentration camp survivors, came to study the pre-Holocaust world of Eastern European Jews. What they found here was death, their blood spilled on the dirty, cracked ghetto pavements. A reckless accident, a vicious murder, and if an evil witch had taken a sharp stick and stirred this city's steaming summer cauldron of ghetto misery and ethnic conflicts, the poisonous result couldn't have been any worse than the tragedy that exploded that August night.

Newsday

Paraskevas/Newsday

Gavin Cato (above) killad in tragic car accident. Yankel Rosanbaum, Auatralian atudent, stabbad to death hours latar.

Gavin Cato and his cousin Angela were playing on the sidewalk near their home, when they were struck by an out-of-control car. Gavin was crushed against a wall, his cousin's leg broken. The car was bringing up the rear in a small motorcade headed by an unmarked police car, escorting Rabbi Menachem Schneerson, world head of the Lubavitcher Hassidic sect, from his regular cemetery visit. The story quickly swept through the black community that the Hassidim were whisked away by a private Jewish ambulance service while the black children lay bleeding. Years of simmering resentment by the oppressed blacks against the Hassidim for their "special relationship" with the cops and city politicians came to an ugly head. Later that night, Yankel Rosenbaum was surrounded by a gang of young blacks and stabbed to death.

For the next three nights, young blacks hurled bottles, set fires, overturned squad cars, hit the "Sneaker King" shoe store, stormed a firehouse and fought running battles with the cops. They marched past the Lubavitcher World Headquarters on Eastern Parkway, bombarding it with rocks and grotesquely taunting this community of Holocaust survivors with chants of "Heil Hitler!" Black people should not so readily praise Hitler—they were included in his list of "*Untermenschen*" (subhumans). Hassidic vigilante squads and the fascistic Jewish Defense League, armed to the teeth, mobilized in response. These thugs stormed into buildings to get black youths who they claimed were throwing rocks at the policemen from the roof.

Berman/Sipa

Chris Gierlich

Rabbi Schnaarson (abova), powar broker for right-wing Zionists. Rev. Al Sharpton, FBI fink and sinistar demagogua.

The explosion of hate broke out exactly two years after the murder of black teenager Yusuf Hawkins by white racists in Bensonhurst. And the steaming ethnic cauldron is boiling, bringing New York to the edge of race war. This intercommunal war in Crown Heights is dead wrong, deadly dangerous and must be stopped! The Jewish community is *not* the enemy of black people, despite the slanderous poison spread for years by anti-Semitic black demagogues like Louis Farrakhan, and most recently CUNY professor Leonard Jeffries (and despite that walking incitement to anti-Semitism, loudmouth racist ex-mayor Ed Koch).

Today Al Sharpton and his allies like Alton Maddox and Sonny Carson have stirred up murderous violence with their vile rhetoric around Crown Heights, as well as a provocative march against the Lubavitcher synagogue on Saturday (the Jewish Sabbath), August 24. The march was funneled at the last minute into a Sharpton-Maddox "United African Movement" meeting in a black high school. As they passed by Jewish homes and community centers, the marchers taunted, "Whose Streets? Our Streets!" Criminally, the supposedly socialist group Workers World Party marched in this demonstration, which was *tantamount to a call for an anti-Jewish pogrom*. The Workers World banner read, "Stop the War Against Black America." There *is* a war against black America, but the Lubavitchers aren't running it—Washington and Wall Street are.

As the explosion built, an army of cops moved in, beating not only ghetto youth but reporters. Hundreds of black youths were arrested, although by the end of the week the police had also arrested over 40 Hassidic men. The cops, no doubt furious that a few of their number had actually gotten hit by debris and a few rooftop missiles, roughed up journalists, including from *Newsday*, the *New York Times* and the *Amsterdam News*. *Am News* photographer Chris Griffith (brother of Michael Griffith, murdered by a Howard Beach lynch mob) was beaten, and writer Vinette K. Pryce almost had her leg broken as she was roughly searched and shoved into a police van. White reporters got it from angry black mobs as well: veteran commentator Jimmy Breslin barely escaped, clad only in his shorts and his green press card. The same night Mayor Dinkins was surrounded and booed wildly by a crowd when he tried to visit the community.

The Politics of Death

There is a long history of communal violence in Crown Heights. Back in 1978, the police in Crown Heights murdered a black businessman—in broad daylight 15 cops clubbed Arthur Miller to the ground and then strangled him to death. In an unrelated incident two days later, a black youth named Victor Rhodes was jumped and beaten to a pulp by a small army of Hassidic goons patrolling against "outsiders." Then the Rev. Herbert Daughtry and a group of black nationalists consciously went after the Jewish community *instead of* the killer cops, instigating a march of jeering blacks through the Jewish areas of Crown Heights. Most leftist groups supported that anti-Semitic provocation. We of the Spartacist League warned that this was heading straight for race war, in which blacks would inevitably lose.

The Hassidim are not the oppressors. They are only a tiny minority community who want to recreate the sealed-off world of the 18th century Russian/Polish *shtetl* (village) in the middle of Brooklyn, not unlike the Amish in Pennsylvania. But in Crown Heights the *shtetl* meets the ghetto, and on top of the sharp economic contradictions, you have a sharp culture clash as black Caribbean Rastafarians with their long dreadlocks are thrown together with ultra-Orthodox Jewish men with their *payes* (sidelocks). But both blacks and Jews have the right to go about their lives and not be scapegoated or persecuted. The same goes for any other people or religion in the world.

One of the most vicious splits between Jews and blacks in New York City was the 1968 teachers strike. And much of the so-called "left" bears a lot of responsibility for that disaster. In '68 the same phony black militants like Jitu Weusi (Les Campbell), Carson and their left supporters used anti-Semitic slurs to mobilize Brooklyn blacks against the predominantly Jewish United Federation of Teachers (UFT), under the name of "community control." The liberal Republican Lindsay administration and Ford Foundation, ruling-class forces who wanted to break the teachers union for their own reasons, backed the nationalists. And so did the opportunist "leftists."

Today most of the connections that in more economically prosperous times linked the ghetto and the factory have been shattered, so that any social connection to a wider world is being lost. As the ghetto turns in on itself in desperation, there's a new focus on small-time local merchants as "the enemy," whether it's Sal's Pizza, or the Korean fruit stand, or the "men in long black coats" and their shops. In a narrow world bounded by garbage-ridden streets, where you can't get out because you have no job, nowhere to go, and no money to go there anyhow, that's all you can see (except for luscious, hopeless TV commercial dreams).

Hassidim, Hispanics and Blacks

The conflict between the Hassidic sects and the black and Hispanic minority populations in Brooklyn is compounded by economic conditions which place these communities at loggerheads. Complaints that the highly organized Hassidic community gets favored treatment from the authorities are not just a problem of perception, but a problem in reality.

In Williamsburg, where the Satmar Hassidic sect is concentrated, the surrounding Puerto Rican and Dominican community (Los Sures) is constantly being squeezed. The Satmars have been able to obtain city-owned land to build a 6,000-seat synagogue, a yeshiva and private housing on public redevelopment land. Legal services lawyer Martin Needelman, denounced as a "traitor" and "self-hater" by the local Hassidic leaders, has brought lawsuits against the city for preferentially renting public housing units to Hassidim (non-white minorities were kept to 25 percent). In 1986, through control of the community school board, the Satmars got a wall built through PS 16, to separate Hassidic girls from the Hispanic children in the rest of the school. In addition to this incredible piece of apartheid, close to 100 Hispanic students were to be pushed out of the grade school.

Also in 1986, the *Shomrim* (Orthodox "watch patrols") were initiated, vigilante gangs known to beat up blacks and Latinos suspected of robbery. These patrols receive $10,000 in subsidies from Albany (*El Diario*, 29 March 1989). In Crown Heights, the aggressive vigilante patrols go back to the late '60s and the origins of the JDL. A lot of the tensions between Hispanics and Hassidim in Williamsburg are replicated between the black community and the Lubavitcher. Thaddeus Owens, Jr., a black community organizer and son of the judge who presided in the Yusuf Hawkins case, told how he grew up in Crown Heights, where his family got along well with Hassidic neighbors, sometimes performing tasks like turning off an oven for a family that could not do so because of the Sabbath:

> "Mr. Owens said his feelings turned sour as he saw public housing in the area disproportionately allocated to Hasidim and the police took their side in confrontations with blacks. He also charges that Hasidic Jews attempted to redraw community board lines in their favor and gain control of the local school board."
> —*New York Times*, 23 August

While blacks and Hispanics and, indeed, many Hassidic Jews in these communities are horribly downtrodden and impoverished, a wealthy layer of the

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Intifada at an Impasse

Pax Americana Targets Palestinians

Cambo '16

Israeli police beat up Palestinian protesters in Jerusalem in aftermath of Al Aksa mosque massacre, October 1990. Zionists are aiming at "final solution" of "Palestinian question" through mass expulsions, mass slaughter.

Israel Out of the Occupied Territories! For a Socialist Federation of the Near East!

Fresh from its easy kill against Saddam Hussein's Iraq and the slaughter of more than 100,000 people, Washington is determined to forge a "New Order" in the Near East under exclusive U.S. hegemony. The Gulf crisis changed the political map of the region. The U.S. is now firmly implanted there, easing its reliance on Israel as its chief client state. Iraq's previous position as a military counterweight against Israel (and Iran) is gone. And Assad's Syria, erstwhile leader of the "rejection front" against any negotiations with the Zionist state and former "International Terrorist No. 1" in Washington's books, is now a close and compliant ally of the U.S. As Secretary of State James Baker shuttles from one Near East capital to another trying to lash together a regional "peace conference," it is clear to all that the big losers in this Pax Americana will be the Palestinians.

More than three and a half years after the start of the heroic popular uprising in the Occupied Territories, the *Intifada* is seemingly at a dead end. The Palestine Liberation Organization, which tried to exploit this courageous struggle as a bargaining chip to get the U.S. to pressure Israel into conceding some variant of a "mini-state" in the Occupied Territories, finds itself besieged on all sides. The war swept away the fictional distinction between "progressive" and "reactionary" Arab regimes, and both feudalist sheiks and bonapartist colonels have dropped even lip service to the Palestinian national cause. In their pursuit of American patronage, Syria and the other Arab regimes have acquiesced to even the most humiliating of Israel's demands as transmitted by Baker.

As proposed by the U.S. and agreed all around, the Israelis do not have to concede an inch of occupied territory as a basis for negotiations, Palestinian representatives will be vetted by Israel—no PLO allowed—and they may participate only as part of a Jordanian delegation. Some "peace" conference!

Meanwhile, key Israeli military and political leaders talk ever more openly of war with Syria. With Washington's blessings, Damascus moved to consolidate its hegemony over the perpetually feud-ridden statelet of Lebanon, codified in early June in a treaty of "brotherhood, cooperation and coordination" with Beirut. The Israelis marked the signing of the treaty with the fiercest bombing raids over Palestinian refugee camps in southern Lebanon since the 1982 invasion. And when Baker says that continued Jewish settlement in the Occupied Territories is the "greatest obstacle to peace," Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Shamir sneers in reply: "Settlement continues in all parts of the country and will continue."

But there is one point on which Assad, Baker and Shamir are in firm agreement: going after the Palestinians and the PLO. Weeks after the Israeli bombing raids in Lebanon, Syrian-backed forces swooped down on the Palestinians from the north. Brushing aside PLO pleas for "negotiations," the Lebanese army disarmed and ousted the PLO from its bases in Sidon and Tyre, dragged off hundreds of fighters and restricted the rest to their refugee camps. Deprived of antiaircraft weaponry, the Palestinians are now sitting ducks for further Israeli bombing raids. And with the camps surrounded and effectively defenseless, there are widespread fears that the Lebanese *Deuxième Bureau* (secret police) will resume its practice of raiding the camps to round up PLO activists.

The New Palestinian Catastrophe

At no time have the Palestinian people faced a crisis of such proportions. Driven from their homes and deprived of their land in the 1948 war, for more than 40 years the Palestinians have endured a seemingly endless nightmare of persecution, repression, isolation, despair. Forced into diaspora, they managed to become the chief labor force and economic backbone of Kuwait and the other oil-rich Gulf states. Tortured and tormented by Zionist repression, they lashed back with the *Intifada*, thrusting Israel's brutal occupation and oppression under the international spotlight. When Saddam Hussein seemingly stood up to Israel's imperialist patron and struck into the Zionist heartland with Scud missiles, Palestinian youth cheered from the rooftops of their concentration camps and hoped that national salvation was finally at hand.

But the cheering soon evaporated. Washington's murderous war machine bombed Iraq back to a "pre-industrial age." Now, the "catastrophe of '48" is being played out again in Kuwait. Scarcely more than 100,000 of the 400,000 Palestinians who had lived and worked in the emirate remain, and those are subjected to a murderous reign of terror by the ruling family. The PLO's claim to be "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people" has never had less legitimacy among the imperialist powers and their regional lackeys. The disarming of PLO units in Lebanon has put an end to the organization's last independent base of operations. And Arafat's refusal to toe the American line during the Gulf War has cost him $250 million in aid from the oil-rich Gulf states. Now exultation by sections of the Palestinian movement over the short-lived Moscow coup against Gorbachev is being used to further isolate the PLO.

In the Occupied Territories, the young Palestinian fighters who have endured torture and imprisonment in Israeli camps, who have seen brothers and sisters gunned down by undercover army death squads or fascistic "settlers," survey a horizon which is bleaker than ever before. With nearly 60 percent of West Bank land already in Israeli hands, the Zionists have been "creating facts" aimed at making the "green line" (the pre-1967 border) a historical footnote, as Shamir's fascistic "housing" minister Ariel Sharon sharply escalates the expropriation of Arab agricultural lands and the construction and expansion of armed-to-the-teeth Jewish "settlements." The seven-week-long war "curfew" and draconian pass laws have driven an already impoverished population to the edge of starvation, with 50 percent unemployment exacerbated by a massive loss in income from Palestinians who had been working in the Gulf states.

On the eve of Washington's murderous war on Iraq, we warned that "the massive influx of Jewish immigrants from the Soviet Union has given Israel a pretext to launch a new drive for *Lebensraum* against the Palestinian people" (*WV* No. 518, 18 January). Israel seized on the Gulf War to intensify its drive toward a "final solution," planning an air *and land* sweep through Jordan which would have meant driving the Palestinians out of the West Bank (*New York Times*, 7 March). The military operation was shelved under American pressure. But designs for mass expulsion were not. A Jewish American artist living in a West Bank Palestinian area in late March wrote: "People are now discussing mass deportations as if they were commenting on the price of bread" (*Palestine Focus*, July-August 1991).

After more than a thousand Palestinians martyred and many tens of thousands more injured or arrested, the *Intifada* has seemingly ground to a halt, caught in its own crisis of perspectives. If young Palestinian fighters sense despair, it is with good cause: their people today face more persecution, more repression, more isolation and even less prospect of a homeland than before. Over the decades, all the options offered by nationalism have been tried and all have failed—from impotent "armed struggle" to respectable United Nations resolutions, from reliance on the Arab bourgeoisies to direct appeals to the imperialist powers.

The petty-bourgeois nationalist PLO, not for the first time, is being crucified by the very forces it has looked to for redemption over the years. While loudly proclaiming their support to the dispossessed Palestinian nation as proof of their anti-Zionist and anti-imperialist credentials, in fact the bourgeois Arab regimes have been no less ruthless than Israel in suppressing the Palestinians. The PLO's reliance on various kings, sheiks and colonels has more than once led to a bloodbath of the Palestinian people. Its insistent appeals to the U.S. and other imperialist powers to broker a deal with Zionist Israel are now being realized—at the expense of the Palestinian

AP

Palestinian representatives Faisal Husaini (left) and Bethleham Mayor Elia Frai] meet with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker in Jerusalem.

people. The PLO finds itself cut out and at a dead end. It is the dead end of nationalism.

Islamic Fundamentalists on the Offensive

In the wake of Iraq's defeat, the PLO has been rent with anguish over Arafat's support to Saddam Hussein during the Gulf War. Referring to "new conditions prevailing in the world," top Arafat aide Abu Sharif now talks about the need for "pragmatic" leadership. Palestinian businessmen are complaining that the frequent commercial strikes which have been a principal aspect of the *Intifada* are ruining them. And Arafat's chief supporters among "the wealthy Palestinian elite...have been persistent in persuading him to give in to American demands" (*Middle East International*, 28 June). Despite Washington's refusal to hold out even a fig leaf of Palestinian statehood, an "unofficial" PLO delegation—including prominent figures like Faisal Husseini and Bir Zeit University professor Hanan Ashrawi—has met several times with Baker. Faced with sharp criticism from Palestinian militants, Ashrawi replied: "If we are excluded from the meetings with Baker, we'll be excluded from the peace process."

Combined with the growing economic desperation in the Occupied Territories, seething frustration at the base has led to a sharp rise in support for openly anti-Jewish Islamic fundamentalist groups like Hamas and Islamic Jihad, who are apparently behind the escalation in killings of "collaborators" (many simply for being "irreligious") as well as the recent wave of stabbings of Israeli civilians. Candidates identified with Hamas won six out of eleven seats in chamber of commerce elections in the West Bank town of Hebron in June.

Quietly backed for years by Israel as a weapon against the PLO, Hamas now receives Kuwaiti and Saudi money which formerly went to the PLO. While the bulk of the resistance against the Zionist occupation forces during the *Intifada* was organized by secular forces, notably the Palestinian Communist Party and the left-nationalists of George Habash's Popular Front and Nayef Hawatmeh's Democratic Front, Hamas devoted its energies to a campaign of terror against Palestinian women. For the first time in decades the majority of women in the Gaza Strip (and, increasingly, in the West Bank) have been forced to return to the veil (see "Palestinian Women and the *Intifada*," *Women and Revolution* No. 39, Summer 1991). In Gaza today, as the *New York Times* (22 August) reports: "Only a tiny handful of women venture outdoors without some head covering." Yet the PLO, particularly Arafat's Fatah organization, turned a blind eye to Hamas terror.

Now Hamas has taken to direct attacks against the PLO. On June 2, Hamas and Fatah engaged in a bloody shootout in the streets of Nablus. Hamas thugs then broke into the hospital where one of the wounded Fatah supporters had been taken, stabbing him repeatedly as he lay on the operating table. Angry Fatah activists fumed: "Arafat wanted national unity and asked us to accommodate them and now look how they are acting." But "national unity" with the Islamic fundamentalists is not only the watchword of Fatah. At the start of the *Intifada* the Palestinian Communist Party pledged "cooperation" with "religious currents." Graffiti in Gaza read: "The Communist Party calls on our brothers in Hamas to use a democratic dialogue." Next to it is Hamas' bloodcurdling reply: "Communism is a cancer inside the nation's body and we will cut it out." These Islamic fundamentalist cutthroats are right in tune with Bush's "New Order."

Sygma

Der Spiegel

PLO leader Yasir Arafat embraces Jordan's King Hussein, butcher of 10,000 Palestinians in infamous 1970 Black September massacre (right).

Gamma

Palestinian youth cheer Iraqi Scud attacks against Israel.

Stalinists Sign Up for "New World Order"

Despite the collapse of Stalinism in much of the world, the Palestinian CP continues to have considerable popular support, particularly in the West Bank. While Fatah and the radical-nationalist PFLP and DFLP focused their efforts on recruiting *fedayeen* guerrillas in the refugee camps of Jordan and Lebanon in the 1970s, the Palestinian CP (which was part of the Jordanian CP until 1982) established a mass base through organizations like the General Federation of Labor Unions and the Union of Working Women's Committees. By the time of the *Intifada*, the CP could lay claim to taking "the initiative in establishing the popular and patriotic committees" which directed the uprising. But as Political Bureau member Naim Ashhab conceded, the *Intifada* could not "defeat the invaders and expel the Israeli army, the most powerful in the Middle East; it will take a miracle to do that" (*Information Bulletin*, February 1989). The miracle the Stalinists pray for is "to make Israel and the United States accept the idea of an international conference."

If anything, the Palestinian CP has been more cringing than Arafat in its appeals to imperialism. It was the PCP which, beginning in the mid-1970s, pushed for the PLO to adopt its bantustan "mini-state" line. For years, the Stalinists have focused on the call for an international peace conference. Now the Stalinists have become open apologists for a Pax Americana. Calling for support to a petition campaign in favor of the American proposal, the Hebrew-language weekly of the Israeli CP says: "Even if the organizers of the petition support an American solution...the most important thing is to join them and to help them get as many signatures as possible" (*Zo Haderech*, 5 June).

In swearing fealty to the PLO as the "sole legitimate representative of the Palestinian people," the Palestinian CP codifies its subordination of the workers and peasants to the would-be ruling class of a Palestinian Arab capitalist state. The Palestinian bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaders in turn place their faith in their class brothers among the Arab regimes. As the price for support, first by Nasser's Egypt in the 1960s and then by Kuwait and others, the PLO promised "non-interference in the internal affairs" of the Arab states—even when it meant the slaughter of Palestinians.

The first fruit of this policy was the 1970 Black September massacre of 10,000 Palestinians by Jordan's King Hussein, forcing the PLO to move its military operations to Lebanon. Six years later, it was Syria's turn to attack the PLO there, foreshadowing Assad's latest drive against the Palestinians. Even so, the PLO "welcomes" Assad and embraces Hussein, just as yesterday it embraced the Kuwaiti ruling family, whose fabulous wealth was largely created by Palestinian labor.

Dancing to the nationalists' tune, the Stalinists uphold the "national integrity" of balkanized states carved out by the imperialists. In 1975, the Lebanese CP, which had hundreds of Christian members, forged a bloc with "left" Muslim clan leader Kamal Jumblatt, aborting the prospect of a plebeian upheaval which could have cut across communalist divisions. In a September 1988 Political Bureau statement, it pledged its allegiance to the "unity" and "Arab affinity of Lebanon." LCP general secretary Georges Hawi denounced the "Palestinian resistance" for turning the country into a "playground" (*Al-Nida*, 27 September 1987). And a joint statement by the Jordanian, Palestinian and Israeli CPs called for "a combat alliance of Syria, the Palestinian revolution and the Lebanese patriotic forces" (*Al-Talia*, 26 November 1987). What they got was a "combat alliance" *against* the Palestinians! Yet the Israeli CP nonetheless hails the shotgun "agreement signed between the Lebanese army and the Palestinian forces" (*Zo Haderech*, 10 July).

To counter the Zionists' annexationist "Jordan is Palestine" line, the Jordanian CP echoes the British-installed Hashemite monarch in arguing that "the Palestinians living in Jordan are Jordanians" (Central Committee statement, 7 August 1988). So the Jordanian CP denies the national rights of the Palestinians inside the artificial Hashemite state, the Lebanese CP denounces Palestinian affronts to their bourgeoisie's integrity, and the Palestinian and Israeli CPs invite the butcher Assad into Lebanon! This is what these "fraternal" Stalinist parties call internationalism.

What passes for a Trotskyist alternative in the region is exemplified by the Revolutionary Communist League in Israel, affiliated to Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat, whose erstwhile enthusing over "Arab revolution" guerrillaism gave way to outright liberalism as the USec moved right and the PLO shifted gears. An RCL statement on the Gulf War prominently called for "an immediate end to the bombardment of population concentrations in Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Israel and Lebanon." Behind this "evenhanded" pacifist statement was a blatant capitulation to the Zionist warmongers' hysteria over the Iraqi Scud missile attacks on Tel Aviv. Despite its claim to stand "against the American war, against the American peace," the RCL joined the Stalinists in pacifist pleading for a "cease-fire" and fostering illusions in a Pax Americana with a call for "an international conference...for the solution of all the open political questions, including those of Kuwait and Palestine."

For Trotskyist Parties in the Near East!

This region is a powder keg in more ways than one. While military expenditure worldwide went up 40 percent between 1960 and 1986, in the Near East it shot up *600 percent*. Imperialist

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Sygma

Rabbi Levinger, leader of fascistic "settler" movement in West Bank. Zionist expansionists "create facts" in the Occupied Territories by erecting creation of armed-to-the-teeth "settlements" aimed at driving Palestinians out.

UPI

Young Spartacus

Are You Now Or Have You Ever Been..."PC"?

Racism and Witchhunts on Campus

Krulwich/NY Times

Peter Blakely

Gaorga Bush at University of Michigan commencement bewails supposed "censorship" of campus racists like the murderous thugs who destroyed occupied anti-apartheid shanties at Dartmouth.

In May the President of the United States donned cap and gown to deliver a commencement address to the graduates of the University of Michigan, a speech which grabbed headlines across the nation. Fresh from the slaughter of 100,000 Iraqis, George Bush declared war on "the enemy within." Ludicrously, in the present climate of right-wing triumphalism, he railed against the "notion of 'political correctness'" as an "inquisition," "censorship" and "bullying." "Political extremists roam the land," Bush claimed, "abusing the privilege of free speech, setting citizens against one another on the basis of their class or race." The University of Michigan, like so many other campuses across the country, has been rocked by violent attacks against blacks, gays, Jews and other minorities—and Bush came to give the presidential seal of approval to the race-haters and spur the witchhunt against the new all-purpose bogeyman, the "PC monolith."

What is "PC"? If you want to fight against racist attacks, abortion clinic bombings, union-busting and imperialist war, then maybe you're "politically correct" and a dangerous enemy to Western civilization. Among rad-lib academic circles "PC" used to be a self-conscious and jocular term by which one leftist challenged another's "politically correct" credentials. Some of the most humorless may go a bit overboard—typically this milieu rests on ladies with four legs ("chairpersons") and is served by restaurant workers from outer space ("waitrons"). There are some politics too—an ivory tower battle to undo the real and hideous history of racial, sexual and class oppression through sectoralist and triumphalist glorifications of "*m*ystory." Over the last year however, the term "PC" has become what one writer aptly called "the bloody shirt" of the right wing.

It's also a big-time Big Lie campaign. A mighty media wurlitzer has churned up a mountain of magazine cover stories, op-eds and books screaming that the campuses have been seized by "tenured radicals" and leftist "thought police" subverting wholesome American youth with satanic verses of "multiculturalism." Yet, as anyone who has set foot on a campus in the last five years knows, America's colleges are hardly communist valhallas. In a country with a shrinking economy and a growing non-white population, with "death of Communism" ideologues and yahoos riding high, the campuses have become nasty havens for aggressive racists who've been attacking minorities with alarming intensity.

It is on behalf of these bruising bigots that Bush, whose administration just slapped an anti-abortion gag order on clinic counselors, now grotesquely claims the mantle of "free speech," to incite every retrograde punk to violence by championing their "right" to hurl fighting words like "N----r!" Other prime targets are the few professors and courses in black and women's studies departments, slim gains remaining from the big civil rights and Vietnam antiwar struggles of the '60s.

During the Vietnam War the campuses were organizing centers of political protest, "breeding grounds of subversion" in the eyes of the White House/Pentagon/CIA. Then anti-imperialist youth chanted, "Hey, hey, LBJ, how many kids did you kill today?" This time around, Bush & Co. want to ensure that the universities are brought firmly into line with the "New World Order," with mobs chanting "USA! USA!" and showering confetti on the soldiers and their war criminal commanders. New Left illusions to the contrary, petty-bourgeois students are not inherently radical but can swing all the way to the fascist far right. To mold this generation, the bourgeoisie's agenda includes weeding out anything remotely pink from the curriculum, purging '60s leftovers from the faculty, driving minorities out of higher education in the name of "maintaining standards" and inciting straight-out racist violence. Hitler had a similar program for universities in his "New Order"—*Gleichschaltung*—the forcible repression of independent thought and action, a lockstep march to total conformity.

In effete Harvard Yard, just days before the fascist David Duke rode into town this spring, an ultra-conservative creep hoisted the Confederate flag of slavery to challenge the "tyranny" of the "politically correct." In April, three student members of the University of Chicago Gay and Lesbian Alliance received death threat letters covered with a lethal neurotoxin absorbable through the skin. In Long Island, Jermaine Ewell, a black high school youth, was beaten within an inch of his life by a posse of white Hofstra students for talking to a white girl. On and off campus, this is the real face of the anti-"PC" crusade.

Just what is it that these "PC" hunters who rail about constraints on their "free speech" (yet rule the country and *own* the media) want to say? Take the case of Douglas Hann, who was recently expelled from Brown University after he stood in a courtyard screaming a string of vile racial epithets at blacks, Jews and gays. He threatened one black woman, telling her that "My parents own you people." Sure enough, less than two weeks after Hann's outburst, racist graffiti and white-supremacy leaflets began appearing around campus.

We shed no tears for the expulsion of this pig, but neither do we call for speech codes or reliance on university administrations to fight racism, as many misguided leftists do. Ninety-nine out of a hundred times, speech codes will be used against the left and anti-racists. Reinstating Hann has become a reactionary cause célèbre, uniting right-wing Senator Henry Hyde (author of the amendment that cut off Medicaid funding for abor-

The Big Lie campaign: bourgeois media whips up witchhunt to drive red-libs off the campuses.

tions) with "civil libertarian" *Village Voice* columnist Nat Hentoff, who says Hann needs to be "educated." The kind of learning Hann needs is a tête-à-tête with the ground, not via the Socratic method that Hentoff has in mind.

"PC"-Bashers: A Who's Who

The opening salvo in the anti-"PC" crusade was fired by Allan Bloom with his 1987 bestseller, *The Closing of the American Mind*. Bloom and other dim stars in the far-right firmament seethe that their beloved canon, the traditional "Western Civilization" course, has undergone a minor facelift at a few schools like Stanford. For them it is high treason that a small number of courses are being taught by profs who don't see history as a glorious struggle of white Europeans and Americans to fulfill their manifest destiny. A sampling from Bloom's book: "[The] exploration and discovery of the New World produced, among other wonders, the United States.... For the poor, the weak, the oppressed—the overwhelming majority of mankind—it is the promise of salvation." The controversy further heated up this spring when the Smithsonian had the chutzpah to buck Custer's "the only good Indian is a dead Indian" credo in the narration to an art exhibit on "The West as America."

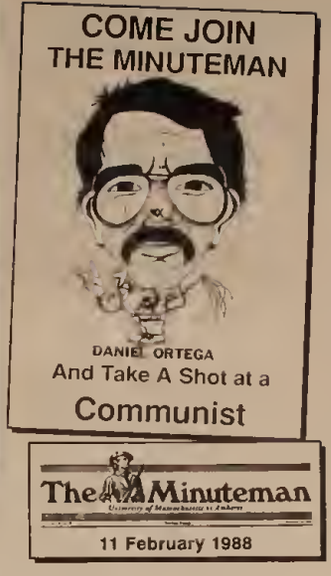
Dinesh D'Souza, author of *Illiberal Education*, is presently one of the most widely quoted of the "PC"-bashers, all of whom like to falsely portray themselves as under siege in the ivory towers. According to D'Souza, this is the result of a "victims' revolution" which is lowering academic standards and resulting in college admissions where "race-based preferences often have the effect of misplacing black and Hispanic students into academic environments where they are dramatically outmatched by their classmates, and this contributes to extremely high dropout rates among these groups." To bleach the campuses of "misplaced" dark-skinned students, native of India and WASP wannabee D'Souza embraces direct hit methods. D'Souza is a founding editor of the *Dartmouth Review*, the flagship newspaper of the campus ultra-right whose staff made headlines for slamming sledgehammers against anti-apartheid activists occupying a symbolic shantytown on the Dartmouth Green.

D'Souza's editorial achievements include publishing an interview with a "former" KKK leader (illustrated with a staged photograph of a black man hanging from a tree on the Dartmouth campus) and an article on affirmative action written in what was supposed to be a parody of black speech ("Now we be comin' to Darmut and be up over our 'fros in studies, but we still be not graduatin' Phi Beta Kappa"). For these collegiate efforts D'Souza made it into the big leagues and was hired as a policy analyst by the Reagan administration and as Bush's presidential campaign "director of Catholic votes."

Scratch the surface of this crowd and you find a global web of Nazis, death-squad terrorists, their academic apologists, and their CIA moneybags. D'Souza and Bloom are both on the tit

Susan Moniak

Dinesh D'Souza, founding editor of *Dartmouth Review*—flagship publication for campus contras like UMass Amherst's *Minuteman*.



of the Olin Foundation, whose goal is fighting "the creeping stranglehold that socialism has gained here." The Institute for Educational Affairs is another source of cash, and intelligence agency and big business connections. IEA is a creature of William Simon and Irving Kristol (who has been exposed as an "indirect" recipient of CIA monies). They overlap with Accuracy in Academia (AIA), which is allied through its parent group (Accuracy in Media) with the Moonie-owned *Washington Times*. Their leader, Reed Irvine, networks with the World Anti-Communist League, an outfit that brings together fascists and right-wing militants from Taiwan and South Korea to Salvadoran death squads. In June AIA sponsored a snidely titled "Politically Incorrect: Fighting the Campus Thought Police" conference with special invited guest Dinesh D'Souza and topics like "Give War a Chance" and "The Truth Hurts" by white-supremacist (and tenured) Berkeley anthropology professor Vincent Sarich.

A few years back Accuracy in Academia rang the bell for a new McCarthyite witchhunt on the campuses. AIA wildly claimed that 10,000 Marxist and 35,000 liberal professors were busy polluting the highly impressionable minds of college students. AIA focused on the campuses as the "final redoubt" from which pinkos "will have to be dragged one day, kicking and screaming" (AIA's *Campus Report*, September 1986). They also libeled the Spartacist League as "cop killers," for which we took this sordid outfit to court in 1987 and forced a full retraction of their deadly lies. AIA functioned as privatized Reaganite witch-hunters in the '80s. Now, in the wake of his big kill of Iraqis, Bush is personally leading the charge for an open governmental assault against domestic opposition, beginning on campus.

The Destruction of American Education

Bloom and other rightist ideologues blame the left for "growing illiteracy among undergraduates entering the university." What bunk! Columnist Russell Baker quipped on the multicultural curriculum dispute, "The question is not what bias should be applied when teaching history, but why our schools seem incapable of teaching any history at all, biased or otherwise." The last half-serious effort to improve education in this country came after the Russians launched Sputnik in 1957, when a wave of government-sponsored hysteria produced a concerted effort to teach more math and science. But any commitment to educating the population went down with the decline of the American empire, particularly its losing dirty war against the Vietnamese workers and peasants.

The election of Ronald Reagan in 1980, a president whose decisions were apparently made by his astrologer, signaled a renewed assault on education. Back then the "PC" demon was known as "secular humanism." Fundamentalists and other yahoos were funded and encouraged by the Reagan administration to attack public school teaching of evolutionary science, to bring school prayer into public schools, to get tax credits for parochial schools and to ban textbooks these bigots didn't like. After a decade of this mean-spirited racist and anti-scientific indoctrination, no wonder American schoolchildren ranked second to last in a survey by the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement comparing ninth grade science students from 16 countries.

In 1987, Reagan's Department of ducation discovered the dreaded "PC" in a widely used high school course on the Holocaust, pulled all funding for the project and canned the curriculum. What was wrong with it? "UNFAIR TO NAZIS" blared the New York *Daily News* (20 September 1987) in a front-page exposé and revealed the review panel's findings that the course failed to present "the Nazi point of view" or "that of the Ku Klux Klan." The "PC"-bashers want to abuse the right of "free speech" by claiming that *genocide* is just another point of view. Indeed, a motto of D'Souza's *Dartmouth Review* was, "Genocide is never having to say you're sorry."

Reagan's education secretary, William Bennett, made his debut in office by announcing that too many people go to college and slashing children's school lunches. Following the example of their brethren in Washington, the chairman of the Bicentennial Commission for the U.S. Constitution in California got the Commission to sponsor a textbook that called American black slaves "pick-aninnies" and claimed slaveowners were the real victims of the system.

University of Wisconsin, November 1987: hundreds protest racist attack on black and Jewish students.

All across the domestic front Reagan and Bush's vigilante squads scrutinized public school districts for the use of textbooks with so-called "atheistic" and subversive deviations. Tennessee fundamentalists sued a school board for reading "heathen" stories like *Goldilocks, The Wizard of Oz* and *Cinderella* in classes. In California, *Little Red Riding Hood* was pulled from the shelves in one school district because a heroine who scampers off to grandmother's house with a bottle of wine in her picnic basket conveys "the wrong message" about alcohol to children! In Mobile, Alabama a judge banned 45 textbooks and declared "secular humanism" a religion, so the religious and racist dogma of creationism must get equal time in "science" classes.

This racist, right-wing indoctrination has provided fertile soil for the growth of ignorance and bigotry. The National Institute Against Prejudice and Violence reports soaring racist attacks on American campuses: 250 incidents in 1988 and over 300 in 1989, and that's just what's reported. A survey released earlier this year by the National Opinion Research Center questioning racial attitudes among non-black respondents showed the extent of prejudice:

continued on page 8

Spartacus Youth Club Forums

Bankrupt Stalinism Opens Floodgates to Capitalist Restoration

Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution in USSR!

Speaker: Joseph Seymour, SL Central Committee

Saturday, Sept. 21, 7:30 p.m.
UC Berkeley
126 Barrows
For more information, (415) 839-0851
OAKLAND

Thursday, Sept. 19, 5:30 p.m.
SF State University
Student Union B112
For more information (415) 777-9367
SAN FRANCISCO

Friday, Sept. 6, 7:30 p.m.
Barnard College
Lehman Auditorium, Altschul Hall
(#1 IRT Train to 116th/Broadway)
For more information, (212) 267-1025
NEW YORK CITY

"PC?"...

(continued from page 7)

53 percent thought blacks were less intelligent than whites, 56 percent thought blacks were more violence-prone, and 78 percent thought they were more likely to "prefer to live off welfare" and less likely to want to be self-supporting!

"PC" Muddleheads Run Amok

This is the ugly background to the restrictive "speech codes" and "sensitivity training" that "PC" academics and anti-racist students have campaigned for and instituted at many universities. The problem with this strategy is it disarms the victims by fostering illusions in the supposed "neutrality" of the racist university administrations and the cops. It gives enhanced power to those institutions to act against, for instance, leftists who might rightly protest Colin Powell or Schwarzkopf and call these imperialist pigs "imperialist pigs." What's more, *this strategy doesn't work.*

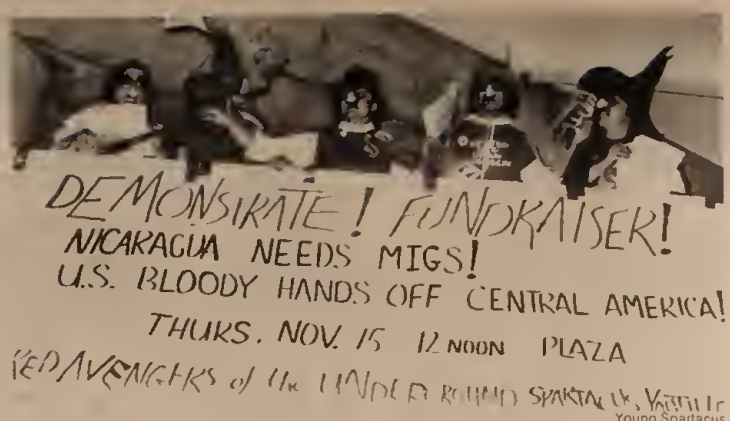
In 1987 at the University of Wisconsin in Madison, where frat rats had their "fun" holding mock slave auctions and partying in blackface, mass student outrage and opposition to these creeps was channeled into calls for suspension of three malefactors and enforced sensitivity training. After passing a preachy tolerance seminar aimed at modifying their behavior they were reinstated—and celebrated their return by immediately beating up black and Jewish students! The Spartacus Youth Club participated in campus demonstrations against these scum, calling for mobilizing students and labor in militant action to drive the race-terrorists off campus. As we said at the time, "If one of these Nazi-inspired punks were nabbed and displayed naked with a yellow stripe down his back it would do more than a thousand 'race relationship workshops'."

By dealing with racist violence like it's just a bad idea they can "ban," the "PC" crowd has given ground to the right wing on the issue of free speech. Although this milieu is attacked as "Marxists," they are basically liberals whose politics run to hard *anti-communism* at times, and they make some strange bedfellows. "Radical" feminists ape Moral Majorityite Jerry Falwell in the crusade against "pornography." For that matter, "PC" comes straight from the tradition of Stalinism, from enforcing puritanical sensibilities, to persecuting and silencing *left* opposition—in the service of a "popular front" with sections of the bourgeoisie. So we do appreciate the case of columnist Alexander Cockburn, who wrote in an excellent article against the "PC"-bashing rabble that he himself was gagged by "PC" guardians of the podium at Reed College.

Like *Workers Vanguard*, Cockburn has denounced the anti-day-care hysteria and its false, lurid claims of child abuse that have ruined innocent people's lives and which aim to remove women from the workplace by closing day-care centers. Cockburn wrote in the *Nation* (27 May):

> "The left in Portland tends to our definition of the P.C. side of the ledger, and not long before the date of my speech I got a call from one of the event's organizers saying there was an uproar about my analysis in these pages ["Beat the Devil," February 12, 1990] of the day-care hysteria.... I was told that I had been insufficiently sensitive to 'the reality of ritual abuse,' which was certainly true since, re day care, I denied its existence. So the Reed folk said I could no longer make a speech.... I did end up in Portland that weekend and found what it was like to be deemed politically incorrect. Even an invitation to sit on a panel discussing the victory of UNO in the Nicaraguan elections, which had occurred only days earlier, was countermanded by David Linder and associates 'because of the controversy'."

Only the right wing, which seeks to purge and silence all opposition, can benefit from such idiotic and cowardly censorship. There is a proud tradition—with which we openly solidarize—of scathing argument and even rude polemics in the history of the revolutionary movement. It is through such clash of opinion that one actually learns something. We've certainly enjoyed our decade-long political scrap with Cockburn over vital issues for the left and labor movement, such as why Marxists must oppose imperialist sanctions and defend Iraq against the American bourgeoisie (see, e.g., "Pinko Journalist Turns Yellow," *Workers Vanguard* No. 518, 18 January). Ten years ago, Cockburn's more polite reference to us was "Marxism-Leninism-Bonkerism" when we enraged the popular-front left by our un-"PC" call for the military victory of Salvadoran leftists and opposition to a negotiated sellout. Poor Alex just ran afoul of the same foul crowd, and we can't help asking, "Who's 'bonkers' now?"



Most definitely not "PC": Red Avengers of Underground SYL lampoon feminist-led witchhunt of Trotskyists at San Francisco State University.

Workers Vanguard, the Spartacist League and the Spartacus Youth Clubs are most assuredly *not* "PC." For our hard commie politics, e.g., our forthright defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack and internal counter-revolution, our opposition to the craven, Democratic Party-ensconced "left," our opposition to government intervention into the Teamsters union, we too have earned the enmity of muddleheaded "PC" rad-liberals.

In 1984 at San Francisco State University we were "banned" by "PC" beansprout totalitarians. Campus feminists led by Julianne Malvaux couldn't tolerate our Marxist politics and deemed our constant exposure of their support to the loser Democrat Mondale an "assault." We offered a lesson in dialectics, asking: "What is the business end of a female great white shark? The answer depends on whether one is a horny male great white shark or a deeply committed feminist skindiver." They wanted a red-hunt...and in willful mockery of their efforts we gave them one, going underground as the "Red Avengers" and surfacing in disguise to hold fund-raising rallies for embattled Nicaragua to procure Soviet MIGs. In the end we defeated these would-be McCarthyites, as we promised we would in our first underground communiqué:

> "The Spartacus Youth League of San Francisco State University has been driven underground by gestapo persons and rabid doberman pinschers of the female persuasion crawling between the toes of the FBI. We go underground because sinister elements in the student government and the Women's Center, bookburners inspired by sentiments at bottom not different than those of CIA tool Pinochet of Chile, leave us no recourse if we are to distribute our Marxist literature.... Venceremos!"

Marxism vs. Idealism

"PC" thinking is a form of idealism, a false consciousness that obscures the material basis of oppression. The current trend among leftish academics, particularly now that many are "rethinking Marxism" (the title of one voguish journal) is to advance a sectoralist study of one's own sexuality or ethnicity. "Deconstructionists" seek to expose the injustices of Western civilization as presented in classic texts. Feminists write "herstory" and black nationalists write "Afrocentric" curricula. An example of how "PC" tinkering serves to mask the hideous reality of capitalism is seen in the current debate over use of the word "slave" vs. "enslaved person" in school textbooks. In a debate on this question in *Newsday* (16 August), Henry Louis Gates Jr. wrote:

> "...if your class has a tendency to think of slavery as an elective vocation, I suppose the longer phrase might help them. But there's a trade-off. After all, a powerful tradition of abolitionist rhetoric turned on the awful fact that the condition of slavery truly negated one's very personhood. 'You have seen how a man was made a slave,' Frederick Douglass famously wrote, pouncing on the contrast; 'you shall see how a slave was made a man'."

As Marxists our aim is to change reality, not merely the perception of it. Thus as opposed to empty "sensitivity training" for racist thugs, we have initiated united-front labor/black mobilizations, enrolling the power of the integrated union movement, that have stopped fascist terrorists like the KKK and skinhead/Nazis in their tracks. And to fight the injustices of the present it is important to understand the past—a history of *class struggle*. To that end we publish a pamphlet series on *Black History and the Class Struggle* so that today's fighters can reclaim the lessons that are deliberately omitted by the educational system to perpetuate bourgeois ideology and the racist status quo.

A pernicious aspect of the "PC" curriculum debate is the tendency for each oppressed constituency to elevate its own particular race, sexuality or ethnicity above all others. Since chattel slavery, the ideology of race has been the white-supremacist justification for a whole system of exploitation where blacks are integrated into production but kept forcibly at the bottom. For Third World nationalists and their rad-lib cheerleaders to present racial differences as fundamental and insurmountable is to provide a "PC" gloss on the ethnic polarizations fueled by the white ruling class to keep the producers of the wealth of this country divided.

As Leninists, our aim is to unite the entire working class to fight the special oppression of blacks, women and other minorities. As an example, when the Nazis threatened to storm the Gay Pride Day parade in Chicago in 1982, we mobilized steel workers, Holocaust survivors and the black community to defeat their common enemy and defend themselves through a united-front action. The battles at hand require the leadership of a multiracial workers party that will act as a "tribune of the people" in championing the cause of all the oppressed, fighting to achieve black liberation through revolutionary integration in a socialist society. It is by joining the struggle to build such a party that radical-minded students and campus workers (and even professors) can help to unify the working class to overthrow this whole rotten system and open the door to human freedom. ■

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Furor Over CUNY Prof. Jeffries

White Racist Backlash Against Anti-Semitic Demagogue

AP

Berman/NY Times

Professor Leonard Jeffries fuels racial polarization in NYC. Supporters and JDL opponents met him at Kennedy Airport (right).

As New York City continued to fester during this long hot summer, becoming ever more racially polarized, the tabloid gutter press seized upon the anti-Semitic statements of Leonard Jeffries, chairman of the African-American studies department at City College, to fuel white racist fear and loathing of black people. Indeed, counterrevolution in the Soviet Union was the only news to push Jeffries off the front page.

While ostensibly addressing the controversy over "multicultural" textbook revision at a conference in Albany on July 20, Jeffries seized the opportunity to rave about a "conspiracy, planned and plotted and programmed out of Hollywood, where people called Greenberg and Weisberg and Trigliani and whatnot...had a particular control over the movies" and together with "their financial partners, the Mafia, put together a system of destruction of black people." While citing just about every ethnic group for the horrors of the slave trade, Jeffries singled out Jews for their role as a merchant class. (He whitewashes any mention of the African kings who got their cut selling their own and other African peoples.) Denouncing right-wing Assistant U.S. Secretary for Education Diane Ravitch as a "sophisticated Texas Jew," who had "blinded us on the attack coming from the Jewish community—systematic, unrelenting," Jeffries blamed the Jews for black oppression.

Leonard Jeffries is an anti-Semitic bigot. But the people hounding him are even more virulent bigots, and they have the prerogatives of state power. Following the *New York Post*'s 5 August "exposé" of Jeffries' remarks, an enormous outcry was raised by everyone from Senator Al D'Amato (a racist pig who called blacks "animals") to Governor Cuomo, to the *New York Times*, to State Education Commissioner Thomas Sobol, calling for disciplinary action against Jeffries. The fascistic Zionist Jewish Defense League (which cut its teeth as a paramilitary anti-black organization in Brooklyn) demonstrated against Jeffries and lynched him in effigy at JFK airport upon his return from Ghana two weeks ago.

A City College faculty committee criticized Jeffries but recommended that no action be taken against him—however, final word rests with the university officials and trustees. State or university disciplinary action against Leonard Jeffries would not only be wrong, but obscene. City College is also home to Professor Michael Levin, a white-supremacist who claims that "the average black is significantly less intelligent than the average white" (*New York Observer*, 7 May 1990), and calls for black youth to be herded into segregated police-patrolled subway cars and barred from white-owned stores. Levin raises only a few eyebrows and receives not a fraction of the tabloid outrage directed at Jeffries.

Leonard Jeffries' method is to put a plus where Levin puts a minus. But let's face it, Jeffries' whacked-out theories about melanin conferring biological and intellectual superiority on "sun people" of African descent would never get that wide a hearing. Now the white racist backlash has caused many blacks to close ranks and rally 'round him, and that's too bad—because *Leonard Jeffries is an enemy of black struggle*. For all his talk of a conspiracy against black America, he hobnobs with the police, the armed fist of the racist ruling class, and last week addressed the National Black Police Officers Association in Newark.

Jeffries has degenerated from a crackpot cultural nationalist to an anti-Semitic demagogue. When in 1982 the Spartacist League initiated the Labor/Black Mobilization that stopped the threatened KKK march in Washington, D.C., Professor Jeffries enthusiastically endorsed our call to action, both individually and on behalf of the African-American Studies Department. Yet by 1988, when approached by the Partisan Defense Committee for endorsement of our call to action against the Klan and skinheads' "White Pride Day" in Philadelphia, Jeffries disgustingly retorted that the KKK was "a white man's problem." Fortunately, large numbers of trade unionists, blacks, Jews, gays and others didn't buy this lie, and the Klan did *not* ride in Philly on November 5th.

The ridiculous belief, expressed by Jeffries and other pork-barreling black nationalist demagogues, that the American ruling class is comprised of Jews and Italians, is a testimony to the pathetic state of what passes for black leadership today. The *real* stagemasters of racist oppression, as George Herbert Walker Bush himself could tell you, do not even allow Jews or Italians into their social clubs.

In the absence of a revolutionary socialist alternative, the preachers of nationalist despair play upon the increasing frustration of the black population, fueling murderous ethnic violence such as what's boiled over in the streets of Crown Heights against the Hassidim. Jeffries is one more voice in the chorus that's leading this city to race war—a war in which the oppressed black population in a racist white country can only lose. Leaflets went up all around Harlem declaring that "the Black community would hold the *Post* and Jewish people responsible for any threat, misquotes, slander or acts of violence" against Jeffries. The *Amsterdam News* fulminated that:

> "In order to discredit the leadership of Jesse Jackson, call him an anti-Semite for referring to New York as 'Hymietown.' Cast Louis Farrakhan as an anti-Semite for referring to the 'gutter religion of the Jews.' Repudiate Jeffries for referring to Metro, Golden, Mayer [sic] as Jews. In the world of anti-Semitism, it is a sufficient act of anti-Semitism to call a Jew a Jew."

This stuff *is* anti-Semitic—and more grist for the Zionist propaganda mills. Historically, American Jews were represented in great numbers in the labor movement, the Communist Party, and in the front lines of the black freedom struggle. It was people with names like Schwerner and Goodman who joined with black youth like Chaney and gave their lives to fight Jim Crow in Mississippi. But times have changed. Particularly in the aftermath of Israel's 1967 war against its Arab neighbors, American Jewry has lurched to the right and Zionism is now politically dominant. As we wrote about Jesse Jackson's disgusting "Hymietown" remark:

> "American capitalism tended to set the Jewish and black communities against one another. In a number of U.S. cities the black ghetto exists today where the Jewish ghetto of East European immigrants existed yesterday. Thus, a black ghetto dweller often identifies Jews with his landlord or shopkeeper...the oppression of blacks and Jews in the U.S. is fundamentally different. Jews in the U.S. today are generally well-off and comfortable, while blacks are impoverished, miserable, brutalized by the cops and forced to live in ghetto hellholes. At the same time, Jews, even if relatively privileged, have a deep sense of historic oppression."
>
> —*WV* No. 351, 30 March 1984

It is a measure of the terminal decay of American capitalism that communists are the *only* people fighting for integration of the schools and any semblance of equality, while bigotry and preachers of pseudo-scientific racial supremacy take hold on the campuses. ■

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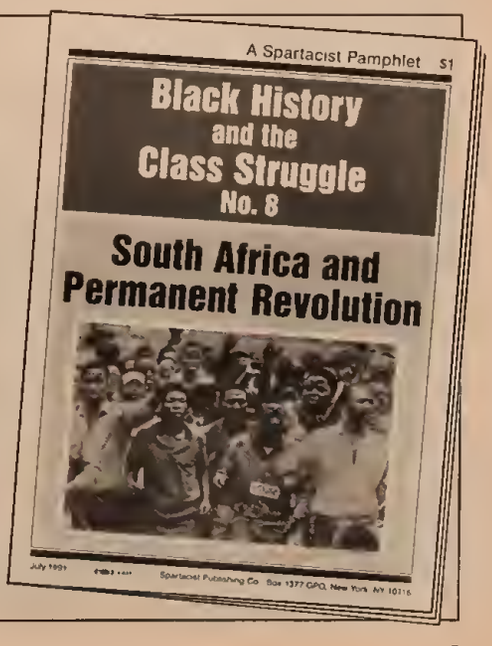

Soviet Union...

(continued from page 1)

the West. He is connected to a far-right, racist outfit in the U.S. called the "Free Congress Foundation" (whose East European operatives include notorious Nazi collaborators) which takes credit for "training" him and his staff on how to seize power. His laws are being drawn up by advisers supplied by the U.S. government. One of Yeltsin's first acts as Moscow party chief in the mid-'80s was to legitimize the anti-Semitic Pamyat fascists when they emerged from their ratholes. While he promises working people that the free market will bring them prosperity, in fact it will lead to the elimination of what every Soviet worker considered a right until recently: a stable job, free health care, an education for their children—gains which all rest on the collectivized economy.

The alternatives posed before the Soviet bureaucratically degenerated workers state have always been: counterrevolution or Trotskyism. Today Stalinism is dead. The key to frustrating the bloody plans of Bush, Yeltsin and their counterrevolutionary cohorts is the early forging of a Trotskyist nucleus in the Soviet Union, regrouping those elements in the workers movement, the army and throughout society who would fight for the program of October.

Perestroika Coup Fiasco

As the crowd of yuppies, students and assorted Russian nationalists, including fascists and priests, gathered at the start of the coup outside the Russian parliament, Yeltsin's "White House," a call on Moscow workers to clean out this counterrevolutionary rabble was in order. Yet the coup plotters not only did not mobilize the workers, they ordered everybody to stay at work and at home. The working class did, and Yeltsin's call for a protest strike fell flat. But the free-enterprise "cooperativists" and petty-bourgeois self-styled "democrats" intoxicated by the allure of dollars and D-marks thronged into the streets. And the impotent "state of emergency committee" (GKChP) did nothing. Any class-conscious Soviet worker who saw the urgent need to halt the capitalist-restorationist forces would certainly have been against Yeltsin, but critical of the coup—which wouldn't stop Yeltsin, and was therefore doomed to failure.

The ineptitude of the coup plotters astounded even imperialist commentators. It was reported that they had ordered 250,000 handcuffs from a factory in Pskov as well as stacks of blank arrest orders, but they failed even to seize the man who would clearly be the focus for a pro-imperialist countercoup. Washington spokesmen ascribed this failure to follow the first rule of coup-making and arrest Yeltsin to a "miracle." They didn't even cut off his phones, and incredibly allowed TV to report Yeltsin's appeals for soldiers to disobey their orders! But these apparent stupidities were no mere oversight. The coup authors staked everything on a neutral acceptance of the coup by the imperialists, hinting that Gorbachev might be brought back and leaving Washington's darling Yeltsin untouched. The GKChP's statement vowed to "support private enterprise" and to observe every treacherous commitment to the imperialists by Gorbachev. Its chief economic spokesman Tizyakov insisted that "the policy of the reforms toward a market economy will not be reversed." There was no mention of "Marxism-Leninism," "communism," or even "socialism."

Anatoly Sapronyenkov

Hardliners of the OFT labor federation brandish portrait of Stalin during May Day parade this year. Illusions that any sector of Stalinist bureaucracy would resist counterrevolution are now brutally exposed.

For this was a "perestroika coup." For months there had been calls for a crackdown coming from hardline Stalinist/nationalist "patriots" like the "black colonels" of Soyuz. But what moved the coup leaders, all of them Gorbachev appointees, to action was the imminent signing of a new union treaty, which would have ceded significant central powers to the republics. The coup was not so much by the military, which largely stayed out of the fray, but by top administrative and party hacks of the central apparat whose bureaucratic fiefdoms were threatened. Their avowed program was martial law to keep the USSR from breaking apart, which comes down to perestroika minus glasnost: the introduction of the market but not so fast, and shut up. Thus one of the "gang of eight," Prime Minister Pavlov, was the Gorbachev regime's main spokesman for the new law allowing widescale privatization of industry, and was notorious for tripling food prices last spring. At the time, he told a British journalist:

> "It must be very firm and say that privatisation has always been on the agenda of economic reform, and it was always, for obvious reasons, very closely linked with the liberalisation of prices.... We want to bring about the normal situation of capital as in other countries."
> —London *Independent* (18 April)

Not exactly a program to inspire Soviet workers to support the plotters' bid for power! The coup leaders conspicuously avoided any mention of the October Revolution, or for that matter even the "Great Patriotic War." Instead they looked to the traditions of the tsarist empire—which Lenin called a "prison house of peoples"—declaring: "Our multinational people have lived for centuries, proud of their Motherland." But in appealing to Russian nationalism, Yeltsin held the stronger hand.

Nor did the coup organizers manage to assuage Washington and Wall Street. As soon as Bush took a hard line backing Yeltsin (and incidentally demanding Gorbachev's return), the coup began unraveling. In the aftermath, there has been a lot of hoopla about the outpouring of popular support for "democracy." While up to 150,000 (out of a city of ten million), undoubtedly including many workers, turned out at one point to hear Yeltsin, the fabled barricades outside the "White House" were purely symbolic, generally having only a few thousand hanging around them. "They were mainly young ones, like myself, students, intellectuals, professionals," said one participant. In addition to a couple dozen Russian republic police, Yeltsin's bodyguards were rent-a-cops from a private security company (like the strikebreaking Pinkertons in the U.S.). At most there were a dozen tanks, dispatched by pro-Yeltsin commanders, in front of the building. Speaking of a possible assault, a Yeltsin "commander" said: "Of course, we could not hold them off for more than five minutes." But there was no serious assault.

Emboldened by the paralysis of the coup leaders, the reactionary mob heaved Molotov cocktails at young tank drivers. And then, barely two and a half days after the action began, the army withdrew. At this point frenzied Yeltsinites began rampaging through the city. A lieutenant colonel who attended the demonstrations was shocked: "I am surprised by how many of the young are thirsting for blood." Their first target was the statue outside KGB headquarters of Feliks Dzerzhinsky, a Polish Communist and founder of the Cheka, the Bolsheviks' fighting arm against White Guard subversion. The next day they toppled the statue of Yakov Sverdlov, a Jewish Communist and first president of the Soviet republic. There, the pro-Hitler NTS distributed a leaflet that called for the very measures that Yeltsin decreed the next day. The Russian Orthodox Patriarch presided over the burial of three who died assaulting the tanks. British TV reported, "The images today were of old Russia, pre-revolutionary, a country throwing itself back 75 years."

In the wake of the botched coup, Yeltsin, the former bureaucratic hack turned capitalist-restorationist, moved quickly and ruthlessly against his opponents. In the best tradition of Stalin, Yeltsin dragged the politically enfeebled Soviet "president" Gorbachev before jeering members of the Russian parliament to crudely humiliate him. Aping the tsar, the "democratic" Russian president Yeltsin haughtily issued a *ukase* (decree) banning activities of the Communist Party on Russian soil and outlawed *Pravda* and other CP newspapers. The CPSU Central Committee and Moscow offices were sealed and surrounded by bloodthirsty gangs. Flaunting his power over Gorbachev, Yeltsin named the new head of the Soviet army, KGB and interior ministry, who promptly outlawed Communist Party activity in these pillars of state power. The next day Gorbachev not only resigned as general secretary of the CPSU but called for dissolution of the disintegrating party and confiscation of its property.

Yeltsin may wield the pen and the microphone, but his orders came on the direct line from the White House on the Potomac to the "White House" on the Moskva. Less than 24 hours after Bush expressed dissatisfaction with Gorbachev's appointment of General Moiseyev as the new defense minister, Moiseyev was out. The Russian demagogue Yeltsin is portrayed as a great hero of "democracy." This "democrat" is calling for the formation of a new Russian army, the "National Guard," whose first decoration would be the Order of St. George—the tsarist emblem and banner of the Russian fascists. A former White House official called Yeltsin "a Slavic edition of Huey Long" (*San Francisco Chronicle*, 22 August), the right-wing Louisiana demagogue who in the 1930s used populist rhetoric to build up a personal, authoritarian regime. Even many pro-Western, "free market" intellectuals in the Soviet Union fear Yeltsin as a potential dictator who will ride roughshod over them. Like Poland's Lech Walesa, admirer of the nationalist dictator Pilsudski, he will try to use his popularity to impose capitalist "shock treatment" on the workers.

Reuters

Coup organizers' press conference: (from left) Tizyakov, Starodubtsev, Pugo, Yanayev and Baklanov.

The imperialist media are exultant, hailing "The Second Russian Revolution." The *New York Times* sneeringly refers to V.I. Lenin as "little more than a demagogue with a lisp." (The *Times* is so intent on portraying a counterrevolution victorious that its copious coverage never once mentions the Soviet workers.) But in the Soviet Union, even some of the more liberal Yeltsinites are begin-

Reuters

Uniformed Pamyat fascists burn Soviet flag outside Communist Party headquarters.

ning to get nervous about reaping the whirlwind they have sown. *Ogonyok* editor Vitaly Korotich is now warning of a "third force, which may be represented by certain young people of the fascist persuasion." The leaders of the "democratic revolution" are already promoting the tsarist watchword of "Russia, one and indivisible." Leningrad mayor Anatoly Sobchak lambastes centrifugal forces pulling apart the USSR: "This is insanity. We are a nuclear country." Yeltsin aides talk of destabilization of the economy and warn Ukrainian secessionists that "these lands were settled by Russians."

Meanwhile, thousands of Muscovites have been lining up to visit the Lenin mausoleum, worried that this may be their last opportunity to pay their respects to the founder of the Soviet state.

Fight Capitalist Enslavement!

For decades, the Stalinists and imperialists have joined together in identifying the system of bureaucratic rule installed by Stalin and his henchmen in 1924 with Leninism. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Bolsheviks under Lenin and Trotsky carried out the October Revolution as the first step of the world socialist revolution. Backward Russia, the "weak link" of imperialist rule, was the scene of the first workers revolution, but it had to be completed by the proletariat in the advanced imperialist countries if it was to sustain itself and lead to socialism, a society of equality based on abundance. It was on the basis of the defeat of the European revolutions, centrally in Germany, in the 1918-23 postwar period, that the usurpers Stalin/Bukharin "discovered" the profoundly anti-Marxist notion that it was possible to construct "socialism in one country." Trotsky denounced this nationalist dogma as writing off the world revolution, and predicted it would be the undoing of the Soviet Union if the bureaucracy was not swept away by the resurgent working class.

In his decisive analysis of Stalinism, *The Revolution Betrayed* (1937), Trotsky asked prophetically, "Will the bureaucrat devour the workers' state, or will the working class clean up the bureaucrat?" In developing this, he elaborated the program of proletarian political revolution led by a Bolshevik party to re-establish Soviet democracy. The planned economy would be subordinated to the will of the workers, freeing it from the arbitrary zigzags of the faceless, grey bureaucrats. And instead of the conservative anti-revolutionary policies of Stalin's Kremlin, the Soviet Union would again become the headquarters of international socialist revolution. He also spelled out the bleak alternative:

> "If—to adopt a second hypothesis—a bourgeois party were to overthrow the ruling Soviet caste, it would find no small number of ready servants among the present bureaucrats, administrators, technicians, directors, party secretaries and privileged upper circles in general. A purgation of the state apparatus would, of course, be necessary in this case too. But a bourgeois restoration would probably have to clean out fewer people than a revolutionary party. The chief task of the new power would be to restore private property in the means of production. First of all, it would be necessary to create conditions for the development of strong farmers from the weak collective farms, and for converting the strong collectives into producers' cooperatives of the bourgeois type—into agricultural stock companies. In the sphere of industry, denationalization would begin with the light industries and those producing food. The planning principle would be converted for the transitional period into a series of compromises between state power and individual 'corporations'—potential proprietors, that is, among the Soviet captains of industry, the émigré former proprietors and foreign capitalists. Notwithstanding that the Soviet bureaucracy has gone far toward preparing a bourgeois restoration, the new regime would have to introduce in the matter of forms of property and methods of industry not a reform, but a social revolution."

Every Soviet worker, collective farmer, pensioner and soldier will immediately recognize that this process of counterrevolution is well under way. The state monopoly of foreign trade has been scuttled, the planned economy abandoned. In their stead, imperialist corporations from Pepsi-Cola to Chevron oil have made encroachments on the Soviet economy. The Russian federation's new "land reform" lays the basis for destroying the *kolkhoz* collectives, promising rural poverty for the many and riches for the new kulaks. "Cooperative" profiteers and black market speculators have grown explosively in the vacuum of the collapsed distribution system. But this is only the beginning. Yeltsin now intends to ram through capitalist restoration at breakneck pace. Yavlinsky, co-author of the Harvard-designed "grand bargain" to sell out the Soviet Union to the imperialists, is now in charge of the economy. But for the Soviet working masses, the "magic of the marketplace" holds the promise of hunger and homelessness. In an insiders' newsletter, the major Wall Street brokerage firm Merrill Lynch hints at the truth being hidden from the Soviet masses:

> "Although there is likely to be a surge in optimism among the Soviet people as a new political order emerges, expectations about the new order's ability to turn around the economy are likely to exceed what is realistically possible. If the experience of eastern Europe is any indication, the next several years will be painful for the Soviet economy as workers lose lifetime jobs and state-owned enterprises are restructured."
>
> —*Wednesday's Global Report*, 21 August

Up until now Yeltsin has been able to blame the economic chaos and immiseration of perestroika on Gorbachev's "half-measures" and the sabotage of the old Stalinist apparat. The Russian demagogue talks out of both sides of his mouth, visiting strikers one week and approving anti-strike laws the next. But now Yeltsin will seek to implement his real program, to impose brutal capitalist austerity on the Soviet working class. He will be held responsible for closing down "unprofitable" enterprises, throwing millions of workers into the streets, raising rents and the price of food, shutting down childcare centers and attacking Soviet working people in all ways. At the same time, it will be very difficult in the next several months to use the army, KGB or police to break strikes or break up popular protests.

Despite Yeltsin's present ascendancy and the mood of anti-Communist hysteria among the petty bourgeoisie, it will not be that easy to carry out a capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. In fact, one might expect a higher level of strike action than took place under Gorbachev's perestroika. During this period the Soviet working class has been politically disoriented and confused by the ever-shifting lineup of Yeltsin vs. Gorbachev vs. the "hardline" Stalinists. Now the lines of battle are hard, and raw. But the absence of genuinely communist leadership represents the greatest obstacle, leaving the working class prey to confusion, false polarizations and defeatism in the face of their class enemies.

TASS

Soviet workers have not entered the scene in this hour of deadly peril. 1989 miners strike threw up incipient workers councils (soviets), showed potential power of multinational USSR proletariat.

Both the Yeltsinites and the "hardliners" compete on the terrain of counterrevolutionary Russian nationalism. Starting with Stalin himself, vicious Great Russian chauvinism has characterized the bureaucracy, undermining the multinational USSR. The Pamyat anti-Semites' rise was protected by sections of the Gorbachev bureaucracy, in particular Yeltsin's wing. Meanwhile, the nationalist secessionists—mostly from the better-off republics—yearn to be pawns of imperialism today, as many of their forefathers were for the Nazis. In the last fight of his life, Lenin insisted, against Stalin, that the revolutionary Soviet state be a voluntary union based on equality of nations.

It is urgently, indeed desperately necessary for the working class to now establish organizational forms to mobilize its power to resist and overthrow the forces of capitalist counterrevolution.

- As every hustler is out to "get theirs," workers will be anxious to protect their own threatened livelihoods. *Independent workers committees* must be formed in factories, mines, railroad yards and other enterprises to prevent layoffs and privatization by taking over the plants and controlling production. Such workers committees can be the basis for genuine *soviets*, drawing into their ranks collective farmers, oppressed minorities, working women, Red Army soldiers and officers, old-age pensioners—all those who will be victimized by the "new order."
- Yeltsin & Co. have already begun purging the officer corps of the military. This has nothing to do with democracy. He wants to turn the Soviet army which defended the Soviet people against the Nazi scourge into a compliant tool for internal repression in the interests of the new capitalist masters. *Committees of soldiers and officers* must be formed to oppose the purges and prevent the army from being used to attack the workers' interests.
- The anti-Communist mobs are the shock troops of a budding fascist movement, the future strikebreakers, jailers and torturers of militant workers and leftists. Already the NTS, former WW II quislings of the Hitlerite invaders, have raised their heads at the Yeltsinite mobilizations. The blackshirted Pamyat fascists are burning red flags. Next they will be staging deadly anti-Semitic pogroms. *Workers militias* must be formed, aided by Red Army officers and soldiers loyal to socialism, to defend against and crush the lynch mobs and pogromists.
- Illegalization of the Communist Party will be used as a precedent to ban all groups claiming to stand for socialism or communism. The red purge will be used to victimize militant workers who lead strikes against layoffs and privatization. *Down with the witchhunting ban on the CP! Don't let them drag away Jewish or Communist coworkers!*
- The escalating nationalist secessionist movements in the various republics are fueling fratricidal slaughter among the deeply interpenetrated Soviet peoples. It is urgently necessary to organize *multinational defense guards* to ward off communalist butchery. As Leninists, i.e., proletarian internationalists, we stand for full equality of all nations and nationalities in a genuinely socialist federation.

Working women, who have suffered most under perestroika's economic misery, must be in the forefront not only of the battle to stop the closures of childcare centers, but in the forging of a genuinely communist nucleus. In Poland and the former DDR (East Germany) women are being driven from their jobs and abortion is considered a criminal act. Reawakened women workers of the Soviet Union—who have the most to lose under capitalist counterrevolution—must play a leading role as their grandmothers and great-grandmothers did in the Bolshevik Revolution.

The youth, many shocked into political awareness for the first time in recent days, must find their way to the program of revolutionary internationalism. Reversion to the Slavophilic backwardness of Yeltsin & Co. precludes the genuinely open intellectual and artistic climate that so many young people yearn for. Make no mistake: life for youth in the West does not resemble a music video! The reality for working-class youth under capitalism is a nightmare of uncertainty, unemployment, hopelessness with the very real prospect of being cannon fodder in the next imperialist war. The young Soviet republic in the days of Lenin and Trotsky fought for women's emancipation, for every kind of social emancipation, against censorship, for freedom from state intervention in one's personal affairs.

Workers and soldiers soviets (councils) must orient to defeating the

continued on page 12

AP

Leon Trotsky shortly before his assassination by Stalin's agents in Mexico, 1940. Left Opposition intransigently defended USSR against threat of capitalist restoration. Right: Trotsky's 1935 article, "Where is the Stalin Bureaucracy Leading the USSR?" in *Bulletin of the Opposition*.

Soviet Union...

(continued from page 11)

counterrevolutionary Yeltsin regime and establishing a government based on soviet democracy such as was established by the October Revolution of 1917. In this hour of dire need more than ever, the key to successful defense of the Soviet proletariat is the forging of a new, authentically communist vanguard party of the working class. Return to the road of Lenin and Trotsky!

For Revolutionary Regroupment!

With the evident and total collapse of Stalinism, there is a crying need for regroupment among the numerous would-be communist groupings on the left fringe of the CPSU. Many of the most communist-minded workers have had illusions in the "patriotic" elements of the Stalinist bureaucracy, who frequently appealed to Great Russian chauvinism and conciliated or embraced outright anti-Semites, fascists and tsarists. But for example Soyuz leader Colonel Viktor Alksnis denounces Gorbachev not for introducing the market, but for introducing "democracy": "My model is the market first and democracy later." This is known as the "Chilean option," modeled on the bloody Pinochet coup, whose vaunted fake "economic miracle" was built on the corpses of tens of thousands of leftist workers and peasants.

In late July activists from the "patriots" milieu initiated a workers conference in the capital which drew over 500 delegates from 400 major Moscow-area plants. A representative of the International Communist League addressed this gathering:

> "Today the imperialists and the native restorationists strive to dismember the USSR by splitting, paralyzing the Soviet proletariat with nationalism. This is their greatest weapon. But the proletariat has its own weapon—internationalism. We need to forge a party that mobilizes against all forms of discrimination, nationalism and anti-Semitism!"
>
> —*WV* No. 532, 2 August

During the coup, the Moscow workers council which came out of this July conference issued a call to: "Form workers militias for the preservation of socialized property, for the preservation of social order on the streets of our cities, for the control of the carrying out of the orders and instructions of the State Committee on the Emergency Situation." There was not one word of criticism of the GKChP. A call for workers militias to smash the counterrevolutionary Yeltsinite demonstrations was certainly in order. But if the Emergency Committee had consolidated power, it would have attempted to disband any such workers militias, which would otherwise have inevitably and rapidly escaped its political control. The last thing these degenerate Stalinists wanted to see was the independent mobilization of the working class.

Those communist-minded leftists who looked to the "patriotic" wing of the Communist Party and armed forces are now understandably in a state of political trauma. They cannot understand what happened. In fact, they cannot understand what has happened since Gorbachev became leader of the CPSU in 1985. The economic chaos and miseries of perestroika, the abandonment of East Europe, the endorsement of the American destruction of Iraq in the name of Bush's "New World Order"—these are not simply a result of spinelessness, corruption or stupidity on the part of Gorbachev and his collaborators. They are the legacy of more than six decades of Stalinist perversion of the October Revolution: the bureaucratic usurpation of workers rule, the high-handed bureaucratic mismanagement of the economy, the Great Russian chauvinism at the expense of national minorities, the stifling of free expression and creativity, the political demobilizing of the working class.

After the relative stagnation of the last Brezhnev years, in their own way the dominant sections of the Kremlin bureaucracy came to recognize there can be no "socialism in one country," that the Soviet Union must be integrated into the world economy as part of an international division of labor. Since the core of the Stalinist ideological outlook is the rejection of socialist revolution in the advanced capitalist countries, this meant integration into the world *capitalist* system. The intent of Yeltsin and Gorbachev—who both began as typical young, up-and-coming apparatchiks under the Brezhnev regime—to sell the Soviet Union to Wall Street and Frankfurt is the *logical culmination* of the Stalinist doctrine of "socialism in one country." Gorbachev's neo-Bukharinite "market socialism" was the antechamber to counterrevolution.

Despite the anti-Communist hysteria now raging in the Soviet Union, there are large numbers of workers and even a few intellectuals who want to defend socialism and communism. They must understand that Trotskyism is the genuine expression of Bolshevism today, that a Trotskyist party must be built to lead the struggle against the counterrevolution. Stalin's first step in consolidating his regime, aided by Bukharin, was to purge and persecute the Left Opposition, and eventually to murder the entire surviving Old Bolshevik cadre, the leaders of October.

The disastrous effects of "socialism in one country" on the world revolution and on the USSR soon made themselves felt. Stalin/Bukharin collaborated with the British social-democratic labor bureaucracy who then sabotaged the 1926 General Strike. They supported the Chinese nationalist general Chiang Kai-shek, who then drowned in blood the revolutionary proletariat. As the 1927 *Platform of the Opposition* stated: "The defeat of the revolution in China, following the defeat of the British General Strike, has inspired the imperialists with the hope that they may succeed in crushing the Soviet Union." Only a few years later, the German CP, on Stalin's orders, allowed Hitler to come to power unchallenged.

Having rejected Trotsky's call for a principled workers united front to defeat the fascists, as Nazi Germany became an obvious threat to the USSR, Stalin called for a "popular front" with the so-called "democratic" imperialists of France and Britain. In the name of this "popular front," the Stalinists sabotaged a prerevolutionary situation in France and strangled the revolutionary Spanish working class, paving the way for Franco's victory. Then, by beheading the general staff of the Red Army during the bloody 1936-38 purges and relying on his "non-aggression" pact with Hitler, Stalin was directly responsible for the catastrophic losses in the initial stages of World War II.

More than 20 million Soviet citizens were killed defending the homeland of October and liberating all of Europe from the nightmare of Nazism. On the basis of the Red Army's destruction of the Third Reich, subsequent threats to the USSR by nuclear-armed American imperialism led the Kremlin to undertake bureaucratically deformed social, i.e., anti-capitalist, transformations in East Europe as a defensive measure. But now East Europe is being handed back to the imperialists.

We Trotskyists Have Defended the Soviet Union

Today the Soviet Union faces being dismembered and its constituent republics turned into neocolonies of Washington, Berlin and Tokyo. The present collapse of the Stalinist bureaucracy has its immediate origins in the renewed Cold War offensive launched by American imperialism after its ignominious defeat in Vietnam. In every key battleground of Cold War II—Afghanistan, Poland, the German Democratic Republic (DDR)—the International Communist League (ICL, formerly the international Spartacist tendency) has stood resolutely in defense of the Soviet Union against the capitulation of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

Spartakists initiated 250,000-strong anti-fascist mobilization in defense of Red Army monument at Treptow Park, East Berlin, January 1990.

Where the Soviet Stalinists waged a halfhearted war against CIA-armed Islamic reactionaries in Afghanistan, ultimately selling out and withdrawing, we said "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" and called to "Extend Social Gains of the October Revolution to the Afghan Peoples!" When in late 1981 Polish Solidarność, under the guidance of Reagan and Pope John Paul Wojtyla, made a bid for power in the name of "bourgeois democracy," we raised the call: "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" General Jaruzelski's countercoup temporarily spiked these clerical-nationalist front men for Wall Street and Washington. But the Stalinists had neither the moral authority nor the program to undercut counterrevolution, and eight years later the same Jaruzelski, with Gorbachev's approval, abdicated political power to Walesa & Co.

When in late 1989 the Honecker regime in East Germany fell and the Berlin Wall was opened, the ICL threw its forces into the fight for the perspective of a red Germany of workers councils. We initiated the call for the giant Treptow anti-fascist demonstration of 3 January 1990, which drew 250,000 people to honor the Soviet soldiers who died liberating Germany from the Nazis. Then, as Gorbachev gave the green light to a reunified Fourth Reich of German imperialism, our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany were the *only* party which clearly and unambiguously opposed capitalist reunification.

Within the Soviet Union representatives of the ICL have fought for a revolutionary internationalist perspective. Thus at a coal miners congress last October in Donetsk, we helped block the effort of right-wing, Yeltsinite forces advised by the American "AFL-CIA" federation to enlist Soviet miners in the international anti-Communist witchhunt against British miners leader Arthur Scargill. The imperialist rulers hate Scargill because he led the 1984-85 British miners strike—which Soviet workers generously aided. This momentous class battle gave the lie to the self-serving Stalinist myth that workers in advanced capitalist countries are incapable of hard-fought class struggle.

We urgently seek to bring the program of Trotskyism to the Soviet proletariat and socialist-minded intelligentsia with our Russian-language *Spartacist Bulletin*, containing in addition to key documents of the ICL the section on the USSR from Trotsky's Transitional Program. In recent months, we analyzed the mounting crisis in our article "Where Is the Soviet Union Going?" (*WV* Nos. 520, 521 and 522, 15 February, 1 March and 15 March), including a program of struggle for genuine soviet power.

It's Desperately Necessary to Fight

Writing in 1935 on "The Workers' State, Thermidor and Bonapartism," Trotsky noted: "The inevitable collapse of Stalinist Bonapartism would immediately call into question the character of the USSR as a workers' state." This has now occurred. He added: "The fate of the USSR as a *socialist* state depends upon that *political* regime that will arise to replace Stalinist Bonapartism." The imperialists and their flunkeys such as Yeltsin want to accelerate the consolidation of a capitalist state. But it will not be so easy. This is not East Germany, a compact, homogeneous country which was taken over by the existing German bourgeoisie, which simply moved in its state apparatus, laid waste to the DDR economy and put half the working population on welfare. When the cost turned out to be higher than expected, Bonn kept pumping in billions of D-marks.

The Soviet Union, in contrast, is a huge country, with over 100 nationalities, a tremendous potential for chaos and no one to finance a capitalist takeover. The U.S. could probably buy the country for a few tens or hundreds of billions of dollars, but the American ruling class is as ideologically opposed to that as it is to financing a decent social welfare or health care system in this country. Soviet petty-bourgeois yuppies believe in a utopian capitalism, dreaming that they will suddenly achieve a standard of living like Scandinavia. In fact, economically and politically their fate under capitalism would be more akin to Mexico, or worse, with deep impoverishment of the masses presided over by an authoritarian state. The forces backing Yeltsin would like to be a capitalist class, but they are not yet one. Even in Poland, where the state is capitalist from top to bottom, a capitalist class has not yet congealed because they lack...capital.

And there are additional obstacles: for one, the Soviet economy is organized on an all-Union basis and the departure of major components, particularly if the Ukraine pulls out, will wreak havoc. Moreover, many Soviet workers believe that the country belongs to them, and they have a deep reservoir of commitment to egalitarianism which must be rooted out for capitalism to be implanted. Thus although events are moving at breakneck speed, these factors may allow enough of a window for the Soviet proletariat to go into struggle before the counterrevolution consolidates. Should that happen, revolutionaries must seek to intervene to provide leadership, seeking above all to cohere a new revolutionary vanguard party, the necessary instrument for victory. ■

Palestinians...

(continued from page 5)

balkanization created an overlapping and interpenetrating patchwork of national, communal, ethnic and religious groupings. Inside any given state boundary, one of these groupings is dominant, and the rest victimized, while women are horribly oppressed everywhere. The national/religious fratricide strikes hardest at the working class, which in most countries of the Near East is multinational. The Gulf states and Iraq were host to millions of workers from other Arab countries and South Asia. Millions were displaced as a result of the Gulf War: many of the one million Egyptians working in Iraq, 700,000 Yemenis in Saudi Arabia, hundreds of thousands of Kurds and Palestinians.

What's desperately needed is an *internationalist* proletarian leadership. Despite their nationalist, popular-frontist subordination to bourgeois forces, the Stalinist parties have exercised an attraction not least because they represent the only political haven for oppressed minorities and others who reject the reigning nationalist chauvinism. Thus all of the three communist formations which arose in Egypt in the 1940s were founded and led by Jews who were militantly anti-Zionist. The mass Communist Party of Iraq was based heavily on Jews and Kurds in the 1940s. Even in the difficult terrain of British imperialist repression, Zionist colonization and recurring race riots, the original Palestinian CP managed to build a binational Arab-Hebrew organization.

But the Stalinists squandered this considerable authority derived from the heritage of Lenin and Trotsky's Communist International, instead prostituting themselves to the national bourgeoisies. Under Stalin, the Palestinian CP capitulated alternately to Zionism and Arab nationalism, boosting the anti-Semitic, pro-Nazi Mufti of Jerusalem in the 1930s and supporting the creation of the Zionist state a decade later. These treacherous zigzags tore the party apart along nationalist lines, into a Jewish organization which tailed Zionism and an Arab National Liberation League which blocked with the Palestinian Arab bourgeoisie. Likewise the Egyptian CP liquidated lock, stock and barrel into Nasser's movement in the mid-1950s.

Breaking the stranglehold of national oppression and economic backwardness imposed and enforced by imperialism requires the Trotskyist program of permanent revolution: the independent mobilization of the proletariat—leading behind it the impoverished peasant masses—which alone is capable of sweeping away imperialism and its bonapartist and feudalist satraps. In this region, genuine proletarian internationalism is an iron necessity for any real working-class struggle. And a key litmus test for an internationalist perspective is the call for revolutionary Arab-Hebrew class unity. While the Hebrew-speaking working class of Israel is presently thoroughly inundated by Zionist chauvinism and anti-Arab racism, only through joint Arab-Hebrew class struggle can the nuclear-armed, war-crazed Zionist ruling class be swept away.

And with the mass influx of Soviet Jews straining the already bankrupt Israeli economy (dependent on massive U.S. handouts), as unemployment and inflation soar, and skyrocketing rents drive thousands out of their apartments to become homeless in the "promised land," the class contradictions in Zinnist Israel can't be papered over forever. An outbreak of revolutionary proletarian struggle elsewhere in the Near East could well shatter the popular Zionist consensus in the bankrupt Israeli garrison state. The tiny racist Zionist state—surrounded by hostile Arab countries and ruled by a war-crazed gang who glory in a suicidal Masada complex—is, as Trotsky predicted more than 50 years ago, a deathtrap for the Jewish people.

WV Photo

Spartacist League in Boston protest against U.S. war moves in Persian Gulf, 15 September 1990.

The West Bank has neither the social nor economic wherewithal to provide a base for a successful national uprising, much less a socialist revolution (a phrase the various CPs consider taboo). Any meaningful expression of the right to self-determination for the Palestinian people which does not come at the expense of the national rights of the Hebrew-speaking people requires at least the overthrow of the Zionist capitalist state and its Hashemite neighbor. Palestinians constitute a sizable majority of Jordan's population, more so now with the postwar influx of refugees.

In cutting Palestinian workers off from the possibility of joint struggle with their class brothers and sisters, the Stalinists and nationalists cut the throats of the Palestinian people as a whole. As a result of their dispersal throughout the Near East by the Zionist-imposed diaspora, the highly educated, politicized and cosmopolitan Palestinian working class can play a vanguard role in revolutionary class struggle throughout the region. In that role, Palestinian workers could be the key not only to securing national rights for their people but in achieving the social liberation of all the toilers of the Near East. Above all, that requires forging Leninist-Trotskyist parties which actively struggle as tribunes of the oppressed against all the nationalist butchers of the region. ■

PDC Notes...

(continued from page 2)

disenfranchised minorities, today Jamal is fighting for his life on death row in Huntingdon, Pennsylvania.

The campaign to save Jamal, launched by the PDC three years ago, has taken on international dimensions. Over 40,000 people have signed petitions demanding Jamal not be executed. On July 8, the PEN American Center, an organization of over 2,500 writers, wrote to Governor Casey to prevent Jamal's execution, and trade unions representing millions more have taken a stand in his defense.

Most important is the increasing labor support for Jamal's struggle, particularly among black workers, for whom Jamal's fight against the racist death penalty has become the Scottsboro case of today. This spring the Midwest Region and New York chapter of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) voiced their support for Jamal. In late May the national CBTU, representing members of 76 international and national unions, adopted a resolution to support Jamal. The black caucus of the Amalgamated Transit Union voted to send a letter of protest against Jamal's death sentence and to form a "Committee to Save Jamal." National Association of Letter Carriers Branch 2200 in Pasadena, California and Hospital and Health Care Workers Union Local 250 SEIU, representing 29,000 workers in California, are among the other unions who have recently come on board.

The fight to defend our rights won't be won by voting for Democrats or petitioning Congress. Workers and minorities need a mass organization of class-struggle defense. We look to the heritage of the International Labor Defense under its first secretary, James P. Cannon. In the ILD's campaign to save Sacco and Vanzetti from the electric chair, Cannon elaborated the strategy on which we fight:

> "One policy is the policy of the class struggle. It puts the center of gravity in the protest movement of the workers of America and the world. It puts all faith in the power of the masses and no faith whatever in the justice of the courts. While favoring all possible legal proceedings, it calls for agitation, publicity, demonstrations—organized protest on a national and international scale...."
>
> —"Who Can Save Sacco and Vanzetti?" *Labor Defender*, January 1927

We encourage all readers of *Workers Vanguard* to join the work of the PDC. Help provide assistance and solidarity to the class-war prisoners. Get involved in the campaign to free Geronimo. Join the fight to save Mumia Abu-Jamal. Write us for petitions, leaflets and more information on how to join the international campaign. You can read more about the activities of the PDC in our newsletter *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *CSDN*. For more information, contact: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

Geronimo...

(continued from page 2)

came in the latest stage of a lawsuit, brought by Partisan Defense Committee attorney Valerie West in 1989, challenging the punitive mistreatment of Geronimo and demanding the removal of false and life-threatening charges in his prison file.

For 20 years the California prison authorities have acted with impunity on the assumption that because Geronimo was a Black Panther Party leader they can peddle any lie about him and do anything they want to him. Lies, such as that Geronimo "conspired to kill Folsom guards with poison darts" and to "kidnap children of Folsom guards," were deemed bogus by a jury in the 1976 *Pratt v. Rees* case. But they remain in his file today, along with later fabrications which set Geronimo up for victimization and undermine his chance for parole. In a significant ruling on July 18, the judge granted Geronimo and his lawyers access to the confidential portions of his 4,000-page prison file, and two weeks later set up a process for negotiating Geronimo's demand for the removal of false and damaging documents.

Despite leaving Geronimo in "the hole," Weigel has recognized the state's vindictive mistreatment; declared Geronimo's life-threatening transfer to Folsom prison in 1989 an unlawful retaliation for his exercise of First Amendment rights; persuaded prison officials to remove Geronimo from cell conditions which exacerbated medical problems stemming from his Vietnam War wounds; and, although he upheld the marijuana frame-up, the judge restrained prison authorities from "imposing punishment, penalty, or other reprisals because of plaintiff's exercise of his rights." Without explanation, prison officials reduced Geronimo's term in the hole, which would return him to the general prison population in October.

There has been an increased outpouring of support for Geronimo ji Jaga Pratt. Actor Danny Glover, Rev. Ben Chavis and numerous clergy spoke out for him from the steps of the federal courthouse in San Francisco on July 26. Reflecting the growing labor support for Geronimo, on July 30 the 70,000-member Central Labor Council of Alameda County stated, "It is the position of this Central Labor Council that Pratt was framed during the FBI's infamous COINTELPRO campaign." The next hearing in Geronimo's lawsuit against prisoo harassment is scheduled for November 1.

Geronimo's legal struggles cost lots of money. We are up against the vast financial resources of the state. Send contributions earmarked "Geronimo Pratt Defense" to the PDC, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. Join the fight to free Geronimo! ■

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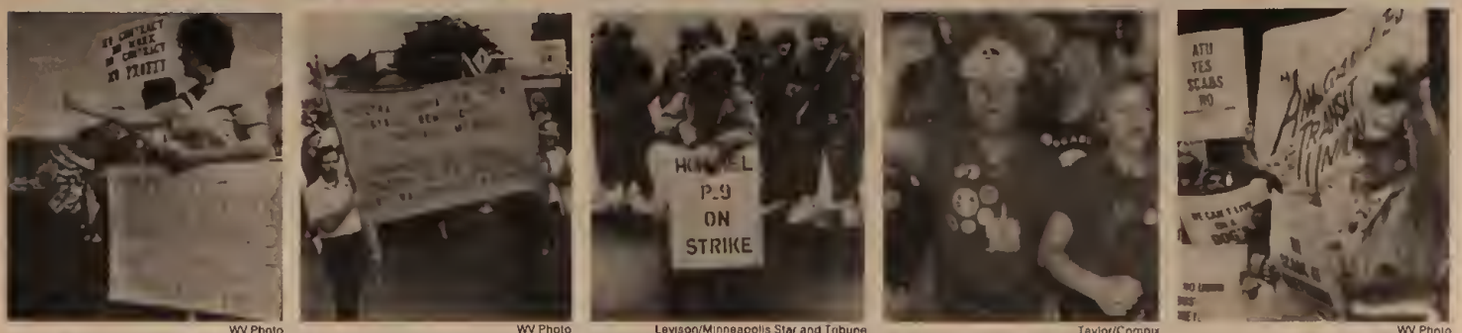
Phelps Dodge, 1984 **Watsonville, 1985** **Hormel, 1986** **Eastern, 1989** **Greyhound, 1990**



WV Photo WV Photo Levison/Minneapolis Star and Tribune Taylor/Compix WV Photo

A decade of workers' struggles isolated by Democratic Party-loyal labor bureaucrats who playad by the bosses' rulas.

Labor...

(continued from page 16)

and forge a leadership that has the program and determination to wage a down-the-line fight for a workers government that will undertake the socialist reindustrialization of America.

Labor's Giant Step—Backwards

Strikebreaking and union-busting have been a bipartisan affair from the get-go. When Reagan fired 14,000 PATCO members and mobilized military air controllers as scabs in control towers across the country, he was following a plan worked out by the Democratic Carter administration. In August 1983, it was the Democratic governor of Arizona, Bruce ("Scabbitt") Babbitt, who called out the National Guard to disperse the militant picket lines of striking Phelps Dodge copper miners. Two and a half years later Governor Rudy Perpich, another "friend of labor," sent troops into Austin, Minnesota to break the meatpackers strike of United Food and Commercial Workers Local P-9. And this last spring it was the overwhelmingly Democratic Congress which voted to order railroad strikers back to work one day after they walked out.

Cleveland Plain Dealer

Tha politics of capital's labor llautenants: UAW bureaucrats' lobby prassuras right-wing Democratic Leadarship Conference, pushing poisonous protactionism against Mexican workers, begging millionaire Congress to stop scabs.

Every one of these battles could have and should have been won. Strikers were killed on the picket line with impunity: Greyhound drivers Ray Phillips and Robert Waterhouse, OCAW member Greg Goobic, phone worker Gerry Horgan. The striking workers fought their damnedest. But they were hogtied by their own leaders. When workers attempted to stop scabs with mass pickets, union leaders ordered them to obey strikebreaking injunctions. Instead of union workers refusing to handle struck goods ("secondary boycotts"), labor bureaucrats promoted diversionary and toothless consumer boycotts and publicity stunts ("corporate campaigns").

PATCO chief Robert Poli had it right when he said in 1981: "The only illegal strike is a strike that fails." Or as we put it in our *Workers Vanguard* supplement, "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win": "Everything the workers movement has won of value has been achieved by mobilizing the ranks of labor in hard-fought struggle, on the picket lines, in plant occupations. What counts is power." But the union tops are not interested in winning—their first allegiance is to their capitalist masters' profit margins.

Look at the UAW. Iacocca pleads poverty after years of the Big Three looting their own companies? "Sacrifice House" says fine, hands over $5 billion to the auto bosses and enforces the closing of dozens of plants, turning Detroit and Flint into industrial ghost towns. UAW acquires a new meaning: "U Ain't Workin'." Still can't meet the Japanese competition? The chauvinist union tops demand quotas and "local content" laws, setting American workers against their international class brothers and sisters. They can't even organize Japanese-owned auto plants in the U.S., blowing the union organizing campaign at Nissan in Smyrna, Tennessee. Now they're using the same protectionist poison against the North American "Free Trade Agreement," instead of organizing international solidarity against this imperialist rape of Mexico.

Labor: Break the Shackles!

According to Kirkland & Co., workers' struggle is impossible because all the legal shackles on the labor movement prevent a "fair fight" with the bosses. H.R. 5 is supposed to "level the playing field" by protecting workers' jobs. What a crock. This "anti-scab" bill doesn't even pretend to outlaw scabbing, only the *permanent* replacement of strikers. It's the perfect union piecards' proposal: let the strikers starve and shiver on picket lines watching scabs go in for a year or so; then they can crawl back to their old jobs at half the pay after the union chiefs sell them out. The way to stop scabs is the way it was done in the sit-down strikes of the '30s.

Wide World

The 1947 Taft-Hartley Act, which allowed the U.S. president to issue sweeping injunctions against strikes deemed not in the "national interest," came into existence because the union tops refused to break their ties to the Democrats and bust this law *in action*. And the CIO carried out a red purge that drove out many of the most militant unionists. Democrat Truman, elected with labor support, invoked the Taft-Hartley law no less than *61 times* by the time he left office.

It has become a truism in American labor that the unions should have "done something" when Reagan canned the PATCO air controllers. The Spartacist League called at the time for solid strike action to *shut down the airports*. That would have required strike committees elected *in opposition* to do-nothing bureaucrats, from CIA overseer Kirkland to "socialist" Winpisinger. It would have meant mass picket lines prepared to confront the repressive power of the state. It would have meant union leaders going to jail, not for the first time in American history.

George Meany used to brag that he had never walked a picket line. Under Carter, Reagan and Bush, the current crop of union misleaders have participated in the destruction of their own union organizations, with billions of dollars in givebacks, "two-tier" wage schemes which leave the new generation of workers rightly bitter, and slashing health care. They truly are the "labor lieutenants of capital." Similar to the black Democratic Party mayors, put in to keep the ghettos in line, they are the enforcers of capitalist reaction, open company cops.

With the Democrats near-comatose today, some left-talking bureaucrats are talking up a "labor party movement" (organized by OCAW secretary-treasurer Tony Mazzocchi and an array of reformists). *Their purpose is to keep workers tied to the Democrats*, reminiscent of the pro-FDR "American Labor Party," created to keep the union militancy generated by the battles which formed the CIO from escaping the bounds of the Democratic Party.

What's urgently needed is a workers party that will lead labor and the oppressed *in class struggle*—to sweep the racist KKK and Nazis off the streets, to defend abortion clinics against reactionary thugs, to fight for labor political strikes against imperialist war. Despite our small forces, the Spartacist League and the Partisan Defense Committee have built exemplary mobilizations of labor/black power to interdict the fascist killers when they ventured into integrated working-class centers, like the successful 5,000-strong mobilization of 27 November 1982 which prevented the Klan from marching through Washington, D.C.

It means opposing the imperialist war machine head-on. Over 40 years ago, at the start of the Cold War, General Electric chief C.E. Wilson pointed to the targets of U.S. imperialism: "The problems of the United States can be captiously summed up in two words: Russia abroad, labor at home." Ever since 1917, war on the unions and war on the Soviet Union have gone hand in hand. Jimmy Carter fired the opening shots in Cold War II with the anti-Soviet Pentagon buildup and his use of the Taft-Hartley slave labor law against the 1977-78 miners strike. Reagan railed against the Soviet "evil empire" and opened up with both barrels on the unions in this country.

Just as we defend the Teamsters, despite their corrupt, pro-capitalist leadership, against the vendetta by the bosses' state, we Trotskyists have defended the bureaucratically deformed workers states against counterrevolution. The socialized planned economies are historic gains of the working class, however much they have been undermined and mismanaged by the Stalinist misleaders, who repeatedly tried to sell out to the imperialists under the watchwords of "peaceful coexistence" and the "popular front." The AFL-CIO fakers have sought to destroy the Soviet Union *just as they have joined in the destruction of the unions at home*.

The workers built this country, so take it, it's yours! Seize the factories from the capitalists before they turn it into one giant rust belt. Sweep out the sell-outs and build the revolutionary workers party that will fight for a socialist America. ■

Pat Oliphant

In 1977-78 strika, minara burnad contract and told Democrat Cartar to shove his Taft-Hartlay injunction.

Report from El Paso: Hispanic Labor Struggles

EL PASO, Texas—With the Free Trade Agreement barreling down the "fast track," capitalists here are salivating at the thought of fat profits from exploiting Mexican workers. But Hispanic labor and community organizations like UTAF (Unión de Trabajadores Agrícolas Fronterizos) farm workers and the women garment workers in La Mujer Obrera are waging union battles which could reverberate throughout the U.S. Southwest and northern Mexico. In a display of working-class solidarity, UTAF held an international protest against the FTA, bringing out over 200 workers on May 5 to the Santa Fe International Bridge between El Paso and Ciudad Juárez and issued a joint statement with the Democratic Campesino Front of Chihuahua.

Over the past year, the chile pickers organized in the Union of Border Agricultural Workers have led some impressive struggles. These farm workers face brutal superexploitation. When we visited in early August, UTAF leader Carlos Marentes told us that their real wages have dropped by half over the last decade. They must gather on a street in downtown El Paso around midnight, to be picked up by labor contractors and trucked for up to *four hours* to the fields in New Mexico. They are paid only 50 cents per box of chiles, working in fields where they are exposed to deadly pesticides and without toilet facilities or drinkable water. To avoid the long journey to and from El Paso, many pickers sleep under bridges near the fields. One grower would mark a number on workers' forearms, calling them by number for their pay at the end of the day.

A year ago UTAF organized and struck. After a work action in an Arrey, New Mexico field owned by Lloyd Anderson, 700 farm workers met in a general assembly at midnight in El Paso. After they refused to board the buses of the labor contractors and rallied at the site, the Border Patrol and El Paso cops charged the strikers. One group of workers was pushed toward the Mexican border. The stoppage continued, with workers from both sides of the border massed at the site to prevent buses from leaving for the fields. After months of struggle and over 20 work stoppages, including a day of solidarity for the farm workers in Ciudad Juárez, Anderson was forced to recognize the union. In April, the grower signed the first contract in history for a farm workers union in Texas or New Mexico.

Meanwhile, the strike by women garment workers which *WV* has been reporting on is in its fourth month. About 50 pickets are always present on Bassett Street, where the struck shops ACC and DCB are across the street from each other. The average worker is a Mexican-born woman with 10 to 15 years experience in garment work. Many worked in the *maquiladora* sweatshops in Juárez. A handful came out of the 1972-74 Farah strike. Almost everyone puts in a full shift on the picket line. The strikers are very poor, a small strike fund stipend allows only a meager existence. They hate the sweatshop king Andrés Díaz, they told of the horrible working conditions, and let loose a hail of cuss words at his scabs ("*¡pinche esquiroles!*").

Sonia's, site of the plant occupation and hunger strike which ended three weeks ago, is empty, with only a union (ILGWU) guard present. Eustolia Olivas, the worker we interviewed, is at home, still sick from the effects of the hunger strike. Although Teamsters and other unions are respecting the picket lines, Díaz is moving goods with his own drivers and Ryder rent-a-trucks. Pickets told *WV* they were instructed by union organizers not to stop scabs or the trucks! Because of leaky picket lines, Díaz has been able to continue operations with a scab force at three shops, including his lucrative dyeing and coloring work at ACC. Strikers told us they feel isolated and frustrated at the ILGWU's failure to mobilize support from other unions to *stop* the scabbing.

Strikers are determined to beat this sweatshop king. Díaz' contracts are drying up. The ILGWU organizers say he will have to sign a contract or close the four factories. Some strikers said that while they may lose their jobs, their struggle will aid the 15,000 other garment workers in El Paso. So far, the strike has remained isolated because the ILGWU tops have stuck to the losing "strategy" of consumer boycotts and begging the bosses. But it can be won, and stand as an example of militant labor organizing to workers on both sides of the border. Broaden the strike to organize and bring out workers in the more than 100 garment shops in El Paso, and extend it across the river! ■

Jose Luis Cerrato/El Paso Times

WV Photo

May 1—Over 100 garment workers picket DCB Apparel. Far right: after four months on strike, workers and supporters rally in downtown El Paso.

NYC...

(continued from page 3)

Hassidic community—based in the diamond trade, garment sweatshops and electronics—lords over the rest. And indeed, the Hassidic community in Crown Heights and Williamsburg sits above their black and Hispanic neighbors. They are also about the only whites living in these ghetto areas.

The Lubavitcher hierarchy has a far-flung international establishment of "social" and "educational" institutions with a reported annual budget of $100 million. In 1990, Grand Rabbi Schneerson acted as kingmaker in the Israeli elections when he prevented two of his followers from joining the Shimon Peres cabinet, because it would not categorically refuse to give up an inch of the Occupied Territories. "No Land for Peace" is their line, from the Golan Heights to Crown Heights.

The Lubavitcher treat their black neighbors like they're Palestinians on the West Bank. And with their tight political voting blocs, passed down from the Grand Rabbi as God's word, they exercise inordinate influence over local politicians. The Lubavitcher are not without political clout in Washington as well. On Rebbe Schneerson's 90th birthday, he got 90 senators and Congressmen to hold a birthday party at the U.S. Capitol. (The Satmars, in contrast, are vehemently anti-Zionist and their political vehicle Neturei Karta even demonstrates with pro-PLO signs.)

Nevertheless, while the perceived sense of discrimination is based on real experience, sections of the black and Hispanic communities have become caught up in viciously racist, anti-Semitic hate mobilizations against this marginal community. The anger directed against the Hassidic owners of 47th Street Photo would be better directed against the capitalist moguls of Citibank. The betrayal of the city labor bureaucracy, in squelching integrated class struggle against cutbacks which have devastated the minority poor, has stoked the fires of racial explosion.

The establishment capitalist media are piously wringing their hands with concern about the explosive situation in Crown Heights, but they do so from their ruling-class vantage point. Thus the *New York Times* (23 August) quoted a law professor claiming, "If the defendant ran a red light, and if he's in a motorcade where the lead car has lights flashing, he's arguably privileged to go on through the light." Whatever the culpability of the driver in this particular case, this is an astounding piece of bourgeois hauteur. The *Times* goes out of its way to assert the "right" of the bigwigs to go careening through the city in their limos. But the family of Gavin and Angela Cato and their neighbors see it differently.

As for the Rev. Sharpton, what does he get out of his provocations? In 1978, the Brooklyn black minister Herbert Daughtry led the anti-Semitic marches. Having made his mark, he's now "Mr. Community Harmony" for Mayor Dinkins. Sharpton, who's pushing the same stuff today, has always had his connections, from racist Senator Alphonse D'Amato to the FBI, for whom he wore a wire and spied on black politicians. This June Sharpton was at a $1,500-a-plate Republican fund-raiser in Washington where George Bush was the main speaker (*New Yorker*, 26 August). The only forces served by Sharpton's demagogic filth are his ruling-class masters.

It is important that not everybody is falling for the garbage Sharpton and Carson are shoveling. A lot of black people in Crown Heights are not anti-Semitic, and greatly resent Sharpton, Carson & Co. coming into their community to whip up a racist pogrom. The *Times* (25 August) ran what for it was a quite unusual article, "For Young Blacks, Despair and Rage," documenting how many black youth they interviewed said they came out during the explosion because they hated *the cops*: "For many, the greatest enemy of all are the police, because they are considered the symbol of a repressive and hostile white society," the article reported.

"This isn't against the Jews. It's against the police," said one young black man in Crown Heights who has read some Malcolm X. Interethnic battles only play into the hands of the real masters of society, the capitalists. The people who really run New York City—and it sure isn't figurehead mayor Dinkins—would be perfectly happy if somebody dropped a big bomb on everybody in the ghetto, from the Lubavitchers and Caribbean blacks in Crown Heights to the Puerto Ricans and Satmar Hassidim in Williamsburg, the whole splintered "mosaic" of peoples now at each other's throats.

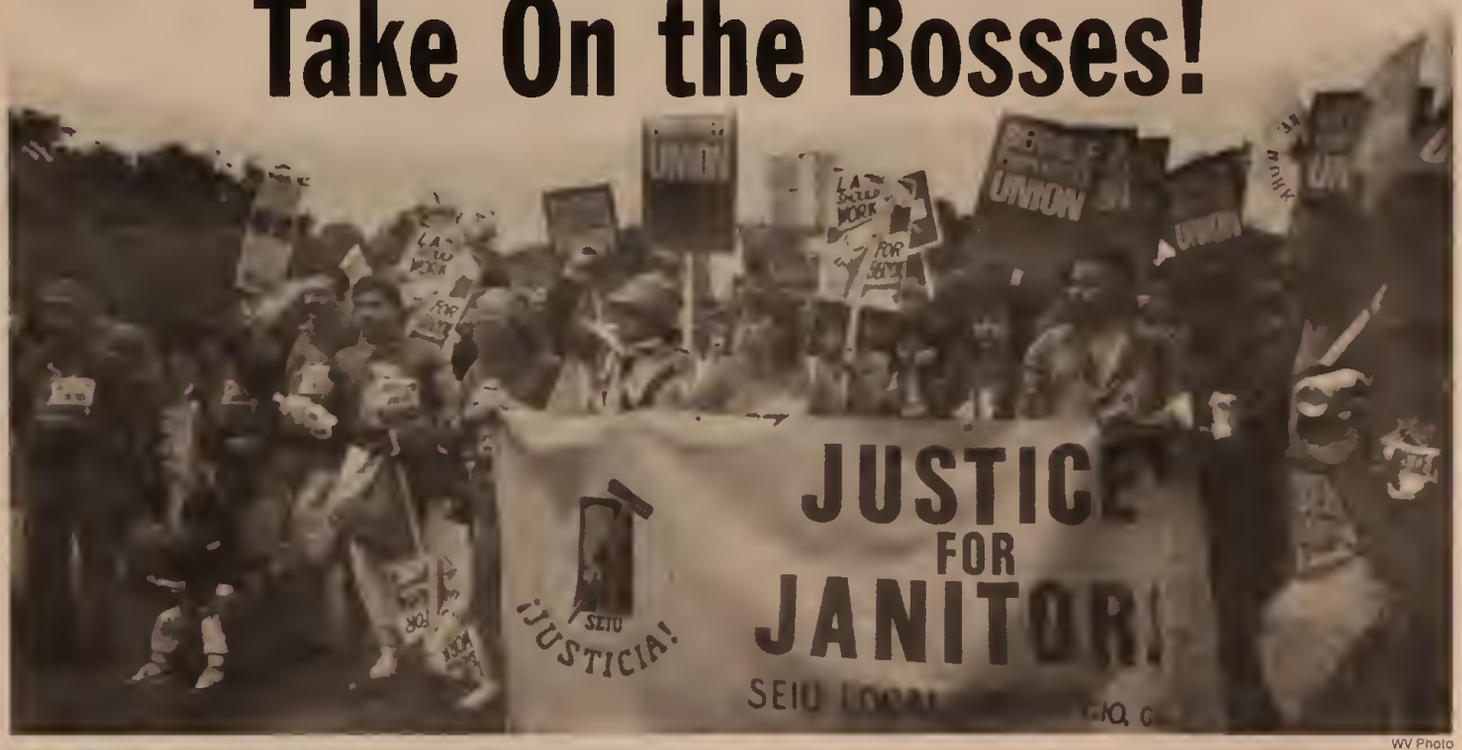
As American capitalism is going down, the brutal swath of the police, vigilante squads and racist terrorists is increasingly evident. And increasingly the capitalists are "privatizing" their repression. The use of rent-a-thug "security guards" (in addition to hundreds of city police) by the *Daily News* against strikers was one example. Another is the violent "SSI Patrol Services," operating out of East New York, which is hired by landlords to intimidate tenants and supposedly go after drug dealers. "SSI Patrols" is owned by Herschel Weber, a Hassidic rabbi from Williamsburg, who staffs his squads with black Muslims, including many who learned their violent trade in the drug world and the prisons before they underwent jailhouse conversions to Islam.

Neither the city nor the state nor Washington has any intention of doing anything to relieve the hopeless frustration of ghetto kids with no future. The nightstick, the prison cell, and the death penalty are the offerings at hand. Every kind of social relief possible has already been slashed to the bone to pay Wall Street and to buy more cops and jails. When they got together, all Cuomo and Dinkins wanted to talk about was whether or not to send in the National Guard. It's going to take hard class struggle and a revolutionary workers party to defend the myriad communities which make up this country, and to win a future for an entire generation of youth. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Chained to the Democrats, Knifed by AFL-CIO Tops

Labor: Throw Out the Sellouts, Take On the Bosses!



WV Photo

Militant Latino janitors in L.A. struck in June 1990, won union recognition.

Don't Beg Congress—Stop Scabs with Picket Lines!

Every worker who comes to "Solidarity Day II" in Washington knows that the labor movement is reeling. The AFL-CIO tops say the purpose of this rally is lobbying Congress to pass the so-called "Workplace Fairness Act" to stop employers from permanently replacing strikers with scabs, as well as pushing national health care and civil rights bills. But ten years of defeats for the unions and minorities won't be changed by begging this Congress of millionaires, who are no "friends of labor" but, in fact, the *enemies of labor*. In reality, Lane Kirkland & Co. are trying to line up unionists, blacks and Hispanics as foot soldiers for the bosses' Democratic Party in '92, a party so moribund it can't even get it together to put up a candidate against Bush.

You're going to hear a lot of nickel-and-dime BS from the stage August 31. The truth is: *what this country needs is a revolution, and a revolutionary workers party to lead it.*

It's been ten years since the first "Solidarity Day" demonstration, when half a million workers poured into Washington because they wanted to defend the PATCO air controllers. But while letting PATCO strikers get hauled off in chains, the "AFL-CIA" hureaucrats funneled millions of dollars into Reagan's favorite "union," Polish Solidarność. So PATCO was smashed...and now Polish workers are being starved by Lech Walesa's Solidarność government acting for the Western banks. Today Kirkland wines and dines Bush's stooge Boris Yeltsin and finances the Inkatha killers for South African apartheid. And as counterrevolution rampages in the Soviet Union, the stage at "Solidarity" Day is to be filled with Lithuanian reactionaries, who hail their "freedom" under Nazi occupation, and other pro-capitalist "free trade unionists."

AP

WV Photo

Opening shot of Reagan's war on labor: Air traffic controllers union leaders are led away in chains, PATCO marchers in 1981 "Solidarity Day."

Ten years ago the official slogan was "Solidarity in '81—Victory in '82." In other words, vote Democrat. And what's happened since? One strike after another busted, the union movement in worse shape than at any time since the early '30s, official unemployment figures climbing while millions more have given up looking for work. Health care is nonexistent for many and abysmal for most, three million people live in the streets of our cities and are reduced to picking empties out of the garbage. Young black men have a better chance of doing a term in jail—if they aren't gunned down on the streets—than in college. Young women are being forced to bear babies they can't care for or risk their lives in back-alley abortions.

Changing policies or parties in the White House won't make a damned bit of difference in our lives. The Democrats and Republicans are partner parties of American capitalism, committed to spending trillions on war and bank bailouts and taking it out of the pockets of the workers and poor. Aiding and abetting these enemies of the working people is the labor hureaucracy.There must be a fight to *sweep away these labor traitors*

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For a Fighting Workers Party! For a Socialist America!

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 534

13 September 1991

Defeat Yeltsin/Gorbachev Counterrevolution!

Nationalist Bloodbath Threatens in Soviet Breakup

SEPTEMBER 10—Boris Yeltsin threatens to annex the Russian-populated regions of the Ukraine and Kazakhstan. Newly independent Lithuania declares a blanket amnesty for wartime Nazi collaborators and mass murderers. Georgia's dictatorial nationalist president orders that oppositional demonstrators be met with a hail of gunfire. This is the true face of the counterrevolutionary tide dissolving the Soviet Union, a counterrevolution hailed by Wall Street and Washington as a triumph of "democracy" and the "death of Communism."

In the wake of the pathetically botched August 19 coup by Kremlin Stalinists, Yeltsin, with an enfeebled Gorbachev in tow, seized the reins of power in Moscow in the name of "free market" capitalism and Russian nationalism. The Communist Party was suppressed, and a purge of 80 percent of the senior commanders of the Soviet military announced. The imperialists declared victory in their 74-year war—sometimes hot, sometimes "cold"—against the Bolshevik Revolution.

As we wrote two weeks ago: "The working people of the Soviet Union, and indeed the workers of the world, have suffered an unparalleled disaster whose devastating consequences are now being played out.... But while Yeltsin & Co. now see a clear field to push through a forced-draft reintroduction of capitalism, *the outcome is not yet definitively decided*" ("Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" *WV* No. 533, 30 August).

The Soviet Union is descending into near-total political, national and economic chaos. One republic after another has declared "independence" from the impotent Moscow center, raising the prospect of border wars, mass forced population transfers and communalist blood feuds. Industrial output is in a free fall, while prices are expected to increase tenfold or more over the next year. The winter threatens to bring mass unemployment and famine.

Der Spiegel

Juraitis/Sipa

All the old crap returns: Russian Orthodox priest on barricades at Yeltsin's "White House" (left); rabid Lithuanian nationalists celebrate counterrevolution (right).

Trying to balance atop the collapsing power structure, Gorbachev, backed by Yeltsin, rammed through the self-liquidation of the Congress of People's Deputies. For the moment, the repository of "authority" will be a Council of Republics consisting of Gorbachev and representatives of ten republics which have not completely severed their ties to Moscow. But Yeltsin's Russian republic holds the whip hand. On the streets of Moscow, this Council is already being called the "GKChP II," after the coup plotters' "emergency committee."

At the end of their last session, Gorbachev gave the People's Deputies the kiss-off: "OK, that's it, *tovarishchi, do svidaniya*"—"goodbye, comrades." It might have been easy to dismiss these parliamentary cretins, who were pieced off by getting to keep their salaries, and perks like free air travel. But it will not be so easy to deal with an angry and hungry working class. Gorbachev's former foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze, a leading light in the "democratic" counterrevolution, warns: "Last time round it was a palace coup. I don't think that will happen again. But that doesn't mean people won't take to the streets to rebel against chaos in the economy."

The last couple of weeks have seen little more than parliamentary playacting. The real question is what will happen when the new regimes in Russia, the Ukraine and other republics begin to introduce the various "shock therapies" aimed at moving toward capitalism. Should workers take to the streets to defend themselves against the ravages of capitalist restoration, against the shutdown of "unprofitable" enterprises, mass unemployment and impending starvation, all the plans of the imperialists and their Soviet running dogs could go up in smoke.

Through the dissemination of our propaganda and a Trotskyist program of struggle against the counterrevolution, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) seeks to cohere an authentically communist nucleus to intervene in this desperate situation to lead the coming struggles of the working class to victory against the now ascendant counterrevolution.

Rapacious Nationalists Come to the Fore

From Tatar villages on the Volga to Moscow's intellectual circles, there is a growing fear of Yeltsin as a new Russian tsar. Former dissident Roy Medvedev, who admirably still calls himself a Communist, voiced these sentiments:

> "The failed coup is turning into a countercoup. Everything that is happening suggests a state of total emergency. Many of the decrees that Yeltsin has issued and that Gorbachev has swallowed are constitutionally illegal. The laws on freedom of the press and political parties have already been trampled on by the closure of newspapers and the closure of all the

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SEE PAGE SIX

End of the Road for the CPUSA

With the dramatic collapse of Stalinism in the Soviet Union, the American media has focused unusual attention on longtime Communist Party USA leader Gus Hall as the last living Stalinist on the face of the planet. *Time* magazine (9 September) did a two-page spread on Hall as the "Last of the Red-Hot Believers." It's obvious even to the dim bulbs in the bourgeois press that the CPUSA has just lost its reason for existence. In fact, the party has been deeply split at the top for some time, with a whole section looking to jump ship, and the Moscow coup and countercoup have brought this to a head.

The CP's first public reaction was a pathetically cynical attempt to deny that very much had happened in the Soviet Union. The headline of the 24 August *People's Weekly World* announced: "Gorbachev Returns; Socialism Faces New Challenges." An editorial dutifully repeated the Gorbachev line: "We, along with democratic-minded people everywhere, are pleased that the Soviet people have successfully defended their democratic achievements."

However, rumors circulated around the party that Gus Hall had, predictably enough, supported the coup. Now a document by party oppositionists indicates that the official leadership line during those three days in August was to "neither condemn nor condone" the coup leaders' Emergency Committee, and "we were warned that we should not join 'the bring back Gorbachev bandwagon'." But since Gorbachev was brought back in tandem with the arch anti-Communist Yeltsin, Hall is a man in big trouble.

NEW YORK PEOPLE'S WEEKLY World

Critical City Council elections due in NYC

DIRECT FROM MOSCOW

Gorbachev returns; socialism faces new challenges

Seidman/Washington Post

CPUSA leader Gus Hall. CP is split over Moscow coup—both sides bankrupt.

At an August 30 press conference at party headquarters, Hall squirmed, saying that political life is like a garden and "socialism is not an annual, it is a perennial." Asked why the Soviet CP was banned, he replied, "I can't explain what happened yesterday.... I would suggest that they check the air-conditioner vents" in the Soviet legislature to see "whether something didn't come through the system that caused that kind of insanity" (*Washington Post*, 31 August).

Now that Gorbachev has dissolved the Soviet Communist Party and agreed to its illegalization, Hall wonders "whether Gorbachev was ever for socialism." On the political hot seat, the CPUSA chairman was forced to admit in an internal party speech on August 27 that "the takeover by the eight was an ill-conceived, anti-constitutional act." But, still, "it had a much broader base than we thought" and "it dealt with real problems."

Hall is trying to save himself from the debacle in Moscow by proclaiming his party stands for America-first socialism: "we are not directly a part of Soviet developments," he said in the August 27 talk. "Our main focus must be on the problems of our country and our people, our working class...the main ball we have to keep our eyes on is here in the USA."

He even criticized some comrades for wanting to discuss Soviet developments: "Right in the middle of the racist struggle in Brooklyn, comrades who lived there, some did some good work. But some did nothing but insisted on meetings about the Moscow crisis, not the Brooklyn crisis." A counterrevolutionary regime has just taken over Moscow. The Communist Party has just been outlawed. All Soviet republics have declared their independence. And Gus Hall insists that Communists focus only on what's happening in...Brooklyn!

Hall's "our country first" line might perhaps work for the French Stalinists. Always virulently chauvinist, the French CP retains a significant, though rapidly shrinking, working-class base. Marchais & Co. could for a while compete with the social democrats as a third-rate reformist and social-patriotic party. But without its ties to and identification with the Kremlin leadership, the CPUSA is nothing. There is nothing it does that is not done bigger and better by the DSA social democrats, AFL-CIO bureaucrats, black Democrats and pacifists.

In an odd sort of way, Hall's current stance is analogous to those Stalinist apparatchiks running non-Russian Soviet republics, like the Ukraine and Byelorussia, who declared their independence from Moscow after the coup flopped. But, alas, poor Gus does not hold governmental power. Indeed, his position in his own party is shaky and no doubt getting shakier.

While Hall was clearly and increasingly hostile to perestroika and glasnost, a large section of the party has used the disintegration of the CPSU under Gorbachev to push for total liquidation of the CPUSA into the Democratic Party. This faction embraced many of the CP's leading black cadre, who apparently think they can have a bright future in black Democratic Party politics, perhaps as staffers for the likes of Douglas Wilder. Well over a year ago CP leader James Jackson hailed Wilder, who stands for the racist death penalty, as "a new face of a new democracy in Virginia."

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The Bolsheviks and the Soviet National Question

TROTSKY

LENIN

The 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and formation of the Soviet Union were based on proletarian internationalism and a fundamental commitment to national equality for all its peoples. The Stalinist bureaucracy, in the name of "socialism in one country," perverted these Leninist principles, fostered a revival of Great Russian chauvinism and fueled reactionary nationalist tendencies in the non-Russian republics. The 1919 program of the Russian Communist Party (Bolshevik) linked the fraternal unity of nationalities within a federated Soviet workers state to the perspective of world socialist revolution.

The October Revolution of 25 October (7 November) 1917, in Russia, established the dictatorship of the proletariat, which, assisted by poor peasantry and semi-proletariat, began to lay the foundations of a communist society. The course of development of revolutions in Germany and Austria-Hungary, the growth of the revolutionary movement of the proletariat in all advanced countries, the spreading of the Soviet form of this movement, that is, a form that is directed to the immediate establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat—all this proved that there had begun the era of a world-wide proletarian communist revolution....

With reference to the nationality question the RKP [Russian Communist Party] is guided by the following tenets:

1. The principal aim is the policy of bringing about closer relations between the proletarians and semi-proletarians of different nationalities, in order to carry on a general revolutionary struggle for the overthrow of the landlords and the bourgeoisie.

2. In order to remove mistrust on the part of the working masses of the oppressed countries toward the proletariat of those states which oppressed them, it is necessary to abolish all privileges of any national group, to proclaim the full equality of nations and to recognize the rights of colonies and dependent nations to state separation,...

Particular care and attention must be exercised by the proletariat of those nations which were oppressing nations, toward the remnants of national feelings of the working masses of the oppressed or dependant nations. Only by such a policy is it possible to create favourable conditions for a voluntary and real unity of different national elements of the international proletariat, as has been proved by the experiment of the union of several national Soviet republics around Soviet Russia.

—*Programme of the RKP(b)* (March 1919)

CORRECTIONS

A note from former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal, imprisoned on Pennsylvania's death row, brought an error to our attention: the article "Cuba in the Cross Hairs of Yankee Imperialism" (*WV* No. 531, 19 July) identified Assata Shakur (JoAnne Chesimard), now in exile in Cuba, as one of the New York Panther 21. As her 1987 autobiography, *Assata*, attests, she came to political consciousness as a black radical who later joined the Black Panther Party in New York. But Shakur was not a defendant in the case of the "Panther 21," who were jailed in 1969 on blatant frame-up charges of plotting to blow up, among other things, the Bronx Botanical Garden and Macy's. The charges were ludicrous and the 21 were eventually acquitted, but the arrests kept the New York Panther leadership behind bars in a critical period.

The Assata Shakur case also stemmed from a nationwide roundup of Black Panther Party leaders under the FBI's COINTELPRO operation. She was convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment after state troopers opened fire on a car of ex-Panthers on the New Jersey Turnpike in 1973. A cop and former Panther Zayd Shakur were both killed during the assault. Sundiata Acoli (Clark Squires), one of the Panther 21, was also convicted in this case. Two years after being convicted, Assata escaped from prison. She was given political asylum by Cuba, where she now resides.

The article "Death in Crown Heights" (*WV* No. 533, 30 August) noted that along with hundreds of black youth arrested, the police had reportedly arrested 40 Hasidic men during the week of unrest. However, the *New York Times*, from which we took this figure, subsequently published a correction saying the number of Hasidic men arrested was "4" not "40."

Our article also stated that both Gavin Cato, a seven-year-old black child from Guyana, and Yankel Rosenbaum, a 29-year-old Hasidic scholar from Australia, "died on the streets of Crown Heights." Rosenbaum was stabbed on the street, but as later revealed by *Newsday* (30 August), he was brought to Kings County Hospital in stable condition and only died two hours later. A chest x-ray which showed blood accumulating in his lung wasn't even examined by a radiologist until after he was dead!

Newsday quoted one doctor as saying, "The injuries he had sustained were peripheral lung injuries. They were the type of injuries that should not kill anyone in 1991." The paper further noted, "Some medical experts, including the associate director of Kings County's emergency room, Dr. Kildare Clarke, said Rosenbaum was the victim of poor medical care patients receive in New York's municipal hospital system."

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions $7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 534 **13 September 1991**

German Reichskanzler Invited to Berkeley

Helmut Kohl on "Human Values"?

What's Next—Goebbels on "Honesty in the Media"?

So Helmut Kohl, the chancellor of the reunified Fourth Reich of German imperialism, will be received by the chancellor of UC Berkeley and deliver the "Tanner Lecture on Human Values" on September 13. To mention Kohl and "human values" in the same breath is a real oxymoron, a gross contradiction in terms. The *Reichskanzler*'s idea of humanism was shown when he and Ronald Reagan laid wreaths at the graves of Nazi SS men in the Bitburg military cemetery, saying these mass murderers were "victims" of World War II. Just like in the Orwellian lingo of the 1980s Cold War II, Nicaraguan contra terrorists and barbaric Afghan *mujahedin* were "freedom fighters." Or in the Vietnam War, when the U.S. military bombed peasant villages in order to "save" them. When the imperialists talk about "human values," read anti-Communism.

During the East German (DDR) election campaign of March 1990, a sign held by a Kohl supporter proclaimed, "Helmut take us by the hand, into the *Wirtschaftswunderland*," the land of the "economic miracle." By promising a pot of D-marks at the end of the rainbow, voters were stampeded into voting for *Anschluss* (annexation) by capitalist West Germany. But instead, in East Germany, where collectivized property and a planned economy had provided full employment, subsidized housing, day care and education, there are now more than four million jobless—*half* the entire workforce—and children's nurseries and hospital clinics are being closed down while neo-Nazi gangs terrorize foreign workers and gays. Mass unemployment, poverty, housing shortages, fascist violence—that's Kohl & Co.'s idea of "human values."

And victimization of women: more than half of those laid off are women, who are being sent back to "home and hearth" for their lives to be dominated by "*Kinder, Küche, Kirche*" (children, kitchen, church), the holy trinity of the bourgeois family. Like Hitler, who wanted to breed "healthy Aryans" for the Reich, Kohl & Co. are trying to impose West German laws outlawing abortion on women in the conquered DDR. These anti-abortion laws have not only forced thousands of West German women to go to the Netherlands for an abortion, but subjected many to *forced gynecological examinations* and prosecution if border guards suspect they left the country to have an abortion! For under this Bismarckian law, the wombs of German women belong to the German state.

Crowning the Fourth Reich

During the 1990 East German elections, the walls of Kohl's campaign headquarters featured a map of Germany with its 1937 borders. With the capitalist reunification of Germany, its rulers think they have reversed the verdict of Hitler's defeat in World War II. They want to bring the Baltic lands "home to the Reich." In appointing new German ambassadors, Bonn foreign minister Genscher spoke of Germany's "historic responsibility toward the Baltic states." Right, like Nazi occupation in WW II, the German barons who lorded it over Baltic peasants for centuries, the Hanseatic League, the Teutonic Knights? German imperialism is also bidding for mastery of the Balkans by championing the secession of Slovenia and Croatia in Yugoslavia. And behind Kohl's pleas for more aid to the Soviet Union lies the Fourth Reich's hope to achieve through D-mark imperialism what Wehrmacht Panzers failed to do in Operation Barbarossa.

The aspirations of German imperialism to regain what they see as "their" hinterland in the East were symbolized in the reburial last month amid great pomp of the long-dead Hohenzollern rulers of Prussia—Frederick the Great and his father, Frederick I. Hitler had ordered the remains of the two Fredericks removed to the West in 1945 to prevent them from falling into the hands of the Red Army. Now their cadavers were returned on an imperial train of the last Kaiser and in a ghoulish "affair of state," 50,000 filed past the coffins, which were reburied at the stroke of midnight at Frederick the Great's former Sanssouci Palace in Potsdam. Earlier, the "Quadriga of Victory," a statue of a chariot drawn by four horses, was hoisted back atop the Brandenburg Gate complete with the Prussian iron cross and eagle which had been removed during the four decades of the DDR deformed workers state.

Paul O'Driscoll

Fourth Reich necrophilia: Reburial of Emperor Frederick the Great at his Sanssouci Palace in August.

This was the crowning of the Fourth Reich, a celebration of counterrevolution. Reburying Prussian monarchs has a history. On 21 March 1933 Adolf Hitler officially founded the Third Reich on the grave of Frederick the Great (and a portrait of Frederick was the only picture on the wall of Hitler's last bunker). Today, the Bonn government—the self-proclaimed legal successor state to Hitler's Reich—makes a new grave for the Hohenzollern prince as their formal political declaration of imperial continuity going back to the Holy Roman Empire (which, as the French *philosophe* Voltaire quipped, was neither holy nor Roman nor an empire). The site of Potsdam, where for the past 45 years a garrison of Soviet troops had stood on guard against NATO imperialism, added to the intended message of the German rulers: counterrevolution in the DDR is completed and the new Reich is now the preeminent power in Europe.

The reburial of the Fredericks was held under the aegis of the SPD president of the state of Brandenburg, Bishop Stolpe. In World War I, the Social Democrats became last-ditch defenders of the Hohenzollern monarchy. In August 1914, they dutifully voted war credits for the Reich. And in November 1918, when German defeat made Kaiser Wilhelm's departure inevitable, SPD leader Ebert still desperately sought to save the monarchy. The bourgeois republic was proclaimed only to head off socialist revolution. The SPD "bloodhounds" joined with the imperial German military to crush the Spartakist-led revolutionary workers and to murder their leaders, Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. Eighty years later, the SPD were advance men for German imperialism's drive to restore the "freedom and democracy" of capitalist exploitation in the DDR.

While German nationalists Hitler and now Kohl have laid claim to the legacy of Frederick the Great, this feudal despot wouldn't have let either of them shine his boots. The paradigm of "enlightened absolutism," Frederick looked to France for culture (he corresponded extensively with Voltaire) and would have despised their nationalist glorification of Germany. On the other hand, for modern German capitalist rulers to resurrect this 18th century absolutist monarch, who looked to the Junker's whip and corporal's baton to rule what German Enlightenment writer Lessing described as "the most slavish country of Europe," testifies to the degeneration of capitalist rule. And it may be unnerving to Germany's neighbors. Frederick expanded his Prussian kingdom by conquering Silesia and participating in the first partition of Poland. "The first hallmark of a prince should be to survive," he wrote in his 1768 testament, "the second, to expand."

Socialism or Barbarism

Among Kohl's imperialist allies, the "replanting" of the Fredericks raised more than a few eyebrows. *Newsweek* (12 August) said that it "seems almost deliberately provocative" to "evoke the ghosts of German militarism." But Kohl is deliberately seeking to rehabilitate the Prussian military heritage as part of re-establishing Germany as a "normal" imperialist power: "old Prussian values in the best sense should live on," he stated. In this he has the support of much of Germany's bourgeois literati. Countess Marion Dönhoff (whose family held East Prussian estates), in an essay on "Old Fritz and the New Times" (*Die Zeit*, 16 August), rejected complaints about "too much hoopla": "The spirit of the times is at fault—nothing goes without hoopla: even a dubious victory is celebrated with the biggest confetti parade of all times." Such genteel imperialist pique.

Attempting to reassert the U.S.A. as top gun of the world, and to put the screws to their imperialist rivals in Germany and Japan, Bush and the Pentagon slaughtered more than 100,000 Iraqi soldiers and civilians this year. Using the pretext of the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait, the U.S. rulers reckoned that with their hands on the oil spigot in the Persian Gulf they could cut off their economic competitors when they felt like it (while asking them to foot the bill for the war!). When Reagan joined Kohl in saluting Nazi SS graves at Bitburg in 1985, U.S. rulers were embracing the "enemy" of World War II as their "ally" in the drive to destroy the "Communist menace" of the Soviet Union. But having proclaimed victory in the Cold War, Washington looks around and sees a different world.

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Soviet Union...

(continued from page 1)

> Communist Party offices. These are bad signs."
>
> —*Guardian* [London], 30 August

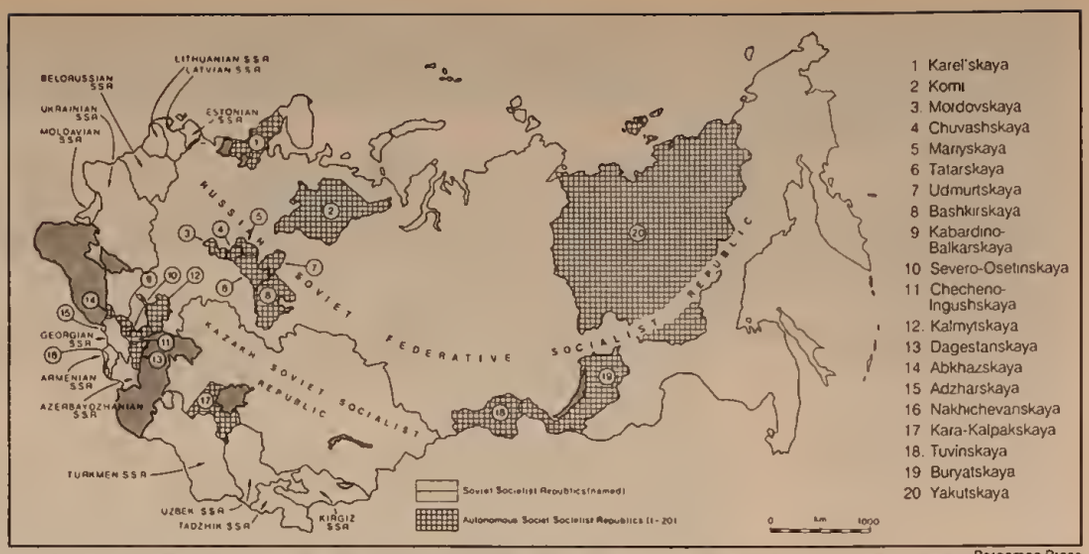
Yeltsin and his Russian nationalist cohorts wasted no time in unsheathing the claws of the Great Russian bear. In response to Ukrainian president Leonid Kravchuk's declaration of "independence," Yeltsin ominously threatened to "review" Russia's borders, while vowing to "defend the interests of Russians outside the Russian republic." Leningrad mayor Anatoly Sobchak has demanded that the Crimean peninsula, placed under Ukrainian control by Khrushchev, be returned to Russia.

Yeltsin is flagrantly courting the present-day descendants of the Black Hundreds, the Pamyat fascists whom he legitimized in one of his first acts as Moscow party chief in the mid-1980s. Asked his opinion of the "very strongly anti-Semitic" Pamyat in a September 5 ABC-TV "town meeting" interview, Yeltsin blithely replied that this fascist outfit is not "so extreme as it was when it was started." He added: "I've had dealings with Pamyat for quite a long time."

Gorbachev's market "reforms" fueled the resurgence of long suppressed nationalist antagonisms—first expressed in the fratricidal fighting between Armenians and Azerbaijanis in the Caucasus—and encouraged Great Russian fascists like Pamyat and the Hitlerite NTS to emerge from their rat holes. From the time Pamyat first appeared on the streets of Moscow and Leningrad, we Trotskyists called for independent mobilizations of workers, Red Army men and women, Jews and other minorities to sweep these fascist blackshirts away. The bureaucracy, for its part, protected Pamyat, and now these pogromists are flourishing under the flag of the new counterrevolutionary regime.

Yeltsinites and Stalinist "patriots" alike have acted to drive Soviet Jews, whose forebears fought in disproportionate numbers to defend the Soviet state in the Civil War and World War II, into the arms of the Zionist deathtrap of Israel. An authentic Leninist vanguard, as "tribune of the people," must combat all manifestations of anti-Semitism.

The new Council of Republics is aimed at presiding over the "orderly collapse" of the Soviet state. But the collapse of the Soviet Union will be neither orderly nor democratic. The multinational population of the USSR is deeply interpenetrated—indeed, often intermarried—far more so than under the tsars. In Estonia only three people out of five are ethnic Estonians, in Latvia one out of two are Latvians, and in Kazakhstan, scarcely more than one in three are Kazakhs. And Russia is home to more than 100 national and ethnic groupings, including 16 autonomous republics. At the Congress of People's Deputies representatives of these nationalities asked for guarantees against



Pergamon Press

Soviet Union united over a hundred peoples. Drive for capitalist restoration has sparked orgy of nationalist strife. Return to the internationalist program of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolsheviks!

Yeltsin's Russian nationalist regime.

The virulent petty-bourgeois nationalists who now reign supreme in the various former union republics—mostly drawn from the old Stalinist bureaucracy—are out to resurrect the "right" of their nationality to lord it over others. In Moldavia, nationalist leader Mircea Snegur calls for unification with Romania in order to "fulfill the dream of our King Stephen the Great"—from the 15th century! Needless to say, this does not sit well with the more than one-third of the Moldavian population which is Russian, Ukrainian or Turkic-speaking Gaugaz, nor even with many ethnic Romanians.

In response, non-Romanian minorities have declared an independent Socialist Republic of Dniester, where statues of Lenin still stand, and staged militant protests—including stopping trains—to demand the release of their president arrested by the Moldavian authorities. "We want to remain in the Soviet Union," said one elderly Ukrainian woman protester (*New York Times*, 2 September).

The Latvian government is debating whether to even grant citizenship rights, much less language equality, to the 48 percent of its population who are Russians, Ukrainians, Byelorussians or other non-Balts. What is involved here is not only national but also *class* oppression, for Russian-speaking workers make up the overwhelming majority of the industrial proletariat in Latvia and also Estonia. These Russian-speaking workers are far from powerless against the new regimes' attempt to make them non-citizens or drive them from their homes. *The formation of real workers soviets in Riga and Tallinn could teach the petty-bourgeois Baltic nationalists a well-needed lesson in democracy.*

Spartacist

Pamyat fascists, Great Russian anti-Semitic terrorists, legitimized by Yeltsin, march in Moscow earlier this year with portrait of Tsar Nicholas II.

Nazi Collaborators and Imperialist Puppets

The heritage of bourgeois "independence" and "democracy" that the various nationalists in the Soviet Union harken back to today is one of imperialist subjugation, fascism and bonapartist dictatorship. An international uproar was triggered over news that "democratic" Lithuania has been "rehabilitating" thousands of Nazi collaborators sentenced for war crimes by Soviet courts.

Zionist anti-Communist Elie Wiesel exclaims, "That this would be among the first steps of an independent Lithuania is something no decent person can understand or accept." What did he expect? Interwar Lithuania was under the grip of a regime of White Terror which persecuted Communists and oppressed Jews, Poles, Russians and other minorities. The pro-capitalist Lithuanian Sajudis nationalists glory in this past and, not surprisingly, are shot through with outright fascists.

In the western Ukrainian city of Lvov recently, there was a march of World War II "anti-Soviet partisans" in full battle regalia and uniforms. To be an "anti-Soviet partisan" in World War II was, simply put, to be a Nazi or Nazi collaborator. The most prominent of these outfits, the Union of Ukrainian Nationalists (OUN) of Stepan Bandera, was notorious for its massacres of Jews, Poles and Communists in the western Ukraine. Well before Hitler launched his Operation Barbarossa, the OUN "had been busy preparing for the Nazis lists of Jewish and Polish intellectuals to be murdered as soon as Lvov fell into their hands" (Reuben Ainsztein, *Jewish Resistance in Nazi-Occupied Eastern Europe* [1974]). Alongside and subordinate to the war between the Red Army and Nazi Germany, the Ukraine was the scene of a *civil war* between anti-Communist Ukrainian nationalists on the one hand and Jewish and Red partisans on the other.

The Ukrainian and Baltic collaborators of the Third Reich were but the continuation of the imperialist-backed nationalist forces who fought the Bolsheviks in the Civil War of 1918-21. German imperialism presided over the

Spartacus Youth Club Forums

Bankrupt Stalinism Opens Floodgates to Capitalist Restoration

Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution in USSR!

Speaker
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Speaker: Joseph Seymour, SL Central Committee
Thursday, Sept. 19, 5:30 p.m.
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Student Union B112
For more information: (415) 777-9367
SAN FRANCISCO

Saturday, Sept. 21, 7:30 p.m.
University of California at Berkeley
126 Barrows
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OAKLAND

Thursday, Sept. 19
7:30 p.m.
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See "Today in the Union" for room
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MADISON

Speaker
Len Meyers, *WV* Editorial Board
Thursday, Sept. 26, 7:30 p.m.
Place to be announced
For more information: (617) 492-3928
BOSTON

Planeta

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Novosti

Novosti

Leaders of the Bolshevik Revolution. From left: Yakov Sverdlov, first president of Soviet Republic; Feliks Dzerzhinsky, founder of Cheka; Stepan Shaumyan, heed of 1918 Baku soviet; Christian Rakovsky, first president of Soviet Ukraine.

birth of an "independent" Ukraine, and joined with British imperialism to "self-determine" the Baltic states and Georgia. While the peasant masses of Estonia and Latvia flocked to the red banner of Bolshevism in 1917—with the Latvian Riflemen serving as crack troops in the young Soviet regime—the bourgeois and landlord classes which had formerly been a bulwark of the Romanovs took the road of separatism as a means of combatting the revolution.

The situation in Transcaucasia was even more striking. In Baku in 1918, the Armenian Bolshevik Stepan Shaumyan formed a soviet government based on largely Azerbaijani and Russian oil workers. Shaumyan and his comrades were subsequently murdered by nationalist forces acting on British orders. In contrast, the bourgeois Transcaucasian Republic formed at the same time rapidly fell apart as Armenian, Azerbaijani and Georgian nationalists went at each other: Azerbaijan became a puppet of Turkey, Menshevik Georgia a vassal of first German and then British imperialism. Only after the Bolsheviks defeated the nationalists and their imperialist patrons was a basis laid for these interpenetrated national communities to coexist.

Leninist Internationalism vs. Stalinist Nationalism

The Bolshevik Revolution transformed what Lenin called the tsarist "prison house of peoples" into a multinational federation. It was only the Bolsheviks' internationalist program, which asserted full and equal national rights for all peoples *in order to secure the fullest unity of the workers of all nationalities*, which made this possible. The Bolshevik leadership was an embodiment of this perspective. Alongside the Russians Lenin and Bukharin there were the Pole Dzerzhinsky, the Romanian Rakovsky, the Georgian Stalin, the Armenian Shaumyan, the Jews Sverdlov and Trotsky, and others.

As the administrative apparatus of the Soviet state and Bolshevik Party cohered into a bureaucratic caste, and as this caste usurped political power in 1923-24, these internationalist policies were subverted and finally reversed. Confined to bed by illness in 1923, Lenin urged a full-scale assault on the ascendant bureaucracy headed by Stalin, particularly over the latter's arrogant treatment of the Georgian Communists in 1922. The struggle against the emerging Stalinist bureaucracy was taken up by the Trotskyist Left Opposition.

Despite the bureaucratic degeneration of the Soviet regime, the foundations of the planned economy instituted by the October Revolution laid the basis for a massive advancement by the minority nationalities formerly oppressed under the tsarist empire. Speaking of continuing advances in national policy, Trotsky noted in *The Revolution Betrayed* (1937): "This is especially true of the backward nationalities of the Union, which must of necessity pass through a more or less prolonged period of borrowing, imitation and assimilation of what exists." The nomadic peoples of Siberia, the Muslim clans of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan were brought forward centuries in a matter of decades.

If the Central Asian republics continue to remain under the control of old-line Stalinists—who, to be sure, now espouse Turkic nationalism—and statues of Lenin continue to stand in Tashkent, it is because these peoples more than any other Soviet nationality benefited from the strides forward Soviet power brought them. Even now, up to half of the budgets of the Central Asian republics rely on subsidies from the center. And it is they who will suffer most from a capitalist free-for-all.

At the same time, Yeltsin & Co. have incited resentment among Russians that the great wealth of Siberia's natural resources goes in part to develop the more backward Turkic-speaking regions. The Yeltsinite "free marketeers"—largely the children of Stalin's apparatchiks—want to sell Siberia's oil and natural gas fields, and gold and diamond mines, to Wall Street and Frankfurt so they can live like Western yuppies.

Indeed, the immediate background to the recent flood of nationalist antagonisms was not the Great Russian chauvinism of the center. Perestroika fueled the aspirations of the more advanced republics like the Baltics and Armenia for an even greater slice of the pie. Baltic nationalists dream that by ridding themselves of Russia and the more backward republics and prostituting themselves to the deutschmark, they will live like Scandinavians. They might ponder what the D-mark has brought to the former East Germany—four million unemployed, economic devastation, social collapse.

Genuine Leninists stand for full equality of all nations and nationalities in a genuinely socialist federation.

Soviet Workers: Fight Capitalist Enslavement!

It will take more than parliamentary decrees to dismantle the Soviet state and consolidate a capitalist regime. While the pinnacles of the military, police and administrative apparatus are now occupied by counterrevolutionaries, the multimillioned base of the state apparatus will not be so easily purged. Moreover, the centrifugal tendencies being promoted by the various separatist forces collide head-on with the fact that the economies of the republics are strongly intertwined and based from top to bottom on a centralized economy.

Talk of reorganizing the economy along the lines of the European Common Market is ludicrous. The Soviet republics are far more dependent on each other than even Wales and England, or any two states in the U.S. Nine of the 15 republics export more than 60 percent of their output to the rest of the Soviet Union, and virtually every industrial enterprise relies on other republics for raw materials and parts. One Western economist warns: "The process of establishing an efficient, prosperous market economy in the U.S.S.R. will take not years but decades."

Even given this illusory perspective, it would mean years of grinding poverty for the working people, throwing their living standards back to the days of tsarism. Yet the aspiring Soviet capitalists worry that they will not survive even the coming winter if they cannot put food on the tables of the workers.

The working class has yet to make its voice heard. But there are unmistakable rumblings of discontent with the "new order." Tens of thousands have come to Lenin's mausoleum, standing in lines that have reached a mile long. And unlike the smug yuppies and pampered children of the bureaucracy who flocked to Yeltsin, those who gather to pay their respects to the founder of the Soviet state are predominantly working people.

Soviet workers do not relish the prospect of seeing their cities, and even their immediate families, torn apart by nationalist fratricide. They are already fed up with the rampant black marketeering and grotesque avarice fostered by five years of partial capitalist measures. And those still seduced by the siren song that full-fledged capitalism will bring VCRs and stereos to all will soon be rudely awakened.

As a worried Eduard Shevardnadze noted: "If people take to the streets, it is impossible to predict what slogans they will be guided by, and who will lead that movement." In his own counterrevolutionary way, Shevardnadze understands that the fate of the Soviet Union will be decided by who will lead the working masses and under what program.

Soviet Stalinism is dead, and despite the imperialist and Stalinist lies that Stalinism was identical to communism, there is a sense among Soviet working people that this is not the case. One woman waiting outside Lenin's mausoleum said, "He tried to do good things for our country, but over the years his ideas have been distorted."

What is key to reversing the counterrevolutionary tide sweeping the homeland of October is for the vanguard elements of the Soviet working class to rediscover the undistorted program of Leninism, regrouping in a Trotskyist party all the forces who would return to the internationalist road of the October Revolution. That is the task of the hour. ■

AP

Amid Yeltsin's counterrevolution, thousands wait in mile-long line at Lenin mausoleum to honor leeder of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Russian-language *Spartacist Bulletin* No. 1, "What Is Trotskyism" (left); translation of *Workers Vanguard* article "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" (right).

"New World Order" Step Toward New World War

Part One of this article was published in Workers Vanguard *No. 529, 21 June.*

When the tanks rolled into Moscow's Red Square on August 19, the London *Financial Times* (20 August) headlined, "Coup Against Gorbachev: Back Towards the Old World Order." Many imperialist pundits declared that it was all over for the "New World Order" that the United States had proclaimed by gruesome slaughter in the Persian Gulf and by the grace of the United Nations,

PART TWO OF TWO

thanks to Gorbachev's support in the Security Council. When the tanks rolled out two days later, U.S. rulers saw it as global victory—"Communism" was dead, the "American century" was back, and the rest of the world had better shape up and fly right. British correspondent Martin Walker wrote from Washington:

> "The collapse of the Communist Party in its heartland has reinforced the verdict of the Gulf war. The global dominance of US military power and its subtle ideology of free markets, democratic institutions and American culture, appear to be beyond challenge. The ability of other nations to conduct an independent foreign policy, or of Third World countries to adopt a different development model, has never been more constrained."
>
> —*Guardian* [London], 28 August

Washington's official ideologues have proclaimed a "unipolar world," with the United States as "the only remaining superpower." To vividly demonstrate this was the whole point of bombing Iraq back to "a pre-industrial age" (as a UN report summarized the devastation). But Walker noted "the irony that America's international triumph rests upon an enfeebled domestic base." And its economically more dynamic imperialist allies aren't about to roll over and play dead. Salivating at the prospect of opening up a huge Soviet market of 280 million consumers, a Colgate-Palmolive executive remarked, "That's a lot of teeth." The USSR also has huge supplies of fuel and other raw materials. In fact, a disintegration of the Soviet Union could sharply escalate interimperialist rivalry, with Germany exploiting the resources of European Russia and the Ukraine as Japan pounces on Siberia. This predators' feast would feed into an imperialist race to redivide the world.

With Washington proclaiming victory in the Cold War and the Gulf War, many European imperialist leaders and their mouthpieces have been uneasy over Washington's "hubris" (*Economist*) and "America's assertive world role" (*Financial Times*). "Ever since the end of the Gulf war five months ago George Bush has behaved as if he was president of the world rather than just the United States," lamented the *FT* (29 July). Already at the outset of the fighting, the *Guardian*'s Walker wrote of the "Flawed Vision of the New Imperial Rome." He voiced fears that instead of the original conception of the "NWO" (New World Order) based on cooperation of the Americans with the Japanese and West European trading blocs, now "the cold war is in dire danger of being replaced by trade wars." And from trade wars plus a capitalist feeding frenzy over the Soviet Union, the imperialist rivalries point once again to world war.

AP

Bush brings the war home: Army helicopters overfly the Capitol in preparation for June 8 march of Desert Stormtroopers through streets of Washington, D.C.

From Cold War to Chip War

Three times in recent months there have been hard clashes between the U.S. on the one hand, and Japan and West Europe on the other. At the July 1990 Houston summit of the group of seven leading imperialist powers (G-7), the Europeans caucused beforehand to force the Americans' hand on loans to Gorbachev's Russia, much to Bush's annoyance. Last December there was a breakdown of the "Uruguay Round" trade negotiations over the European agricultural subsidies, or alternatively the American demand that hundreds of thousands of West European peasants (and right-wing voters) go under so that Washington can balance its trade balance through wheat and butter exports. Then this spring when the U.S. wanted to force West Germany to lower its interest rates (in order to increase growth, and thus demand for American exports), the Bundesbank told their "colleagues" at the Federal Reserve flatly "no."

The Europeans and Japanese are by no means happy with a global Pax Americana, and rankle at recognizing U.S. imperialist ascendancy as *primus inter pares* (first among equals). With the "Soviet threat" no longer of use for Washington to whip its allies into line—or put another way, without the Cold War justification for subordinating conflicts of interest of the rival capitalist powers to a common front—interimperialist economic rivalries are rapidly escalating. The first stage is the demise of the Cold War "free trade" regime under GATT (General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs) in favor of competing imperialist trade blocs: a German-led European Common Market, with East Europe as its hinterland; a Japanese-led "East Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere," with Southeast Asia as its low-wage workshops; and a U.S.-run North American free trade area, with the rest of the hemisphere supplying raw materials and sweatshops.

But it's not just about "beggar thy neighbor" tariff discrimination. As the experience of the 1930s demonstrates, trade wars point straight to shooting wars. Pentagon insiders repeat the old quip that the purpose of NATO was to keep the Russians out and the Germans down, adding that the U.S.-commanded military alliance should be maintained because only half of its reason for existence is gone. For now, as *Le Monde* (9 July) writes:

> "The Americans are using velvet gloves, since their prestige has come out of the Gulf War strengthened. The world, which had forgotten it, is reminded that guns remain among the attributes of power. This eclipses, at least for now, the idea of a debt-burdened nation suffering from a slow industrial decline. The fact that, for lack of financial resources, the war was financed by German, Japanese or Saudi taxpayers, was little stressed, except as the product of a kind of authoritarian taxation, and thus another demonstration of untrammeled domination."

If German and Japanese politicians needed reminding of the importance of military power, Mercedes-Benz and Mitsubishi are prepared to redress the balance. And despite the paper constraints of post-World War II "peace constitutions" imposed by the U.S., following the recent war both Bonn and Tokyo demonstratively sent military forces to the region (Japanese minesweepers in the Persian Gulf, German troops dispensing "humanitarian" aid to Kurdish refugees in Iran).

Instead of a stable balance of imperialist power, the "post-Cold War" period could produce "new world *dis*order." East Europe is rent by national strife, Yugoslavia is shattering in a nationalist civil war, now the Soviet Union faces dissolution. The American shark is sharpening its teeth to swallow the Cuban sardine. The world is looking a lot like the period leading up to the First World War. And while champagne is flowing in the imperial chancelleries, millions are still starving in Third World slums. As the Spanish weekly *Cambio 16* (29 July) wrote: "But the party isn't for everyone. A huge bleacher section consisting of the majority of human beings, submerged in underdevelopment, looks on at the capitalist jubilation grinding their teeth and clenching their fists. For them, the world continues to be a slaughterhouse and its brutal rules are the only order they know."

In the imperialist centers themselves, the bourgeoisie's class war on workers and the minority poor continues with a vengeance. In the United States, the "American Dream" long ago faded into thin air as the real income and standard of living of the working class have steadily declined for more than a decade and a half. During the '80s, the myth of a homogeneous middle-class society disappeared as the gulf between the opulent rich and the miserable poor widened enormously. Brutal police terror stalks the ghettos and barrios. Homelessness and unemployment are mass phenomena throughout the advanced capitalist countries. Yet the working class is paralyzed, lacking the key element, a revolutionary leadership, needed to mobilize its tremendous power at the head of the oppressed to bring the whole rotting edifice crashing down.

As World War I turned Europe into a charnel house, a giant morgue, Rosa Luxemburg declared the alternative facing humanity was "socialism or barbarism." Behind the censored TV images, the Persian Gulf War showed the grisly face of high-tech barbarism. The fight for socialist revolution is urgent, the key is revolutionary leadership.

Sygma

The face of high-tech barbarism. What military censorship wouldn't show: Iraqi corpse incinerated by U.S. bombing on the "Highway of Death" north of Kuwait.

Fourth Reich Drive to the East

It was in Germany that there was the biggest opposition to the U.S. war plans,

and where there were the largest antiwar demonstrations. While the U.S. "peace" movement was shot through with patriotism, in Germany there was a direct connection from the government to the streets, via the Social Democrats (SPD) and the ex-Stalinist PDS (Party of Democratic Socialism). Thus after Bonn received an angry phone call from Washington complaining about the wide support for the January 26 peace demo, Chancellor Kohl decreed that there must be no anti-Americanism. Two days later at the Bonn demo there were signs everywhere saying, "I'm not anti-American."

There was evident lack of enthusiasm among the German bourgeoisie. The months-long wrangling over how many D-marks Bonn would cough up for the "war effort" (the final total was eleven billion) ended up with German finance minister Waigel going to Washington in April demanding to see the Pentagon's books to make sure they weren't being overcharged. Rudolf Augstein complained in a *Der Spiegel* editorial (11 February) about imperial allies always calling for sending "The Germans to the front!" Right now, he opined, Germany is busy with reunification and preoccupied with the Soviet Union. "This is not our war," Augstein wrote, "the next one may be." He added: "One shouldn't, after all, think that the Germans in particular will permanently stay out of it when one day it comes to finally destroying the world."

The view of large sections of the German bourgeoisie was captured in an article by Theo Sommer in *Die Zeit* (22 March), which recalled how in the 1880s Bismarck was pressed from many sides to win more and more colonies for the Reich. As a prominent friend showed him a map of Africa, the imperial chancellor replied: "Your map of Africa is very beautiful. But my map of Africa is in Europe. Here is Russia, and here is France. And we are in the middle. That is my map of Africa." Sommer adds: "But his remark, this is my map of Africa, can quite well be reformulated for the present situation of the federal republic. Our Near East lies between the Elbe and Eisenhüttenstadt [on Germany's border with Poland], our Middle East begins beyond the Bug [Poland's border with the Soviet Union]."

When Bonn politicians tacitly agreed with the slogan of leftist demonstrators, "No Blood for Oil," it wasn't because the rulers of German imperialism's Fourth Reich are pacifists. They want to avoid the mistakes which have led to past defeats. On the 50th anniversary of "Operation Barbarossa," the 1941 German invasion of the Soviet Union, *Spiegel* editor Augstein wrote of Hitler: "His internal and foreign policy until 1938 is a model of tactical soundness, indeed, if you don't require of statecraft a great political design, a model of statecraft." Hitler's downfall was to repeat the mistake of World War I: "no two-front war" (*Der Spiegel*, 10 June). So German imperialism wants to keep its sights trained on the main target: the Soviet Union. And this time instead of sending tanks to conquer Russia, they're relying on the deutschmark, currently the strongest weapon in German imperialism's arsenal, first to subvert the Soviet economy and now to try to buy it up.

Interimperialist rivalries sharpened in wake of Gulf War.

Coming War With Japan?

For Tokyo, the Persian Gulf War marks a sea change in its post-World War II history. As British historian Anthony Sampson wrote after a recent visit, "Most Japanese seem to accept that the Gulf war presents a critical turning point in their relations with the West, particularly with the United States." They asked, said Sampson: "Should the Japanese accept US diplomatic and military leadership when, increasingly, they are becoming the masters of high technology and global finance?" (*Independent*, 20 February). An obvious question.

On the American side, capitalist Japan is fast replacing "Soviet Communism" as the "evil empire" threatening U.S. "national security." Washington's fear of a Japanese drive to become a global power was captured in a CIA-commissioned study, *Japan: 2000*, that was leaked to the press in May. The report asserts that "Japan is an economic superpower whose world dominance appears inescapable and incontrovertible, absent some dramatic unified reassertion of Western intent, coupled with an equally dramatic and focused economic resurgence." And in Europe, escalating opposition to Japanese investments and exports has been crystallized by the new French prime minister, Edith Cresson, who is trumpeting jingoistic calls for trade war. What's being projected is a three-cornered battle for imperialist hegemony.

While the U.S. saw its one-sided "Desert Slaughter" as an opportunity to flex its muscles, for Japan the Gulf War was a diplomatic disaster. Although it paid through the nose, some $13 billion—the largest contribution by any of the imperialist allies and far more than the cost to the Pentagon, which probably made a profit on the deal—for a war it didn't start and didn't want, U.S. Congressmen complained that Tokyo wasn't really "on board." Japanese prime minister Kaifu replied that he had tried last fall to get approval from the Diet (parliament) to send an unarmed force to the Gulf, but this was rejected amid a public uproar. However, the U.S. "victory" evidently turned public opinion around, so that after the fighting Kaifu was able to dispatch Japanese minesweepers to the Gulf with hardly a peep of protest.

Japanese rulers are worried that the U.S. victory in the Gulf will be used against them to unilaterally dictate new trade terms. The *Wall Street Journal* (14 March) quoted a Japanese opposition legislator, Masao Kunihiro, on the growing perception of the U.S. as a "fearsome country": "Once a tiger has tasted human blood, he is going to be a repeater, and the U.S. has tasted the sweet success of its concentrated bombing of Iraq." But the Japanese were not overly impressed with American military-technological prowess. The *Journal* quotes an official of a big securities company saying: "If we had been fighting the U.S.—not that we ever would—we would have inflicted major casualties." And Japan's leading America-basher, Shintaro Ishihara, has just published a book, *The Japan That Can* Really *Say No*, pointing out that the U.S. "smart" bombs used in the Gulf War are dependent upon the high-quality Japanese semiconductor PTV. Nor is Japan flinching at U.S. threats of trade war.

Virulent Japan-bashing isn't limited to the Americans. Upon taking office in May, French prime minister Cresson unleashed a chauvinist and outright racist verbal assault on the Japanese, whom she has described as "yellow midgets" and "ants." "They sit up all night thinking of ways to screw the Americans and the Europeans," she said. "They are our common enemy." Cresson's immediate purpose was to get the Common Market to impose quotas on autos exported from Japan *and* those produced by Japanese subsidiaries in Europe. The French also want protection for Europe's outclassed computer and microchip industries. As "Nippophobia" escalates, the purpose is to raise a protectionist wall around a "Fortress Europe." Japan Inc., meanwhile, is increasing investments to get in before the scheduled completion of European economic union in 1992. And as the brickbats fly, Japanese rightists "guillotined" an effigy of Cresson with a *boken* (wooden sword) in Tokyo on Bastille Day.

Under mounting pressure, Japanese imperialism is indeed preparing itself for economic war...and worse. Far more than its European and American rivals, this island power without natural resources is utterly dependent on imports for its raw materials, importing 100 percent of the oil, natural gas, iron ore, copper, nickel, bauxite, manganese, molybdenum and titanium used in production, along with 91 percent of the lead, 88 percent of coal consumed, etc. For every ton of finished products it exports, Japan must import eight tons of supplies. This materials deficit makes it extraordinarily vulnerable to economic boycott, even informal. That is why Tokyo has resisted American pressure to open the market to rice imports: it seeks to be self-sufficient in food at all costs. Two-thirds of Japan's oil imports came from the Persian Gulf, but it wasn't happy with the U.S. war because *it sees control of oil supplies by Iraq, which would have to sell it, as less dangerous than control by the Americans, who could cut it off*, as they did on the eve of WW II.

Today Japan has the third-largest war budget in the world and is the only world power that is sharply increasing its military power. *Air Force Magazine* (June 1991) reports, "In the 1980s, Japan conducted the most consistent defense buildup of any nation, focusing on acquisition of modern weaponry." When its acquisition programs are completed Japan will have more high-performance jet fighters than any air force in the Pacific theater. Tokyo is also carrying out a major expansion of its war fleet, and by this year will have 60 destroyers—twice the number in the U.S. Seventh Fleet. It is particularly focusing on anti-submarine warfare, critical to keeping sea lanes open for merchant ships. And its Type 90 tank is more sophisticated than the Americans' M-1 and narrow enough to operate on Japanese roads. The clear purpose of this buildup is to reassert its imperialist appetites in Asia and neutralize pressure from the U.S.

Meanwhile, Japanese international economic strategy is shifting rapidly. In the last couple years Tokyo banks have pulled back heavily from their multi-billion-dollar purchasing of U.S. Treasury bonds and American real estate. While the Japanese government has insisted on the Soviet Union handing over the Kuril Islands as a precondition for loans, Japanese companies have launched a number of big joint-venture projects in Siberia, several using North Korean labor. It maintained and increased trade with China after the Tiananmen Square massacre. And mainly Japan has redirected investment to Southeast Asia, opening a factory a day in Thailand last year, aiding Indonesia in constructing naval bases, increasing ties with Vietnam despite the U.S. embargo. Malaysia has invited Japan to act as "leader" of a proposed "East Asian Economic Grouping," and ASEAN diplomats have suggested (over U.S. objections) that such an EAEG might also embrace security matters.

WV Photo

Spartacist League called for internationalist class struggle to "Defeat U.S. Imperialism! Defend Iraq!"

Class Struggle vs. Drive to WW III

Over the last decade of Cold War II, the international Spartacist tendency (iSt)—now the International Communist League—argued against pseudo-Trotskyists such as Ernest Mandel (who blithely claimed that détente was alive and well, and nuclear war was impossible) that the imperialists were indeed driving toward a third world war. In the introduction by the International Executive Committee of the iSt to the *Prometheus Research Series* bulletin No. 2 (February 1989), "Documents on the 'Proletarian Military Policy'," we wrote:

"World imperialism has already brought human civilization to the brink of the

continued on page 10

Lane Kirkland's Parade of Anti-Communism

WV Photos

CIA-funded reactionaries march at head of "Solidarity Day II" parade (left); AFL-CIO president Lane Kirkland (above) calls for counterrevolution in Cuba, China.

"AFL-CIA" Cheers Counterrevolution While Labor Gets the Shaft

If you wanted to know the reason for the sorry state of American labor, all you had to do was look at the front line of the "Solidarity Day II" march in Washington, August 31. There were the encrusted labor betrayers—far more likely to be found on a golf course at Bal Harbour, Florida than on a picket line—and a gaggle of marginal Democratic Party pols: never-has-beens like Mondale's ex-running mate Geraldine Ferraro and sorta-wannabees like Jerry Brown, emerged from meditation after his conversion to Zen Buddhism. Between loser Democrats and loser bureaucrats it was a most un-popular front indeed. And flapping overhead was the banner of Polish Solidarność, the only "union" Ronald Reagan ever loved, and now the government of Poland where it is shoving starvation austerity policies down the workers' throats.

Following this collection of Cold Warriors came the hoary "captive nations" crowd of East European fascists who fled before the Red Army in the baggage trains of the retreating German Wehrmacht, aging Cuban gusanos, and the scum of Saigon who managed to get the last flight out. Minding the "Lithuanian Workers Movement," Polish Solidarność, fledgling Hungarian "free trade unions" and the like were the various fronts of what has become known internationally as the "AFL-CIA": the A. Philip Randolph Institute, the Asian-American Free Labor Institution, the African-American Labor Center and the granddaddy of them all, the AIFLD (American Institute for Free Labor Development). And as the estimated 250,000 marchers wilted in the 100-degree heat, they were bombarded by several hours of hot air from speakers hailing the "Death of Communism."

Conducting the chorus of anti-Communist triumphalism was AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland, who proclaimed:

> "Everywhere you look—in Eastern and Central Europe, in Asia, in South Africa, and now even in the republics of the Soviet Union—working people like you are rising to their feet, taking to the streets and demanding their fundamental right to breathe free and to live in dignity. China next! Cuba next!"

This is not just empty bombast. Long before the spymasters at Langley, Virginia began laundering money through the BCCI, the American labor federation was notorious as a main conduit of CIA cash for counterrevolution. John Vanderveken of the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions claimed "we are winning" all over the world, posturing as if they had opposed Pinochet in Chile and South African apartheid. Actually, "AFL-CIA" fronts aided in the bloody 1973 coup which installed Pinochet in power and have been funneling money to apartheid's killer dogs of war, Buthelezi's Inkatha.

Well, one place where working people sure as hell haven't been winning is right here in the U.S. The American labor movement has been devastated, losing members by the millions as the members lose billions in givebacks to the bosses negotiated by Kirkland's cronies. And this same crowd that let the PATCO air controllers hang out to dry wants to do to the workers of East Europe and the USSR what they've done to workers and minorities at home. Now Polish workers line up for soup kitchens, millions have lost their jobs in the former East Germany, and the "magic of the marketplace" threatens to bring a winter of famine to the Soviet Union. Kirkland & Co. have been up to their dirty work there as well. Sergei Kovalev, a Yeltsin supporter in the Russian parliament, thanked the AFL-CIO for its support.

In hours of deadly speeches about the "Death of Communism," no one addressed the fact that unions in this country are being marched to the grave. There was hardly any reference to a single strike or labor struggle under way in the U.S. This is no accident. While the AFL-CIO tops have become a foreign-policy adjunct of the White House and CIA, they have acceded to every union-busting demand of Wall Street and the banks to drive their profits up and American workers down the tubes. Throughout the '80s, while the bosses have been playing hardball, the union tops were tossing frisbees. British correspondent Martin Walker noted the issue that went unmentioned on Solidarity Day, "the impoverishment of what used to be the world's best-paid working class":

> "The average weekly earnings of America's production and non-supervisory employees are now lower in real terms than in 1959. The gains in living standards in the boom of the 1960s, and were said to have trickled down in the Reagan era, have been lost. Over the same period, the proportion of the workforce in unions has fallen from almost 35 to 16 percent."
>
> —*Guardian* [London], 3 September

Mink coats don't trickle down, as they say. So *why* haven't the Democrats and labor bureaucrats taken up what would seem to be a natural issue against the plutocrat Bush? Because they don't have answers any different than the Republicans—and they all support capitalism. Their bankruptcy was summed up by Jesse Jackson, who said: "We have a plan to bail out Panama, to bail out Kuwait, to bail out Eastern Europe, to bail out savings and loan thieves; to bail out Russia. It's time to have a plan to rebuild America." And what might that plan be? "Come home, George Bush," he intoned, "we need a domestic summit conference."

But begging Bush to "come home" holds no promise for the hundreds of thousands of union members, many of them black and Hispanic, who rallied in Washington. They have shown the will to fight: there were delegations of Pittston miners, Maine paper workers, Detroit auto workers, Greyhound bus drivers, El Paso garment strikers. Most poignant were the PATCO air controllers, fired en masse in 1981 in the opening shot of Reagan's war on labor, who picketed briefly outside the headquarters of the Federal Aviation Administration. What we all need, as we wrote in our last issue, is to "forge a leadership that has the program and determination to wage a down-the-line fight for a workers government that will undertake the socialist reindustrialization of America."

Some 1,900 copies of *Workers Vanguard* were sold at "Solidarity Day II." We hope that many of these new readers will become subscribers to the paper that tells them the truth about the class struggle: "The truth is: *what this country needs is a revolution, and a revolutionary party to lead it.*" ■

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Assault on Abortion Rights

The Battle of Wichita

Anti-abortion terrorists of Operation Rescue attack Wichita clinic.

Schaben/Sygma Photos

Clinic defenders protect patient from O.R. attackers.

The born-again anti-abortion hordes who invaded Wichita, Kansas for six weeks this summer held a 25,000-strong wrap-up rally August 25. Homemade signs included the chilling slogan "Support Our Unborn Troops." What brave new world is *this* supposed to be—tiny soldiers in the womb, gas masks in place, ready to march out from between their mothers' thighs to bomb and slaughter? Beyond the bizarre images it calls up, this slogan is an eerie summation of the terrifying world triumphant American capitalism envisages.

Of course, the far-right fundamentalists of Operation Rescue who blockade abortion clinics and terrorize women clients aren't really in the driver's seat—yet. Wrapping the yellow ribbon of Persian Gulf slaughter around their anti-woman action is no accident though. From fetus to cannon fodder, what O.R.'s ringleaders and their masters want to enforce is obedience to the authority of organized religion, the family and above all the armed fist of the state.

The used-car salesmen and Bible Belt bigots who run Operation Rescue portray themselves as "freedom fighters." Yeah, like their good buddies, the Nicaraguan contras, who bayonetted fetuses in mothers' bellies because they wanted to kill all Sandinistas, including the unborn. Many of these fanatics' concern for supposed "preborn children" is irrational, even in religious terms—after all, if souls are immortal, why should they have to get born into this wretched vale of tears anyhow?

In a historical sense, Operation Rescue's hordes are latter-day "border ruffians"—those gangs of slaveowners and paid mercenaries who invaded "Bleeding Kansas" in the 1850s, seeking to force Congress to keep the territory a haven for slavery. Today it's women the reactionaries want to keep enslaved. They want women chained to a passive role as semen receptacles and fetus incubators, tied to endless domestic drudgery (with maybe a little minimum wage homework on the side, like gluing computer parts together).

After six weeks of terror against women, finally the timid bourgeois groups that claim to support women's rights, like the National Organization for Women, decided to venture into Wichita. They held a small rally downtown, where about 5,000 people heard NOW executive vice president Patricia Ireland identify with counterrevolutionaries like Yeltsin in the USSR: "The people of the Soviet Union defended their freedom with their lives and their bodies against tanks, with Yeltsin."

Such "democratic" apologists for capitalist counterrevolution would like us to forget that it was *Lenin's Bolsheviks* in the early Soviet state who *legalized abortion on demand for all women*. Just as it took the Civil War to free the slaves, the 1917 October Revolution opened the road to the liberation of women. Now it won't be long before the Russian counterrevolutionaries go after the right to abortion, as they are already doing in Poland and the former East Germany. All those who hail Boris Yeltsin today are cheering deadly enemies of workers' and women's liberation.

Ms. Ireland blustered about Operation Rescue, "we're going to go toe-to-toe with these bullies." Where, how? "We're going to do it in the voting booths in 1992, and we're going to do it in the courts." While the battle for abortion rights is raging in the streets, NOW runs to the judges and calls for voting Democratic next year! But then such bourgeois feminists, who this summer actually invited the FBI—America's own Gestapo, the COINTELPRO murderers of the Black Panther Party—to recruit at NOW's conference, will never be able to fight for women's liberation. They can't even defend the very limited gains women still have.

Much is being made of the intervention of Wichita U.S. federal district judge Patrick Kelly, who actually seemed to have the basic decency to be outraged by Operation Rescue's bullying of women. He issued an injunction against the blockades, using a Reconstruction-era ruling, the Civil Rights Act of 1871, originally passed to prevent the Klan from blockading voter registration sites so the freed slaves couldn't vote. Operation Rescue ignored the injunction, of course, and Bush's Justice Department promptly intervened on the side of the born-again higots, seeking to have the judge's order rescinded.

But, at the same time, Judge Kelly's ban could well be used in the future—especially by liberals—to legitimize the suppression of militant actions by labor, blacks and leftists. Judges and D.A.s could point to Wichita when they go after workers picketing a corporate headquarters, angry blacks surrounding a courthouse to protest a racist frame-up, or antiwar activists blockading a military induction center. New York's liberal Democratic attorney general, Robert Abrams, claims what is at stake in upholding Kelly's injunction is "the ability of state and local authorities to maintain order." That is, capitalist "law and order."

America's rulers have been chipping away at the right to abortion ever since the Supreme Court legalized it nationally two decades ago. In 1976 Congress, with bipartisan support, passed the Hyde Amendment, banning the use of Medicaid funds for poor women's abortions. Then Reagan and Bush packed the Court with right-wingers whose agenda includes dismantling all that remains of women's right to abortion. After Wichita, the reactionaries are raising the heat to ram confirmation of Clarence Thomas through a supine Senate—so that the Supreme Court will finally roll back *Roe v. Wade* in the name of the "right to life" while removing all restraints on the racist death penalty.

Operation Rescue is emboldened by the Bush administration's open support, and they intend to strike again. It's clearer than ever that the only strategy that can stop these zealots cold is to massively mobilize their intended victims—women, minorities, the oppressed, backed up by the muscle of organized labor—to keep the clinic doors open. Such a show of strength on the streets would bring out many more in support of women's rights. *Free abortion on demand and contraception rights for all* can only be won through a working-class fight for *women's liberation through socialist revolution.* ■

CPUSA...

(continued from page 2)

The CP opposition naturally ran under the factional banner of "democratization." Reminds one of the pro-Yeltsin faction that left the CPSU to embrace out-and-out capitalism, calling itself "Communists for Democracy." The references to classless "democracy" fostered by the CP under the guise of the "popular front" are coming home to roost. The mask has become the face.

An oppositional document by James Jackson, Charlene Mitchell and Danny Rubin, entitled "The coup merited a clear-cut condemnation," was printed in the *People's Weekly World* (7 September). But this clear-cut condemnation will not give Jackson, Mitchell & Co. their hoped-for entrée into big-time Democratic Party politics. They will have to do a lot more than mouth platitudes about "democracy and socialism" to live down their many years as CP spokesmen.

Of course, there are always those who want to strike a balance between two opposing factions. Thus a contribution from a professor of psychology in Oregon to the CP's preconvention discussion bulletin had the engaging title, "Toward a dialectical unity: synergistic integration of the democratization line and the 'Hold the line at all cost' line."

As for Gus Hall, there seems to be no place for an old-line Stalinist like him in this country and these days anywhere else. Well, not quite anywhere else. After returning from a recent trip abroad, Hall recommended: "If you want a nice vacation, take it in North Korea." ■

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Plant Inferno...

(continued from page 12)

plant in Cumming, Georgia (Forsyth County), which had two fires in the past year, never had been inspected by OSHA (the federal Occupational Safety and Health Administration) either.

Meanwhile, INS immigration cops spend millions of dollars raiding poultry plants throughout the South, deporting foreign-born workers to starvation.

Now OSHA and state authorities are scrambling to cover their asses, preparing a massive cover-up of the protection racket they have been running for their capitalist masters. In fact, the drastic cutback of OSHA safety inspectors has had bipartisan Congressional support.

Criminal Racism Cripples Rescue Effort

Even as the fire raged, official racism claimed its victims. The nearest town to Hamlet is the largely black municipality of Dobbins Heights, which has its own fire department. *They were only six minutes away.* Yet although the Hamlet fire brigade was overwhelmed and workers trapped in the plant were screaming for help, the Hamlet fire chief refused aid from the black firefighters.

The *Richmond County Daily Journal* (5 September) reported that Dobbins Heights fire chief Ernest Cannon "said his department called and offered its assistance three times and was put on standby each time." Instead, the Hamlet chief radioed for help from East Rockingham, whose men took *20 minutes* to get to the scene.

Workers Vanguard spoke with Cannon, who bitterly said: "We could have saved at least one life. People were inside this plant, trapped, locked in. We heard across our communication system. Instead, they chose to call a station that was almost ten miles away. Some 20 minutes elapsed."

Cannon told *WV* there was a history of racist scorn of the Dobbins Heights firemen, when they came to the Hamlet fire house for training sessions. After they equipped their men with new radios, he said they began to receive phone threats to blow up their station and were told, "Niggers, get off the airwaves." They recognized the voices as being from the Hamlet fire department.

Break with the Democrats, Organize the South!

As for how the fire at Imperial Food Products may have been prevented, Cannon was categorical: "If that place had a union, it wouldn't be in that condition." But he added, "People are scared. They blackball you, they get to the banks." Labor organizing in the South, where union-hating and racist terror hold sway, will take a class-struggle leadership.

Hamlet is on the South Carolina line. Only 80 miles to the north in Greensboro was where KKK and Nazi terrorists, accompanied by state and local officials and advised by federal agents, shot down five union organizers and leftists in 1979. Not one of the fascist killers was ever convicted.

The black workers at Imperial say management talked to them like "we were inmates in a prison" and locked them up like prisoners. But as the Triangle fire spurred the organizing of the needle trades, so the tragedy of Imperial can be the spark to organize the poultry industry in the South.

The AFL-CIO has made halfhearted occasional efforts to organize in the South, but their bureaucratic legalistic campaigns have foundered in the face of the owners' stonewalling and counterattacks. Union bureaucrats have no answer to the intimidation of workers, who in these little Southern towns fear for their jobs, their homes, and the safety of their families.

Any campaign to organize such plants must be part of a mass organizing drive that links workers in struggle across the South.

In the week after the fire there have been numerous calls for Congressional probes and investigations. But relying on the Democratic Congress to enforce safety or to pass a toothless bill supposedly outlawing "permanent replacement workers" is like asking Frank Perdue to guard the hen house.

Brown Brothers

Victims of 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist Fire in New York: 146 mostly immigrant women perished because of locked fire exits.

From the 1930s to today, the chains which bind organized labor to the Democrats prevent the kind of knockdown-dragout battles that it will take to organize unions in the South. The CIO was tied to FDR, who wouldn't cross the Jim Crow Dixiecrats; their auxiliaries, the Ku Klux Klan, threatened to and did lynch labor organizers.

Today, the Congressional Democrats "repay" labor for doing the legwork and supplying campaign finances to get them elected...by outlawing the rail strike. Liberal Jesse Jackson is scheduled to grandstand in Hamlet this week, where he will be hustling votes as usual. When Jackson went to the Hormel strike in Minnesota in 1986, he touted his "mediating" skills with the liberal Democratic governor, who brought in the National Guard to break the strike.

When Jackson toured the South together with Amalgamated Clothing union president Jack Sheinkman last year, Black Workers for Justice noted that they spoke under banners reading "Register the Unregistered" and "Sign the Unsigned." They claimed this effort to herd workers into the Democratic Party showed "unity between the struggles to unionize workers and for Black political power" (*Justice Speaks*, May 1990).

BWJ also supported Democrat Harvey Gantt, who lost the Senate race against arch-racist Jesse Helms last November, claiming this was "a direct challenge to the old Southern power structure." But supporting the bosses' Democratic Party, including black liberals like Gantt or "mainstream" black Dems like Virginia governor Wilder, *props up* the racist power structure.

We need our *own* party—a workers party. Critically necessary is forging a revolutionary leadership of the union movement. To organize the unorganized requires championing the cause of the most oppressed, fighting against racist discrimination, segregation in housing and schools, police and KKK terror—the whole racist capitalist system which keeps black workers on the bottom and the whole working class exploited.

Today, from among the ranks of the South's black and white working women will come fighting leaders of class struggle. Their leadership in the struggle to build integrated unions in the South would be a fitting memorial for the victims of this latest outrage of racist American capitalism. ■

"New World Order"...

(continued from page 7)

> abyss with two world wars. A rational human being would not consciously embark on a course leading to nuclear world war. But capitalism long ago created economic forces which strain against the boundaries of the nation-states in which they are fettered: world imperialism isn't rational, and neither are the men who rule over us in its interest....
>
> "While the irreconcilable hostility of U.S. imperialism to the Soviet Union is the main factor now posing the threat of WW III before humanity, one cannot ignore interimperialist contradictions. The strength of Japanese industry and world trade cannot be suppressed peacefully. And there is evidence that German imperialism is ready for renewed imperialist adventure."

In itself, the Persian Gulf War was a non-contest. The Pentagon used it to test out and showcase its latest high-tech weaponry with minimal danger. But Washington used the opportunity to reassert U.S. imperialist hegemony in a "post-Cold War" world. With the collapse of the East European Stalinist regimes and now the ascendancy of counterrevolutionary forces in the Soviet Union itself, the post-World War II "bipolar" confrontation between the U.S. and USSR has been superseded. But as the counterrevolutionary Polish Pope John Paul II noted, the postwar world has now been replaced by a prewar world. Interimperialist conflicts are heading toward WW III, and they got a big push down the road from the Gulf War.

Yet the "antiwar" movement disappeared. As if to underscore the similarity to the period leading up to 1914, a number of rad-libs actually supported the U.S. military buildup in the Gulf, mouthing platitudes about nonexistent "international law" and using the United Nations as a fig leaf. In the run-up to the fighting, a number of supposed "socialists" sported yellow ribbons and many carried social-patriotic signs to "support our troops." And as soon as it was clear there would be no significant "Allied" casualties, the "antiwar" movement simply vanished. As always, the reformist left tailed after the liberal Democrats, and the pusillanimous nature of the "peace" movement reflected the fact that, when U.S. "victory" was assured, for the first time in decades the American bourgeoisie spoke with one voice.

Petersen/Roanoke Times and World News

War on unions at home: Pittston miners facad army of scabherding cops. Labor's gotta play hardball to win!

The Spartacist League, based on the program of Lenin and Trotsky, denounced the American invasion from the outset, calling to defeat U.S. imperialism and defend Iraq. We began our article "Break Blockade of Iraq!" (*WV* No. 509, 7 September 1990):

> "What's going on in the Middle East right now is a bald attempt by the United States to seize control of the world's oil supplies. Having lost its economic predominance, Washington is now trying to reassert its role as imperialist global policeman through brute military force. That's what George Bush means when he talks about a 'new world order,' echoing Adolf Hitler in the 1930s. But in fact, the American invasion is setting the stage for a new world war."

"It is the lack of effective opposition that is the novel element in today's world," wrote Edward Mortimer in the *Financial Times* (15 May), adding: "The limits to American power are mainly internal." But those limits are very real. The budget deficit, instead of falling to under $100 billion this year, has ballooned to over $300 billion. So Secretary of State Baker repeatedly had to go around to U.S. allies with a tin cup asking for dollars to pay for the war. Bush keeps announcing the imminent end to the "recession" which officially began in August 1990. Instead, unemployment is at 7 percent officially (double that when you include those who can't find a full-time job or who have dropped out of the labor market altogether) and is still growing. To avoid the term depression, bourgeois economists are now talking of a "double-dip recession," in which a slight upturn is followed by another fall.

The biggest obstacle to a recovery is now the towering debt piled up during the 1980s. The federal debt skyrocketed from $900 billion to over $3.4 trillion during the decade. Two-thirds of the cities and virtually all the states are running deficits, which unlike the federal government they can't cover by printing money. Heavily indebted consumers likewise aren't buying autos or refrigerators. And 28 percent of U.S. corporations' cash flow, over half their pretax profits, goes for interest payments. The savings and loan associations are bankrupt, with the bailout projected to cost $500 billion. Insurance companies are

Death on the IRT...

(continued from page 12)

97 people. The five dead victims were all working people from poorer neighborhoods of the city riding to and from night shift jobs: a hotel housekeeper, a nurse's aide, a medical technician, a security guard working three jobs and a maintenance man.

Robert Ray, the motorman who by other workers' accounts was driving the train erratically, overshooting station platforms and speeding, emerged from the accident dazed but not seriously hurt. He identified himself to policemen on the spot, then apparently watched the rescue efforts above ground for a few hours. Ray was arrested at his home about six hours after the crash, was grilled for hours while the union attorney was not allowed to see him, and was then charged with manslaughter. Later the charges were upped to murder by Manhattan D.A. Morgenthau.

The tabloid press immediately branded Ray a crackhead because a "crack vial" was recovered from the motorman's cab. Drug tests showed he had not used cocaine. An alcohol test *13 hours* after the accident showed a .21 blood alcohol level. His attorney says this simply reflects Ray's drinking in despair after the accident. Of course, Transit Authority bosses and politicians screamed for random drug testing. Only 24 hours later Transport Workers Union (TWU) Local 100 president Sonny Hall agreed to this scapegoating, union-busting demand which targets *all* transit workers.

It is gross hypocrisy for the TA tops to string up Ray and go after the TWU with random drug tests. *Newsday* columnist Jim Dwyer, who refused to go along with the drug war against the workforce, notes that alcohol and other drugs have almost never been implicated in subway accidents, but "about 25 percent of the people who drive New York trains or operate track switches are dangerously fatigued. That's because they routinely work more hours than federal safety standards permit." And *that's* because the TA has been laying off and eliminating critical maintenance and operating jobs. Last fall 300 experienced, mostly minority track workers who do vital repair jobs were fired.

Random drug testing is meant to terrorize the unionized workers and alibi the bosses. Transit systems around the country and Congressmen are now using the NYC accident to ram through drug testing. But "testing" won't stop accidents. TWUers, whose lives are on the line every day working long hours underground, can. They are acutely aware of the dangers on the job. Motorman Phyllis Love told *Newsday* that "we know what's at stake, we're not kids here. You tell [a coworker] to book off, to say he's not feeling well and to go home." *The trains and buses in NYC won't be safe until the workers have the power, through elected union safety reps, to shut down unsafe working conditions on the spot.*

Those who labor in the transit system of New York City have paid dearly with their blood because of the unsafe, crumbling infrastructure. In the last two years eight transit workers have been killed and scores seriously injured on the job. Those workers are dead because the TA did not provide flagmen or didn't inform other workers that men were working on the tracks! And in almost every case the TA falsely tried to blame the workers—raising drugs as a smokescreen. Yet last spring, Peter Stangl was confirmed as MTA chief despite letting friends play Casey-at-the-throttle of a Metro-North train barreling along at 80 mph.

Many TWU members still remember the infamous train crash ten years ago that killed motorman Jesse Cole. Cole was callously left trapped, bleeding to death for four hours inside his cab, while the TA was holding a press conference denouncing Cole for "failing to follow the rules of the railroad." It was a big lie by the Transit Authority: the fact is, the signal system wasn't working, and there was no flagman to warn Cole of the train stopped ahead of him on his track!

The Union Square crash should never have happened. The real criminals are the bosses and bankers who have deliberately allowed the massive decay of the infrastructure of New York City from bridges to water mains to the century-old subway system—while they take limos to and from Wall Street. The Inspector General of the Metropolitan Transportation Authority admitted, "the technology exists to prevent accidents like this from happening, but the Transit Authority does not have it."

Menschel/Christian Science Monitor

Washington, D.C. Metro: automated controls ensure trains don't exceed safe speed.

Transit systems in Washington, D.C., San Francisco, Atlanta, Baltimore, Miami and one being built in L.A. have automated train controls run by central computers. In addition, each block of track is electronically wired to ensure that trains do not exceed a safe speed. NYC trains don't even have speedometers and the signals are in disrepair—even if they worked, they are not properly spaced to prevent accidents like the recent catastrophe. And the Union Square station, which handles 500,000 passengers a day, is a deathtrap with its sharp curves, moving platforms and sweltering temperatures. It should be ripped out and rebuilt.

The IRT crash got even more attention because it highlighted the disastrous state of mass transportation and public services in the financial center of the U.S. How bad is it? A recent study by engineers at Cooper Union "paints a grim picture of New York circa 2030 in which pipes are bursting like cheap balloons and citizens are struggling without running water for days on end; in which roads and bridges are being closed for fear of collapse, and every corner of the city is immobilized in epic traffic jams" (*New York Times*, 2 August). The solution is billions to rebuild the city, billions that capitalism will never spend.

Covering up their criminal hostility to safety while scapegoating transit workers with help from the TWU bureaucracy is what the TA does best. Last December an electrical explosion at the Clark Street station injured more than 180 people—two died from smoke inhalation. The TA claimed it was a freak accident, but management knew that the exhaust fans which serviced the Clark Street Tunnel hadn't been operable since 1984! The deaths were expected and predicted by the TA's own internal study, but not one boss faced murder charges! The month before the Clark Street disaster, the TA postponed $500 million of critical track and tunnel work. In the wake of the latest accident, the TA announced a $700 million program to prevent future Union Square catastrophes. Tops on their list is computer harassment of workers for taking days off!

The Committee for a Fighting TWU, a class-struggle opposition group in TWU Local 100, has been fighting for the basic workers' right that "no safety means no work." After transit workers David Davis and Stewart Melsinker were killed on the job last year, the Committee put forward motions at union meetings demanding "elected union safety representatives, backed by the entire union, with the power to shut down any unsafe working conditions on the spot." The motion passed at one division meeting, but Hall and his fellow bureaucrats buried it. The transit system will never be safe for workers or riders until workers control safety. NYC must be rebuilt from the ground up—and underneath—with a massive program of public works providing jobs for all! And this will take a class-struggle leadership. No to drug testing! For free, safe mass transit! ■

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precarious. And the banks are teetering on the edge: already this year there have been major mergers in New York and California to avert bankruptcy and a possible nationwide bank collapse. As a result there is almost no investment in the American economy today.

Meanwhile, the capitalist managers continue to loot the companies with abandon. At the end of World War II, the average U.S. corporate chief (CEO) earned 12 times the average factory worker's wage. At the beginning of the 1980s the average annual pay of CEOs was $643,000, or 42 times the worker's wage. But in 1990, this had shot up by 212 percent to an average of $1.9 million, *85 times* the worker's wage (*AFL-CIO News*, 21 May)! Meanwhile, the real take-home pay of factory workers has fallen since 1973, to the point that today young working-class families have virtually no hope of buying a house. Things have gotten so bad that *Business Week* (19 August) ran a cover story asking "What Happened to the American Dream?" So much for the myth of a "classless society."

Over five million children go to bed hungry, and there are an estimated three million homeless. Worst off are black and Hispanic minorities, particularly ghetto youth, who have no education, no job, and no hope of getting either. The decay of American cities has produced a wasteland of social pathology, of massive drug addiction and violent crime. As liberal Democrats call for an "Urban Storm" to solve the urban crisis, the response of the government at all levels, from the Republican White House to black Democratic mayors, is to increase the number of jails and cops.

Some years ago, AFL-CIO chief Lane Kirkland accused the bosses of waging a "one-sided class war." The central responsibility for this state of affairs lies with the misleaders of the workers movement, who have gone along with billions in givebacks that have gutted their own unions as they grovel to demonstrate their higher loyalties to the capitalist system. As a result, the number of major strikes last year was at the lowest point since the end of World War II (when they had an actual strike ban). The treachery of the labor tops is shown by their acquiescence in the massive spread of scabbing (now called "permanent replacement workers"). And since the unions aren't producing benefits, it's no surprise that the unionized sector of the industrial workforce is now about 15 percent. Nevertheless, over 20 percent of black workers are unionized, reflecting greater militancy and awareness of the oppressive reality of capitalism.

The internal contradictions of American imperialism are enormous. But to take advantage of them requires above all the forging of a leadership prepared to fight the class war—which the bourgeoisie is waging at home with the same ferocity it used against the Iraqis, devastating American cities, shutting down industry, all in the name of profits. As we wrote in the iSt document on the threat of World War III:

> "The world bourgeoisie has at its disposal enormous political experience and economic reserves. If the history of the 20th century proves anything it is this: within the social context there is no situation in which the bourgeoisie cannot prevail, *if there does not exist a revolutionary party capable of wresting power from its hands.* Revolutionary proletarian parties are not built overnight: it took two generations of ferment in the Russian intelligentsia, the dress rehearsal of 1905, and years of patient underground work among the proletarians of the tsarist empire to produce Lenin's Bolsheviks. But if the small forces which adhere today to the revolutionary program of Lenin and Trotsky do not succeed in forging themselves into parties with the experience, will and authority among the masses to lead a successful proletarian revolution in the imperialist countries, there will be no future for humanity." ■

Kohl...

(continued from page 3)

Suddenly Kohl's imperial ambitions are rankling the nuclear nuts in the White House who think the world belongs to them.

As events pave the way toward an "unthinkable" nuclear World War III, Kohl's embracing the corpse of "Old Fritz" symbolizes German imperialism's age-old *Drang nach Osten* (drive to the East). Bush, meanwhile, borrows from Hitler's lexicon in declaring a "New World Order" while raining high-tech mass murder on hapless Iraqis in the one-sided Persian Gulf "war." With the demise of the Stalinist regimes in East Europe and the death agony of Soviet Stalinism, whose rule was the antithesis of communism, the imperialists are celebrating the "Death of Communism." The ghoulish reburial of Frederick the Great as the declaration of an aggressive new German Reich, the charred remains of Iraqis trying to flee Kuwait on the "highway of death," forecast what's in store for humanity as the imperialists compete over their division of the spoils in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

We of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) and our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) uniquely said "No to capitalist reunification!" when the rest of the left was capitulating before the imperialist onslaught. While a chorus of self-proclaimed "leftists" in this country join in the imperialists' anti-Communist celebration, we recognize that now more than ever it is desperately necessary to fight for the genuine communism of Lenin and Trotsky. After the horror of the Nazi Holocaust, the continued rule of capital—which now seeks to extend its system of raw exploitation, poverty and racism to East Europe and the Soviet Union while interimperialist rivalries heat up—threatens all of humanity with the nuclear Armageddon of World War III. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Bosses Locked the Doors, 25 Workers Die in Fire

Carolina Poultry Plant Inferno

Labor/Black Struggle to Organize the South!

ATLANTA—25 workers were killed and 55 injured on the morning of September 3, when a fire swept through the Imperial Food Products chicken processing plant in Hamlet, North Carolina. The workers, predominantly black women, were trapped inside because the owners had padlocked fire doors to prevent "theft" of chicken parts.

Rescuers heard workers banging on doors, screaming "Let me out!" Huddled bodies poised for escape were found clumped together at the exits. Twelve workers asphyxiated in a cooler where they sought in vain to take refuge from the billowing smoke. Forty-seven of the 90 day-shift workers who stumbled out, gasping for air, had to be hospitalized.

These horrible deaths were no accident, but capitalist mass murder. William Dixon, who had worked at the plant for many years, told *Workers Vanguard* that the locked doors were standard operating procedure at Imperial: "You had to get someone from the front office to come unlock the doors. You'll notice none of the officials or boss men lost their lives."

Nor have any of the owners or management been arrested for their crime of *murder*.

Triangle Shirtwaist Fire Again

The blaze originated when a hydraulic oil line ruptured, the oil vaporized and was ignited by the open gas flames of the deep-fry vats, producing an explosive fireball. Flames soared to the roof where insulation caught fire and unleashed deadly toxic fumes.

Imperial provides chicken parts to fast-food chains. The profit-gouging owners were shipping chicken out the next day, even before the dead were buried. The owners had relocated from Pennsylvania to the rural non-union South. In Hamlet, they were the biggest low-wage sweatshop employer in a town of less than 7,000 people with a white political structure willing to cooperate.

A spokesman for the Black Workers for Justice in Rocky Mount, North Carolina, who spent several days in Hamlet right after the fire, told *WV*: "You could see the plant was a deathtrap—a tragedy waiting to happen. There are plants like this all over the South. They go right into communities where they know they're going to attract a poor black workforce. Eighteen of the 25 who died were women, the plant is 85 percent African American, there are some Native Americans and some whites."

Just as the 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist Co. fire in New York, where 146 Jewish and Italian young immigrant women perished behind locked factory doors, illuminated the hideous exploitation of the garment trades, the Hamlet fire has thrown a glare of national attention on the poultry industry in the South.

Runaway shops like Imperial have made poultry producing the biggest farm industry in North Carolina, larger than tobacco, with more than 30,000 workers statewide. The workers are typically women, black, and work for near-minimum wages of between $4.90 and $5.60 an hour. They are particularly subject to carpal-tunnel syndrome from constant repetitive tearing of chicken parts.

There were no sprinklers at Imperial. Not one government agency had inspected the plant in the eleven years of its operation, despite a spate of fires. Before the fire, the company's other

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Rottet/Raleigh News & Observer

AP

Racist anti-union bosses are responsible for mass murder in North Carolina fire. Left: grieving relatives of victims, many of whom were trapped behind padlocked fire doors.

Naso/Newsday

IRT No. 4 subway car after the crash in Union Square station, Manhattan.

Death on the IRT

Just after midnight on August 28, a devastating derailment at the Union Square subway stop in Manhattan killed five passengers and injured more than 200. The crash of the IRT No. 4 express was one of the worst New York City subway accidents of this century. The impact threw train cars and human body parts all over the tracks and demolished over 20 steel structural supports holding up the road above. Before the ten-car train crossed the switch to the local track at 45-50 mph (four times the safe speed), a signaling device should have triggered an emergency brake. But the inadequate safety device failed to stop the train's first car from jumping the tracks and slamming into a massive air compressor.

Considering the scope of the destruction, with the lead car sliced in half lengthwise, another wrapped around supports, it could have been a repeat of the Malbone St., Brooklyn crash of 1918, when an untrained scab motorman lost control of his speeding train, killing

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 535

27 September 1991

Soviet Pullout: Set-Up for U.S. Attack

Defend Cuba!

The collapse of Stalinism in the Soviet Union has sharpened the voracious appetites of U.S. imperialism around the globe *and now directly jeopardizes the Cuban Revolution.* Begging for some paltry crumbs of U.S. "aid," Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev has given Washington a green light to drown defiant Cuba in blood. The announced pullout of Soviet troops and cutoff of Soviet aid to Cuba is a betrayal and a set-up for an American attack. As we already warned in our statement, "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" (*WV* No. 533, 30 August): "Cuba, in particular, is in Bush's cross hairs, and its defense is more than ever a duty of all opponents of Yankee imperialism."

After meeting in the Kremlin with U.S. Secretary of State James Baker, on September 11 Gorbachev announced at a joint press conference that Moscow would in the "near future" withdraw its military contingent from the Caribbean island and end subsidies to Cuba. This far-reaching step was announced without any warning to, much less consultation with, Havana. After the U.S. brought the world to the brink of nuclear Armageddon with the Cuban missile crisis of October 1962, several thousand Soviet soldiers and military technicians had remained in Cuba as a trip wire for

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WV Photo

New York City, September 13—Spartacist League holds demonstration in solidarity with Cuba outside Cuban Mission to the UN after Gorbachev's treacherous announcement withdrawing Soviet backing.

Serbia-Croatia War Ripping Apart Yugoslavia

AP

Federal army convoy moves through Belgrade on the way to Croatia.

"Soon we may long for communism."
—barkeeper in a village on
the Serbia-Croatia border

SEPTEMBER 22—The first war in Europe since the Soviet Red Army smashed the Nazi German Wehrmacht is raging in the Balkans. Hundreds have been killed, almost 150,000 driven from their homes, and entire regions devastated in a war between Croatia and Serbia, a war that could mark the bloody end of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The Yugoslav federal army, bolstered by tens of thousands of Serbian reservists and volunteers, has now launched a full-scale offensive against the ultra-rightist Croatian nationalist regime of Franjo Tudjman.

Since the fighting broke out last spring, the Croatian nationalists—hopelessly outgunned—have appealed for and sought to provoke Western imperialist military intervention on their behalf. In a desperate last-ditch maneuver, in mid-September the Tudjman regime cut off food, water and electricity to federal army garrisons which had not been previously involved in the fighting. The army responded with punishing attacks throughout Croatia. Warplanes bombed and strafed the Croatian capital of Zagreb and other cities. Naval warships bombarded and blockaded the Adriatic seaports of Split and Sibenek. The Dalmatian coast was cut off from the rest of Croatia. A federal army tank column, supported by Serbian militias, is approaching within 30 miles of Zagreb.

It would take a large-scale imperialist military intervention to restore conditions in Croatia to what they were even a few weeks ago. From the outset of the Yugoslav crisis, Germany has put itself forward as the big-power protector of traditionally Catholic Croatia and Slovenia, which before World War I were provinces in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The Kohl government has pressured the European Common Market to recognize the independence of the right-wing nationalist regimes in Zagreb and Ljubljana and threatened to do so itself. In recent weeks Bonn, backed by Paris, has been pushing for sending a European "peacekeeping" force—estimated at 20,000 to 50,000 troops (but no Germans)—into

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Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Remember the Attica Rebellion

"We are *men*! We are not beasts and we do not intend to be beaten or driven as such." This was the declaration of the courageous inmates of Attica prison on 9 September 1971. Four days later, 29 of them lay dead, cut down in a hail of bullets. For millions around the world, the Attica uprising became the symbol of rebellion against brutal repression. Now, 20 years later, Attica remains the symbol of racist state murder—the domestic My Lai massacre. The image of hundreds of black men, lined up naked in the prison yard after the slaughter, as at a slave auction, is forever seared into our memory.

The first issue of *Workers Vanguard* (October 1971) headlined on its front page, "Massacre at Attica." We pointed the finger of guilt at the state authorities who ordered the killing, first and foremost New York governor Nelson Rockefeller: "Rockefeller cut down the Attica prisoners in the manner of his father and grandfather before him—ruthlessly and to protect the system from which his profits spring. From the murder of the Ludlow miners to the present, this family has carried the policies of the armed fist over the entire globe." From the White House, Richard Nixon immediately endorsed this coldblooded killing.

Roots of the Rebellion

In 1971, in the context of the "black power" movement and radical protests against the war in Vietnam, the Attica rebellion reflected intense struggles taking place outside the prison walls. For the capitalist ruling class, Attica had to be crushed with particular vengeance because the rebels had begun to see their struggle in political and even revolutionary terms. Attica inmates were heavily black and Hispanic, with many identifying with the Black Panther Party and the Puerto Rican Young Lords; others, following Malcolm X, had joined the Nation of Islam (Black Muslims) while in jail.

Wide World

September 1971—Attica prisoners defiantly raise fists in D Yard. Three days later, Governor Rockefeller ordered bloody massacre.

The bitter anger that was about to explode was glimpsed two weeks before, on 21 August 1971, when word spread through the cells that Black Panther George Jackson had been murdered in San Quentin prison in California. The official explanation for his death was patently false. The next morning over 800 Attica prisoners marched solemnly into breakfast wearing black armbands, sat down and refused to eat, maintaining absolute silence. This powerful statement shook prison officials to the core.

Attica was a time bomb waiting to explode. Over 2,200 inmates were stuffed into a penitentiary built for a maximum of 1,600. Inmates were locked in cells 14 to 16 hours per day, permitted one shower per week, one roll of toilet paper and bar of soap a month. Black and Hispanic inmates were routinely beaten by racist guards. The men were paid slave wages of between 20 cents and one dollar *per day*.

Prisoners were infuriated by censorship of reading matter. Inmates who subscribed to newspapers found all references to prison conditions snipped out. When Puerto Rican prisoners requested books in Spanish, they received comic books from Mexico. Incoming and outgoing mail was heavily censored. In his documentary book on Attica, *A Time to Die* (1975), columnist Tom Wicker quoted from a letter written by imprisoned leftist Sam Melville, who would die in the cop assault. In his shorthand style, Melville captured the mood:

> "I can't tell you what a change has come over t brothers in Attica. So much more awareness & growing, consciousness of themselves as potential revolutionaries, reading, questioning, rapping all t time. Still bigotry & racism, black, white & brown, but one can tell it beginning to crumble in t knowledge so many are gaining that we must build solidarity against our common oppressor...."

In the early morning of September 9, the prisoners erupted, seizing most of the institution and taking 39 hostages. For the next four days, the Attica Brothers controlled D Yard in a multiracial struggle against the most degrading conditions of an inhumane society. Of course the prison officials and the ruling-class press sought to portray this as a "riot" and especially a "race riot." But in fact, even the cover-up *Official Report of the New York State Commission on Attica*, headed by Arthur Liman, who later headed the Congressional non-investigation of the Iran-contra affair, quoted one of the prisoners saying on the bullhorn, "This is not a race riot. We are all in this together. There are no white inmates, no black inmates, no Puerto Rican inmates. There are only inmates."

The prisoners demanded to be treated as human beings, calling for the minimum wage for prison work, an end to censorship and restrictions on political activity, religious freedom, rehabilitation and education, and decent medical treatment. The Attica Brothers expressed solidarity with the Vietnamese and others fighting U.S. imperialism. Their initial manifesto asked for "speedy and safe transportation to a 'non-imperialistic' country." They demanded amnesty, but instead they got death at the hands of the state.

An integrated security squad of 300 prisoners maintained order and discipline in D Yard, and prisoners trained as nurses established medical facilities, while a political committee drafted demands. The prisoners demanded outside observers, and a team including William Kunstler, Black Panther leader Bobby Seale, *New York Times* journalist Tom Wicker and others arrived at the jail. As the days wore on, the observers played for time, becoming increasingly alarmed that a state massacre was being prepared. But Rockefeller demanded the revolt be crushed. The "revolutionary tactics of militants" and the "outside

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Spartacist League: 25 Years

TROTSKY

LENIN

This month marks 25 years since the founding conference of the Spartacist League of the U.S. in September 1966. The SL/U.S. issued out of the struggle waged by the Revolutionary Tendency, bureaucratically expelled from the Socialist Workers Party three years earlier. The RT fought for a revolutionary Trotskyist perspective, particularly against the rapidly degenerating SWP's capitulation to liberalism and black nationalism in the Southern civil rights movement and to Castroism in Cuba. Our political continuity goes back to the erstwhile Trotskyist SWP of James P. Cannon, the International Left Opposition and the Bolshevik Party of Lenin and Trotsky. Our extension as the international Spartacist tendency, now the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), is both a vindication of and a necessary corollary to our internationalist perspective. As Stalinism collapses and the traitorous pretenders to Trotskyism embrace capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, we stand by the principles of Bolshevism which are the only foundation upon which an authentically Trotskyist Fourth International can be reforged. The excerpts below are taken from the Declaration of Principles of the SL/U.S adopted at the 1966 conference.

The Spartacist League of the U.S. is a revolutionary organization which, as part of the international revolutionary movement, is committed to the task of building the party which will lead the working class to the victory of the socialist revolution in the United States.

Only the proletariat, through the seizure of political power and the destruction of capitalism in all countries, can lay the basis for the elimination of exploitation and the resolution of the contradiction between the growth of the productive forces of the world economy and national-state barriers. Capitalism has long since outlived its progressive historical role of creating a modern industrial economy. Now in order to maintain their rule, the national capitalist classes must intensify national and racial divisions, through imperialism oppress the colonial peoples and impoverish the masses of the entire world, engage in continual wars for the maintenance and redivision of the world markets in order to prop up the falling rate of profit, and attempt to smash the revolutionary struggle of the workers wherever it breaks out. In its final frenzied effort to maintain its class rule, the bourgeoisie will not hesitate to plunge humanity into a nuclear holocaust or totalitarian oppression of unprecedented ferocity. The United States of America is today the keystone of the entire international capitalist order....

History has shown that the self-emancipation of the working class, and therewith the oppressed of all the earth, balances on the question of leadership. The economic preconditions for socialism have long since been reached. But the contradictions of capitalism in its epoch of imperialist decay produce not only wars, but also revolutionary opportunities. The success or failure of the working class to achieve victory in these historic opportunities depends upon the organization and scientific consciousness of the struggling masses, i.e., on *revolutionary leadership*. Only a revolutionary leadership—the indispensable weapon of the working people—has proved to have the strategy and determination to lead the working masses to victory. The responsibility for the defeats suffered by the working class and the abortion of previous revolutionary opportunities lies at the door of treacherous Social-Democratic and Stalinist misleaders. But the revolutionary will of the proletariat *will* triumph! The crisis of leadership *will* be solved! It is to the solution of the crisis of proletarian leadership that the Spartacist League directs its work.

—"Declaration of Principles of the Spartacist League" (September 1966)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions $7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 535 **27 September 1991**

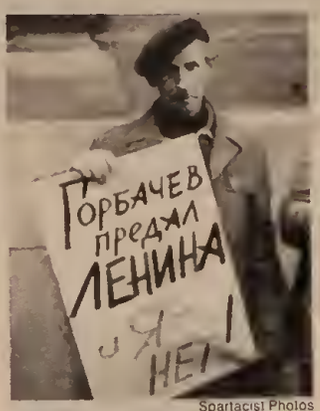
The Heritage of the Bolshevik Revolution Belongs to the Workers of the World

Stop the Closing of the Lenin Museum!

As the counterrevolution seeks to eradicate the legacy of the October Revolution, Moscow mayor Gavriil Popov has ordered the closing of the Lenin Museum. But this vile campaign to spit on the heritage of Bolshevism is meeting opposition. On Saturday, September 14, some 300 protesters gathered in a cold rain at the building off Red Square. A week later, a larger crowd of demonstrators formed a human chain around the museum. They were there to prevent the 20-room gallery from being shut down and to stop the exhibits of Lenin's life's work from being removed and defiled. Supporters of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) have been present at these demonstrations with our placards and literature.

Later the demonstrators filed across Red Square to the Lenin mausoleum, where hundreds filed past the tomb. Those who would bring back the tsar (or, like Yeltsin, aspire to become one), want to trample on Lenin's grave, seeking to remove his corpse and rebury it in Leningrad, the cradle of the revolution which the counterrevolutionaries again call by its tsarist name of St. Petersburg. Ironically, while Stalin built the mausoleum to turn Lenin into an icon and to bury Leninism, today the counterrevolutionaries seek to tear it down as part of their wholesale assault on the revolution Lenin's Bolsheviks led.

Those who have come forward to defend the Lenin Museum include a broad range, from genuine communists and Red Army veterans who fought against Hitler to the Russian nationalist "patriot" wing of the disintegrating Stalinist bureaucracy. The Moscow Workers Council, which issued out of a conference last July, appealed "to the world workers movement to begin a campaign of solidarity in defense of the memory of the leader of proletarian revolution." The International Communist League has responded to the threat to close down the Lenin Museum. Protest letters have been sent to Mayor Popov from the Prometheus Research Library (see below) and the Partisan Defense Committee. We encourage *WV* readers to do likewise.



Spartacist Photos

Rally defending Moscow's Lenin Museum, September 14. Sign says, "Gorbachev Betrayed Lenin, But I Have Not!" Banner at right reads, "Hands Off Lenin and Socialism!"

The following protest was sent by the Prometheus Research Library, central archives of the Spartacist League/U.S Central Committee.

September 17, 1991

Gavril Popov
Mayor's Office
Moscow, USSR

Dear Mr. Popov:

Our library vehemently protests the decision of your office to close the V.I. Lenin Museum. This blatant attempt to expunge the memory of the October Revolution and its leaders from the consciousness of the Soviet working people fully reveals the class hatred which infuses the restored capitalism you espouse.

You would prefer that Soviet history be collapsed into "Russian" history and for Russian history to be identified only with the Tsar, the anti-Semitic Black Hundreds and the backward superstitions of the Orthodox Church. But the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution is equally a part of Russian and Soviet history; the collectivized property which it established will not so easily be taken from the Soviet working people. The memory and record of the October Revolution belongs to the international working class.

We demand that the Lenin Museum be kept open and that all the archives of the Soviet Communist Party and Soviet Union be preserved for posterity.

Very truly yours,
Diana B. Kartsen, for the
Prometheus Research Library

cc: Soviet Embassy, Washington, D.C.

The ICL supporters in the Saturday demonstrations, which are planned to continue, carried signs proclaiming: "Down with the Gorbachev-Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution! Defend the Lenin Museum!" "Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky" "Socialism in One Country Is a Lie—Build a Trotskyist Party!" "Nationalism: Spearhead of Counterrevolution! For Proletarian Internationalism to Defend the Soviet Union" "Leninist Party Must Be Tribune of the People! Down with Great Russian Chauvinism, Anti-Semitism!" On the two Saturdays, over 1,500 pieces of Spartacist literature were sold, including the Russian language *Bulletin* and special supplement.

We reprint below a report from our correspondent in Moscow:

The demonstration last Saturday (September 14), the vigil outside Lenin's tomb Thursday night (September 19) and yesterday's Saturday demonstration (September 21) represent the first and only public expressions of communist opposition to Gorbachev's and Yeltsin's countercoup.

We participated in the first demonstration with sales of our new supplement in Russian, the Russian-language pamphlet and *The Revolution Betrayed*. Four comrades participated in the chain that girded the museum. The impact of our supplement was dramatic and palpable. As soon as we began selling we encountered intense interest and gratitude from older workers and members of the former Communist Party who have been left without an organization or any means to function. For many of them, it was their first acquaintance with the ICL. Against the backdrop of three weeks of agonizing silence and betrayal, during which so many communists felt themselves utterly betrayed and alone, there appeared our *Bulletin Spartakovtsev* supplement with its headline: "Bankruptcy of Stalinism Opens Floodgates of Counterrevolution. Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" (translated from *WV* No. 533, 30 August).

A typical response was a heart-felt "*Molodtsi!*" (Well done!). "You see, the International has come to help us." "You are absolutely right!" Many bought multiple copies—up to ten at a time. For the most part, these were older workers, in their 50s and 60s.

But not everyone was happy to see us. Precisely because of our impact, there soon appeared rabid anti-Trotskyist Zionist-baiting from various so-called "patriots." The demonstration was organized by, among others, the Moscow Workers Council, most prominently Victor Anpilov, former editor of *Molnyia*. Also prominent were remnants of the OFT (United Front of Toilers). Unity, and individuals from Marxist Platform and Communist Initiative. This was a turnout of the "patriot" crowd. But it wasn't just them. Although they were in the majority, there was a minority of workers in their 30s and 40s stirred into action. But the patriots do not have a way to go forward for these people, they are bankrupt.

It was precisely because we were young, armed with a revolutionary program and press by which to attract support, that some of these stooges felt driven to dog our salesmen with the vilest garbage: "Gestapo" and so on. One worker who stood by us on the chain defended us from both the panicked Stalinists and Yeltsinite passers-by: "You see what the Stalinists have hidden from us for so long, that Trotsky was Lenin's comrade and a brilliant revolutionary."

We spoke there of the need to organize defense of the many people who are now under the threat of witchhunt repression. Anpilov was talking about the need to organize a new party. One of our Soviet comrades pointed out how Anpilov and the other organizers had once again made no effort to bring out the working class. "If they had made a few calls to start the chain going, the turnout would be counted not in hundreds, but thousands. But they only mobilize when they need something from the workers themselves. They did nothing after the July congress."

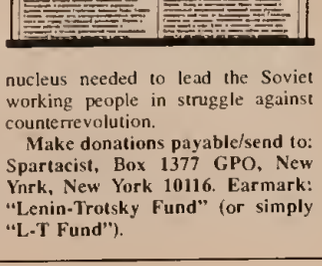
Sure enough, on September 21, as soon as we formed up our contingent, set up our signs and began selling, we were blocked by a "daisy chain" of a couple of little old lady Stalinists with locked elbows and tightly clamped jaws, hissing, "No Trotskyites." We did not allow them to exclude us, and put up a

continued on page 14

Defeat Yeltsin-Gorbachev Counterrevolution!

Lenin-Trotsky Fund Needs Your Dollars!

The resources of the International Communist League are sparse, our current tasks mammoth. We have just printed 70,000 copies of the Russian translation of "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" (pictured at right). We are now reprinting the first Russian-language *Spartacist Bulletin*, "What is Trotskyism," of which 25,000 have already been sold throughout the Soviet Union. Pro-socialist Soviet workers are thirsting for Trotskyist literature, but economic realities dictate that we must heavily subsidize our publications to keep them affordable. Printing costs, travel and other expenses mean that an internationalist intervention in the Soviet Union costs money. Help forge the Trotskyist nucleus needed to lead the Soviet working people in struggle against counterrevolution.


Бюллетень Спартаковцев SPARTACIST
Обанкротившийся сталинизм открывает шлюзы для капиталистической реставрации.
Советские рабочие! Долой ельцинско-бушевскую контрреволюцию!

Make donations payable/send to: Spartacist, Box 1377 GPO, New Ynrk, New York 10116. Earmark: "Lenin-Trotsky Fund" (or simply "L-T Fund").

Stalinophobes Go Stalinophilic?—No!

BT Writes Off the Soviet Union

For almost a decade now the self-proclaimed "Bolshevik Tendency" has been screeching about Spartacist "Stalinophilia." This has served as an all-purpose alibi for the absence of political backbone of this disparate collection of disgruntled ex-members, the majority of whom quit our organization in the early 1980s when the question of defense of the Soviet Union against the intensified imperialist Cold War crusade was posed sharp and hard.

Flinching in the face of our call to "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution!" the BTs whined that our statement of military support for a possible Soviet intervention in Poland was evidence of our "pro-Stalinist" degeneration. Similarly they couldn't stomach our slogan "Hail Red Army in Afghanistan!" although it took them close to ten years to own up to it. But then they gave full vent to what was always their position, proclaiming that "Trotskyists never hail Stalinist traitors or their state." To provide a fig leaf to cover this crassly Stalinophobic line, they called for "military victory" to the Red Army...just at the moment when Gorbachev was pulling all Soviet forces out of Afghanistan!

So, you can imagine our comrades' disbelief when confronted by BTers screaming that we have capitulated to "Third Camp" anti-Sovietism because we did not give "military support" to the impotent coup by a handful of reluctant Gorbachevites in the Kremlin bureaucracy. At a September 11 public meeting by our comrades of the Trotskyist League of Canada, titled "Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution in USSR!", BTers argued that the coup was an attempt by "a section of the rapidly disintegrating Stalinist bureaucracy...to strike against the principal forces of capitalist restoration." Some "strike"! Funny that the coup plotters didn't touch a hair on Yeltsin's head...or his phone link to Bush's bunker at Kennebunkport.

For years the BT has reviled us for our support to Soviet forces which actually stood militarily in defense of the gains of the October Revolution, like the Red Army in Afghanistan. Then they ranted about the need to completely smash "all wings of the bureaucracy." Now they're attacking us for not being "prepared to bloc with the Stalinists militarily." What gives?

Since they came together to form a "tendency," the BT has been driven by a hostile obsession with the organization that they quit. In this pursuit, it's been any stick to beat the dog. Thus while they loudly proclaim our complete "degeneracy" and "irrelevance," much of their time, attention and publications are devoted to the singular object of reviling our organization. But in their current denunciations of the International Communist League (ICL) for not supporting the coup in the Soviet Union, there is more than this method in the BT's madness.

Behind the veneer of its after-the-fact support to the coup, the BT has found in the flop engineered by the "gang of eight that couldn't shoot straight" their long-awaited opportunity to wash their hands of the Soviet Union—something they have yearned to do for years. At our Thronto forum, BT leading light Tom Riley announced that "the defeat of the coup, and in the aftermath of the coup, represent a qualitative transformation... this is an embryonic bourgeois state power that is attempting to consolidate itself."

And on September 21, more than a month after the coup/countercoup, the BT distributed a statement definitively declaring, "Counterrevolution Triumphs in USSR." The failure of the putsch, they say, means that "the major organized obstacle to the consolidation of a bourgeois state has been effectively removed." Thus they simply write off the Soviet working class as a force against capitalist restoration. The BT claims the Gorbachevite coup leaders (dolled up as "hardliners") were protecting "state ownership of the means of production"—the coup committee's explicit statements to the contrary notwithstanding. And with Yeltsin's power grab, it declares that the Soviet military are henceforth "'bodies of armed men' dedicated to the objectives of Western capitalists and their internal allies." Thus they write off every soldier and officer of the Soviet army as a repressive agent of capital.

At a public forum of the Spartakist Workers Party in Berlin, BTers likewise declared that the workers state in the Soviet Union had fallen and had been replaced by a new "weak" bourgeois state. But while there has been a pro-imperialist countercoup at the top, beheading the Stalinist bureaucracy, the counterrevolution has a long way to go in dismantling the many-millions-strong state apparatus bound up with collectivized property, and creating a bourgeois state—including a dependable military to enforce the interests of capital.

Even the CIA is less sanguine about the victory of counterrevolution in the Soviet Union than the BT. Testifying before Congress last week, former Deputy Director of Central Intelligence Bobby Inman referred to this as "the Kerensky period" in reverse. "I think the failed coup was like 1917—replacing the czars—1918 still in front of us. We don't know what's going to happen out of these next six to nine months." While the BT throws up its hands, we of the ICL are taking to the Soviet workers a program to forge an authentically Trotskyist party and defeat the ascendant counterrevolutionary forces.

Reuters

WV Photo

Bolshevik Tendency retrospectively supports botched "perestroika coup" by loser "gang of eight" (left). BT leader Howard Keylor (far right).

The "Perestroika Coup"

Certainly any serious opponent of capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR would have looked long and hard to determine if there was a basis for giving military support to the coup against Yeltsin's open counterrevolutionaries. But what was there to "militarily" support? The coup leaders, all of them Gorbachev appointees, didn't even have the military behind them, and they certainly weren't about to mobilize the working class against counterrevolution. As we wrote (*WV* No. 533, 30 August):

> "The coup was not so much by the military, which largely stayed out of the fray, but by top administrative and party hacks of the central apparat whose bureaucratic fiefdoms were threatened. Their avowed program was martial law to keep the USSR from breaking apart, which comes down to perestroika minus glasnost: the introduction of the market but not so fast, and shut up."

Our attitude was summed up in the statement: "Any class-conscious Soviet worker who saw the urgent need to halt the capitalist-restorationist forces would certainly have been against Yeltsin, but critical of the coup—which wouldn't stop Yeltsin, and was therefore doomed to failure."

A Soviet worker from an outlying area sent our comrades in Moscow a leaflet, written in the first hours after hearing of the state of emergency, in which he appealed for the working class to see the coup "as a basis for the unification of the workers movement for the struggle against liberal-bourgeois hypocritical defenders of the restoration of capitalism in the USSR." One can certainly appreciate the sentiment. He wanted to seize on the "emergency committee" to mobilize the workers against counterrevolution, but there was nothing to grab hold of. In its press conference, the coup committee vowed to continue the market reforms, pledged to uphold Gorbachev's sellouts to imperialism, and ordered the workers to stay at home.

The BT, on the other hand, retrospectively and in full knowledge of the coup leaders' pro-perestroika policies, denounces us for not taking a stand with this bunch of stumblebums, and claims we said "we've got no side in this." They cynically ignore our explicit position that what was needed was for Moscow workers to clean out the counterrevolutionary rabble of yuppies, fascists, priests and other Russian nationalists in front of Yeltsin's headquarters. The BT calls for support to Yanayev, Pavlov & Co....without even a nod to mobilizing the proletariat! While the botched coup and the ascendancy of Yeltsin have opened the floodgates for capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR, the Soviet proletariat has yet to be heard from. The question of which class shall rule is urgently posed, but it is not one that has already been determined.

Phobias and Philias of the BT

So what really lies behind the BT's call for military support to the coup, a position which can only be described as Stalinophilic? To be sure, this is not the only example of this affliction that one could find among the disparate elements who make up this outfit. To this day,

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Spartakist

КРАСНАЯ ЗВЕЗДА

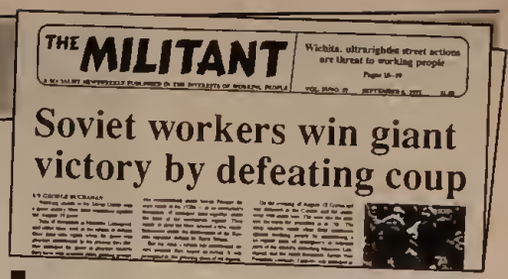
5 January 1990

Митинг в Трептов-парке

250,000-strong anti-fascist mass demonstration initiated by German Spartakists at East Berlin's Treptow Park in January 1990 was featured in Soviet Army newspaper *Red Star*. BT calls this "a fiasco."

Traitors, Not Trotskyists

Cheerleaders for Yeltsin's Counterrevolution


THE MILITANT

Soviet workers win giant victory by defeating coup

—6 September 1991

The counterrevolutionary tide sweeping the Soviet Union, spearheaded by Boris Yeltsin's pro-imperialist countercoup last month, poses a definitive test for organizations claiming to speak on behalf of the struggle for socialist revolution. Openly capitalist-restorationist forces led by Yeltsin and Gorbachev, now ascendant in Russia and other Soviet republics, are seeking to tear away every vestige of the greatest victory ever achieved by the international proletariat, the October Revolution of 1917.

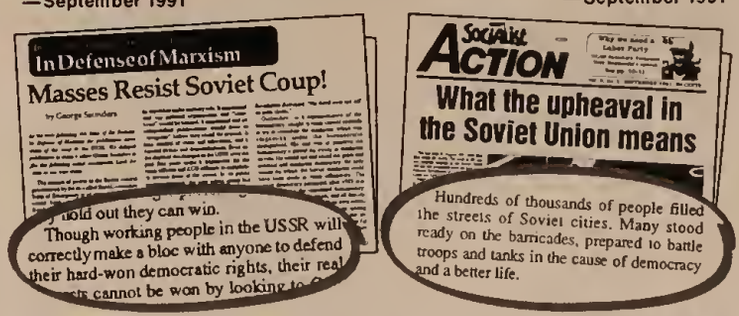
The Left Opposition and the Fourth International of Leon Trotsky waged a life-and-death struggle against the Stalinist bureaucratic caste, whose usurpation of political power from the Soviet proletariat and capitulation to imperialism undermined the first workers state and created the present catastrophic situation. In doing so, the Trotskyists were the best and most consistent defenders of the gains of October. *Uncompromising, unconditional Soviet defensism* has always been the basis for the Trotskyist call for a proletarian political revolution to oust the Stalinist bureaucracy. In his germinal 1933 article laying out the perspective of political revolution, Trotsky warned of the "tragic possibility" of the counterrevolution now taking place:

> "But in the event of this worst possible variant, a tremendous significance for the subsequent course of the revolutionary struggle will be borne by the question: *where* are those guilty for the catastrophe? Not the slightest taint of guilt must fall upon the revolutionary internationalists. In the hour of mortal danger, they must remain on the last barricade."
>
> —"The Class Nature of the Soviet State" (October 1933)

We of the International Communist League today continue the struggle for Trotsky's Fourth International. *Workers Vanguard*'s statement following the pathetic Stalinist "coup" attempt and pro-capitalist countercoup was headlined: "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" (*WV* No. 533, 30 August). Pointing to the yuppies, speculators, fascists and priests who flocked to Yeltsin's "White House" in Moscow to present themselves as the shock troops for social counterrevolution during the two days of the feeble putsch by Yanayev & Co., we wrote: "a call on Moscow workers to clean out this counterrevolutionary rabble was in order. Yet the coup plotters not only did not mobilize the workers, they ordered everybody to stay at work and at home."

In the face of the ascendancy of the counterrevolutionary forces, we laid out a program of struggle against capitalist restoration, calling for independent workers committees in the factories to take control of production and fight privatization, for committees of soldiers and officers to resist the use of the Soviet army as an instrument against the working class, for workers militias to crush anti-Semitic pogromists and anti-Communist lynch mobs and to ward off communalist butchery by revanchist nationalists. We immediately translated this article into Russian, and it is now being distributed among class-conscious Soviet workers with the aim of forging a Leninist-Trotskyist nucleus capable of leading a struggle by the Soviet working people to victory over the counterrevolution.

—September 1991 —September 1991


In Defense of Marxism

Masses Resist Soviet Coup!

hold out they can win.
Though working people in the USSR will correctly make a bloc with anyone to defend their hard-won democratic rights, their real ... cannot be won by looking to ...

Socialist Action

What the upheaval in the Soviet Union means

Hundreds of thousands of people filled the streets of Soviet cities. Many stood ready on the barricades, prepared to battle troops and tanks in the cause of democracy and a better life.

Socialist Workers Party (top) and its offshoots, Fourth Internationalist Tendency (above left) and Socialist Action, hail "democratic" capitalist counterrevolution in Soviet Union. All falsely claim Soviet working masses were on the barricades for Yeltsin.

In contrast, in the "hour of mortal danger," a herd of pseudo-Trotskyists were on the *first barricade of counterrevolution*. Jack Barnes' Socialist Workers Party (SWP), which after years of being the reformist right wing of the centrist United Secretariat (USec) finally dumped Trotskyism outright a few years ago, cheered on the front page of the *Militant* (6 September): "Soviet Workers Win Giant Victory by Defeating Coup." As for the USec, its French-language organ echoed the imperialist gloating over the "second Russian Revolution" with the headline, "Three Days That Shook the USSR," a grotesque parody on the title of John Reed's history of the 1917 Bolshevik uprising. An article by Catherine Verla stated baldly: "It was necessary to unhesitatingly oppose the coup and, on these grounds, to fight at Yeltsin's side" (*Inprecor*, 29 August). This same reactionary line is being pushed by two American pro-USec satellites which are offshoots of the SWP, Socialist Action and the Fourth Internationalist Tendency (FIT).

For the last three decades our Spartacist tendency has denounced the impostors who masquerade as Trotskyists while abandoning every principled position Trotsky stood for and above all the fight for an independent Trotskyist vanguard. We have polemically combatted those who sought popularity in becoming the "left" tail of bourgeois "popular fronts," from Allende in Chile to Mitterrand in France. We exposed those who hail anti-Soviet nationalists from Khomeini in Iran to Walesa in Poland. We warned that their cowardly flinches and treacherous opportunism, their renunciation in deeds of revolutionary Trotskyism, went against every historic interest of the working class. Now they

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Who Was on Yeltsin's Barricades?

"Soviet Workers Win Giant Victory by Defeating Coup," headlined the Socialist Workers Party's *Militant* as it lined up behind Yeltsin-Bush counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. The Fourth Internationalist Tendency likewise cheered "Masses Resist Soviet Coup!" And Socialist Action proclaimed: "The scale of the current popular uprising in the Soviet Union has had few precedents since the time of the Russian Revolution of 1917, led by V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky."

But were the Soviet workers out on the barricades for capitalist restoration? To be sure, the demagogue Yeltsin won 60 percent of the vote for president of the Russian republic last spring. His imperialist backers certainly hoped that with this "popular mandate," as soon as would-be Tsar Boris leapt atop a tank to call for a general strike to back his pro-capitalist countercoup, workers would leave the factories in droves, just as millions of Polish workers had followed the lead of Lech Walesa in 1980-81. But despite imperialist hopes and the extraterrestrial daydreams of the SWP, FIT and SA, this was not the case.

From the start, Western bourgeois commentators expressed bitter disappointment at the *lack* of Soviet working-class support for capitalist counterrevolution. The Yeltsinite rallies on August 20 in Moscow, Leningrad and other Soviet cities were sizable, though no more so than numerous other recent demonstrations in the Soviet Union. As for the fabled barricades outside Yeltsin's "White House," a spectrum of eyewitnesses, many of them pro-Yeltsin, uniformly attest that they never attracted more than several thousand hard-bitten pro-capitalist activists, with virtually no workers among them.

AFP

Outside Yeltsin's "White House": Russian nationalists, black marketeers, yuppies, priests, fascists.

Shortly after the coup/countercoup, CBS News' *60 Minutes* (25 August) interviewed pro-Yeltsin Russian reporter Artiam Borovik. Speaking from a factory floor, Borovik said: "The majority of the workers here supported the attempted coup. They're actually afraid of more perestroika. So far it's only brought them more misery." As for the activists who manned the barricades: "They were mainly young ones, like myself, students, intellectuals, professionals."

The British Workers Power group elaborated on this in an eyewitness account by a supporter of its League for a Revolutionary Communist International, which supported Yeltsin's countercoup:

> "At the same time the 'heroic struggle of the masses of Moscow' to defend the Russian parliament is largely a myth. Firstly, the few thousand people who manned the barricades outside the parliament itself were not, for the most part, the most audacious workers and students of Moscow.
>
> "Rather they were in the majority small businessmen, speculators and owners of ["free enterprise"] co-operatives, the traditional base of the [Russian nationalist] 'Democratic Russia' demonstrations, plus a few hundred young enthusiasts. While there have been reports of strike action and mass mobilisations

continued on page 13

Yugoslavia...

(continued from page 1)

Yugoslavia. For the moment such a move has been blocked by British opposition, but imperialist military intervention cannot be ruled out.

The rapidly escalating Yugoslav civil war is threatening to spill over into Bosnia, the most ethnically mixed of Yugoslavia's republics. Its largest ethnic group is Slavic Muslims, who consider themselves neither Serbs nor Croats and were recognized as a separate nationality by Tito. In recent days Croatian and Muslim militias have obstructed federal army units, predominantly Serbian, from moving into Croatia. The extension of the war to Bosnia would mean a communalist bloodbath on a massive scale. One Slavic Muslim predicts: "What happened in Lebanon in 15 years will happen in 15 days in Bosnia."

Under the ferocious pressure of Western imperialism and heavily in debt to Wall Street and Frankfurt, the Yugoslav Stalinist bureaucracy has splintered and disintegrated along national lines. Neither the leadership of the federal army and still less Serbian strongman Slobodan Milosevic are fighting to preserve Yugoslavia on the basis of a socialized economy. The Yugoslav federal army—the last bastion of Titoism—risks being turned into an instrument of Great Serbian nationalism. While a Slovene, Admiral Stane Brovet, is still deputy defense minister, non-Serbian officers have been purged from positions of command or have resigned. In the ranks there have been large-scale desertions by Slovene, Croat, Albanian and Macedonian conscripts.

As we go to press, there is another declared truce—which may soon go the way of earlier short-lived "cease-fires." A swirl of confusion surrounds the current objectives of the Yugoslav military, particularly seen from afar. The imperialist press acts as if they are about to go in and clean out Zagreb. In reality, faced with openly fascist Croatian forces, the federal army's reaction has been a nationalist response, allying with Serbian fascists and seeking to seize control of Serbian enclaves in Croatia. Indeed, in the squalid warfare which is ripping Yugoslavia apart, on no side is there any evidence of mobilization on a proletarian, *class* axis. Yet that is what is urgently necessary.

The war is enormously intensifying national hatreds and strengthening reactionary forces on all sides. Class-conscious workers throughout Yugoslavia must fight the forces of fratricidal nationalism, and aim to overthrow both the fascistic regime of Franjo Tudjman in Croatia and the Great Serbian chauvinist regime of Slobodan Milosevic. Officers and soldiers in the federal army who stand for socialism must oppose both the drive for a Greater Serbia and those who would transform Yugoslavia and its constituent republics into neocolonies of the (German-dominated) West European Common Market. Only the struggle for a Socialist Federation of the Balkans within a Socialist United States of Europe can save Yugoslavia from becoming once again an arena of nationalist genocide and imperialist subjugation.

Der Spiegel

AFP

Serbian nationalist strongman Slobodan Milosevic unleashed brutal repression against Albanian population of Kosovo.

Heirs of the Croatian Ustashi and Serbian Chetniks

Last year anti-Communist nationalists gained political power in Slovenia and Croatia, the two northernmost, and wealthier, republics. The enfeebled Stalinist bureaucracies in these republics totally dissolved, with most of the remnants going over to the avowedly capitalist-restorationist and secessionist regimes. Croatia's new president, Franjo Tudjman, was a former general in the Yugoslav army and history professor who gained notoriety as an apologist for the wartime clerical-fascist Ustasha regime, which under German protection massacred hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Jews and Roma (gypsies). Tudjman is notorious for his chauvinism, remarking, "Thank God my wife is neither a Serb nor a Jew." One of the first acts of his government was to change the name of the Square for the Victims of Fascism in Zagreb to the Square of the Croatian Giants! Similarly, the new government of Slovenia amnestied all wartime collaborators of the Nazi German and Italian fascist forces.

There are 600,000 Serbs living in eastern and southern Croatia—some 12 percent of the republic's population. These regions are the old Croatian military frontier, originally populated by Serbs in the 15th century who continued to resist when the medieval Serbian kingdom was overrun by the Ottoman Turks. The Serbian communities in Croatia have good reason to fear for their well-being and very lives under the new nationalist regime in Zagreb. The genocidal massacres of the Ustashi are a living memory in these regions. The Ustasha fascists—whose atrocities appalled even German Wehrmacht officers—collected the eyeballs of the victims and cut babies out of wombs of pregnant Serbian women.

It was from the Serbian-populated villages of Croatia as well as from ethnically Serbian Montenegro that the Communist partisan forces under Marshal Josip Broz Tito drew many of their recruits. The partisans, whose leading cadre were drawn from all the peoples of Yugoslavia (Tito's father was a Croat and his mother a Slovene), combatted the forces of fratricidal nationalism on all sides. They fought not only the German occupying army and its Ustasha puppets but also the Serbian royalist guerrillas—the Chetniks—who frequently collaborated with the Italian fascist occupiers against the Communists. Today, however, the Serbian militias in Croatia are under the sway of the nationalist strongman Milosevic and, significantly, call themselves Chetniks:

> "Mr. Milosevic prefers to patronise the operations of the 'Chetnik' forces, controlled by Vojislav Seselj, known as 'the Duke.' In spite of his far-right views, 'the Duke' is widely suspected of being an agent of Serbia's communist-run secret police force. He recently won a by-election in Belgrade under a campaign which included promises to 'cut the Croats' throats with rusty knives'."
>
> —*Independent* [London], 7 August

"The Duke" Seselj, of course, has his counterparts in the Croatian National Guard, many of whom see themselves fighting a holy war against the heretics of the Eastern Orthodox church. A Franciscan monk in a National Guard command center in Sinj proclaimed: "For 300 years the Franciscans have been leading Croatia in the fight for Christendom, because when Croatia defends itself it also protects the West and Christendom." *Le Monde* (13 September) reports that the Croatian Interior Ministry is recruiting German and French mercenaries to a "Black Legion." Members of this "anti-terrorist" unit openly boast that they are latter-day Nazis—"national-socialist and proud of it"—and flaunt the portrait of Ustasha leader Ante Pavelic, executed for war crimes, in their HQ. "They think the Ustashi are back when they see us," said one of the black-clad fascists.

With enormous condescension, the Western media is now portraying the Balkan peoples, like the Serbs and Croats, as semi-barbaric tribes engaged in an age-old blood feud. Yet Serbs and Croats lived together amicably for four and a half decades. Intermarriage between these two South Slav peoples was more common than between blacks and whites in the United States or between Europeans and North African Arabs in France. And in the towns and cities of interpenetrated regions like the Kajna and Slavonia, there are not only extreme Croatian and Serbian nationalists but also many who deeply oppose the nationalist fratricide which is tearing their communities and families apart.

However, Serbs and Croats have not suddenly been infected by intense nationalist hatreds as if by a plague of unknown origin. What is happening in Yugoslavia and the rest of East Europe

Zika Zivanovic

Albanian coal miners in Kosovo. Workers of Yugoslavia must fight the forces of all-sided fratricidal nationalism.

AP

Der Spiegel

Croatia's fascistic president Franjo Tudjman with his militiamen (left). Serbian irregulars (right) call themselves Chetniks after the anti-Communist monarchists in World War II.

is the end product of four decades of Stalinist bureaucratic rule and its ultimate collapse. While Tito's partisans fought against fratricidal nationalism, his policy of "market socialism" and enterprise "self-management" widened the economic differences and thus increased political tensions between the more advanced republics of Slovenia and Croatia and the poorer southern regions. Meanwhile, over the past few decades Yugoslavia has become ever more indebted to the imperialist banks.

Under orders from Western finance capital, two years ago the government of federal prime minister Ante Markovic imposed a savage austerity program on working people throughout Yugoslavia. Last April 750,000 Serbian workers staged a one-day general strike to protest their intolerable economic conditions. A perceptive article on Milosevic in the *New York Times Magazine* (1 September) noted: "Social unrest also cannot be ruled out in Serbia, where tens of thousands of workers have gone months without a paycheck, and where unemployment is rising." To head off and divert working-class struggle against the effects of imperialist debt peonage, both Milosevic and Tudjman are inciting nationalist hatreds and communalist warfare.

Milosevic's Drive for Greater Serbia

The Western bourgeois media commonly and falsely describe Milosevic's Serbia as the last "hard-line Communist" regime in East Europe. As former head of Belgrade's central bank, Milosevic linked the Yugoslav dinar to the German deutschmark, and he now calls for a "market economy" with "a completely free flow of labour, goods and capital" (*Review of International Affairs*, 20 June). This economic program is indistinguishable from that of federal prime minister Markovic, the darling of Wall Street and Frankfurt, who likewise advocates "developing market mechanisms and creating conditions for the free flow of goods, capital, labour and know-how."

The difference between Markovic and Milosevic is *not* that the former wants to establish capitalism in Yugoslavia while the latter wants to preserve "socialism." The federal prime minister, who has practically no real power, would like to transform Yugoslavia as a whole into a neocolony of the West European Common Market. The Belgrade strongman, the son of a Serbian Orthodox priest, wants to forge a Greater Serbia on the ruins of the Yugoslav federal state created by Tito's Communist partisans. Serbia's foreign minister, Vladimir Yovanovic, complains that the borders of Yugoslavia's republics "were drawn after the Second World War by the then ruling Communists in an arbitrary fashion" (*New York Times*, 31 August).

Milosevic's drive to create a Greater Serbia began a few years ago with the subjugation of the autonomous region of Kosovo, 90 percent of whose population are Albanians. The Kosovo Communist Party was dissolved and popular resistance to Serbian overlordship was brutally suppressed. The Milosevic regime also strong-armed the autonomous region of Vojvodina, with its large Hungarian minority, into submission to Serbian authorities. Milosevic has now agreed to the secession of Slovenia (which has no Serbian minority) and to accept an independent Croatia as long as it gives up the Serbian-populated regions. That is what the present war is about.

The war is changing the political and national character of the Yugoslav federal army. When the civilian Stalinist bureaucracy splintered last year along national lines, the army was left as the only pan-Yugoslav institution with any power. Titoist sentiment remained strong within the officer corps. Although the officer corps has always been predominantly Serbian, it was established policy for all Yugoslav nationalities to be represented in the highest command positions. But now non-Serbian officers are being purged. The head of the air force was recently forced to resign and was replaced by a Serb. Non-Serbian colonels and majors have been removed from command of key battalions. The president of Bosnia, Alija Izetehegovic, a Slavic Muslim, recently exclaimed: "We must find out if the army is Yugoslav or Serbian. Of the five generals commanding units in Bosnia, all five are now Serbs."

AP Graphic

In reaction to the "Serbianization" of the army command, the governments of Bosnia and Macedonia have demanded that conscripts from these republics not be stationed outside their borders. The Macedonians have also destroyed the call-up lists for next year's draftees. Slavic Muslim reservists in Bosnia have refused to obey a mobilization order sending them to the embattled regions of Croatia. At the same time, Serbian nationalists in Bosnia are recruiting volunteers for the army. Officers and soldiers who stand for socialism must fight against making the Yugoslav army an instrument of Great Serbian nationalism, a path that can lead only to communalist massacres and counter-massacres.

Western Imperialism and the Breakup of Yugoslavia

Over the past few years Washington and the West European powers did not favor the breakup of Yugoslavia but rather its transformation into a capitalist economy and loose confederation. Hence, the imperialists' strong support for the federal prime minister Markovic, who has precisely this program. However, the Slovenia secession crisis in late June/early July and the escalating Croatia-Serbia border war demonstrated that Markovic's line was unworkable. With Germany taking the lead, the imperialists now consider the secession of Slovenia and Croatia as a kind of second-best solution. But Milosevic's efforts to incorporate large chunks of Croatia in a Greater Serbia are disrupting the plans of Washington and especially Berlin to pull off an easy "peacekeeping" intervention.

Furthermore, this conflict could easily expand into a general Balkan war if the militarily far weaker Croats seek allies against Serbia. Such allies would not be hard to find. Bulgaria and Greece have claims on Macedonia, Albania on Kosovo and Hungary on Vojvodina. There is already gunfire along the Albania-Kosovo border. Hungary's right-wing nationalist president, Jozsef Antall, is talking about defending the 400,000 ethnic Magyars in northern Yugoslavia. And for 300 years the Bulgarians have looked to Russia as their main great-power ally in Balkan conflicts. The bloody breakup of Yugoslavia—with Roman Catholic Croats fighting Eastern Orthodox Serbs fighting Slavic and Albanian Muslims—could have major repercussions from Rome to Ankara to Moscow.

That is what the Western imperialists are worried about. And they see Milosevic as the archvillain on the Yugoslav scene, the main disturber of the peace. As Serbian forces have gained on the ground, the imperialist attitude toward the Belgrade strongman has become more hostile and threatening. A 14 August *New York Times* editorial, titled "Serbia vs. the New World Order," warned:

> "Aggressors must not be allowed to profit from their conquests. That's the principle President Bush soundly invoked to mobilize the world against Saddam Hussein's seizure of Kuwait. The lesson seems to have been entirely lost on Slobodan Milosevic...."

Since then there have been increasingly strident calls, especially by the Germans, for a European "peacekeeping" force, i.e., an imperialist expeditionary army, to protect Croatia. The British have opposed this, arguing that such a force would become bogged down in an interminable Balkan war. Behind the division in the Common Market over the Yugoslav crisis are interimperialist rivalries.

Before World War I, Croatia and Slovenia were part of the German-Austrian sphere of influence in the Balkans. After Germany lost the war, a new Yugoslav state—ruled by Serbia's King Alexander—was created by the Treaty of Versailles and was a British client during the interwar years. When the heir apparent to the Serbian throne was born in London during World War II, Winston Churchill made his birthplace part of Yugoslav territory for a day! (The Yugoslav royalist constitution required that the monarch be born in the ancestral homeland.) Thus the current British objections to military intervention against Serbia may well be designed to spike German moves to regain its sphere of influence in the Balkans.

Foiled on the European scene, the rulers of the Fourth Reich are now pressing for the United Nations to take up the Croatian cause. This means enlisting American imperialism in a war against Serbia. In the event of such direct imperialist military intervention, whether under the banner of the Common Market, the UN or some other fig leaf, revolutionary socialists would defend the Serbian forces and those units of the Yugoslav army fighting with them. The aim of Western military intervention would be to transform all regions of Yugoslavia into neocolonies ruled by puppets of Bush and/or Kohl.

Genuine communists—Trotskyists—must mobilize the working class and socialist-minded officers and soldiers in the army to fight the forces of fratricidal nationalism, which directly or indirectly serve the interests of Western imperialism in bleeding the peoples of Yugoslavia. ■

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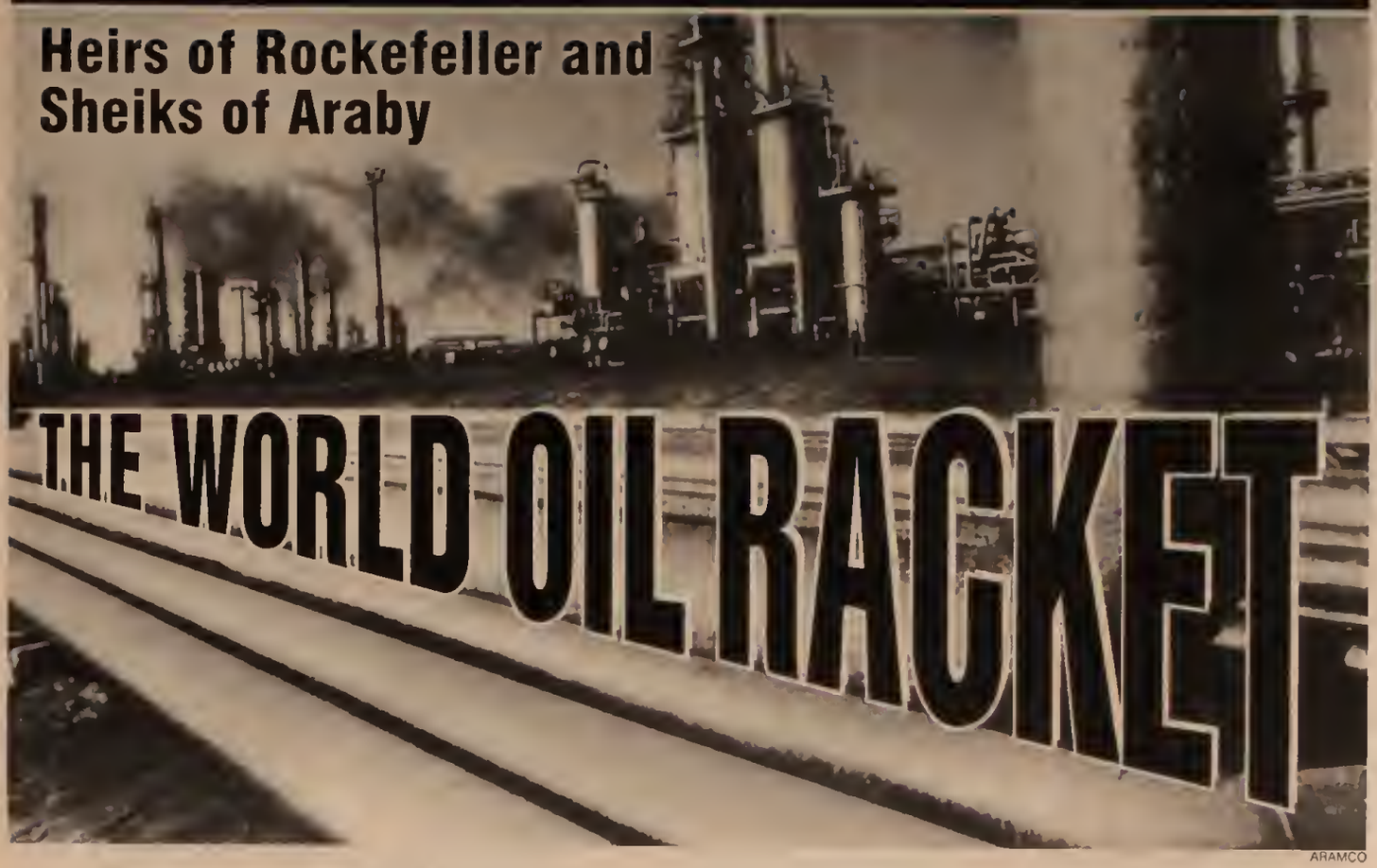


THE WORLD OIL RACKET

ARAMCO

"If Kuwait's main product was broccoli, would the U.S. go to war?" was a meant-to-be satiric slogan seen at protests against the Persian Gulf War last fall and winter. It took no great insight to see this was a war about oil. But about oil in what way? Youthful protesters were sold the line that Bush went to war to preserve the allegedly oil-wasteful lifestyle of the American people. Baghdad would not have been bombed, according to reformists, pacifists and ecology radicals, if only people in this country did not go traipsing around in their RVs, run their air conditioners too cool in summer and heaters too hot in winter. The Iraqi people were supposedly victims of American energy gluttony.

For example, David Moberg, economics specialist of the social-democratic *In These Times*, maintained that "if the industrialized nations were less hooked on oil, the conquest of Kuwait might have received about the same amount of big-power attention that Indonesia's comparable but far bloodier invasion of East Timor received 15 years ago: none." Elsewhere, Moberg denounced the "Reagan-Bush decade" as a "time of short-sighted indulgence and refusal to plan for an energy-efficient future." He called for higher gasoline taxes and insisted, "In the longer term, replacing oil with another portable fuel is essential for energy security, the environment and coming to grips with the ultimate shrinkage of world oil supplies" (*In These Times*, 15-28 August 1990).

Left-wing oil expert Michael Tanzer, writing in the academic Marxist, erstwhile Castroist/Maoist *Monthly Review* (April 1991), presents a similar analysis:

> "In the last twenty years, U.S. oil production has dropped significantly and imports have climbed sharply.... The virtually complete failure in the last two decades either to reduce demand sharply by energy conservation or to expand such renewable energy resources as solar power has heightened the dependence of the U.S. economy on oil."

Thus in their own way these self-styled leftists reinforce Bush's claim that Saddam Hussein's seizure of the oil-rich emirate of Kuwait posed a genuine threat to the American economy.

This position is explicitly stated by veteran bourgeois publicist Daniel Yergin in *The Prize* (1990), an 800-page history of the world oil industry. The introduction is straight U.S. war propaganda:

> "If successful, Iraq would become the world's leading oil power, and it would dominate both the Arab world and Persian Gulf, where the bulk of the planet's oil reserves is concentrated. Its new strength and wealth and control of oil would force the rest of the world to pay court to the ambitions of Saddam Hussein."

This claim that Iraq—with or without Kuwait as its 19th province—could dominate the world oil market is an imperialist Big Lie pure and simple. It is a lie intended to mask the *U.S. rulers'* military grab of the Persian Gulf oil fields.

The U.S. blockade suddenly and totally removed from the world oil market the five million barrels a day (mb/d) contributed by Iraq and Kuwait, more than 7 percent of the global total. Yet within four months, world oil output was *greater* than when Hussein's tanks rolled into Kuwait City last year. Saudi Arabia alone increased its production by 55 percent, raking in enormous windfall profits from the price panic. Just a few weeks before Bush ordered the destruction of Iraq, the *Petroleum Economist* (January 1991), a leading industry journal, wrote: "More oil was produced last year than in any year since 1979, despite the Gulf conflict.... We could be headed for a glut."

If the U.S. did not go to war to protect its more-than-ample foreign oil supplies, why did it? For one thing, to recapture the billions of petrodollars which the al-Sabah family invests every year in Wall Street. Hussein intended to use Kuwait's oil revenues to build up Iraq, instead of funding the Pentagon budget and Fortune 500 corporations. More significantly, American imperialism wanted to reinforce its control over the Persian Gulf oil fields as an economic weapon against its increasingly powerful capitalist rivals—the German Fourth Reich and Japan, Inc. Finally, the destruction of Iraq was carried out for its own sake: a demonstration to the rest of the world—especially to the disintegrating Stalinist bureaucracy of the Soviet Union—that America's rulers will use their arsenal of mega-death against defenseless civilian populations.

Against the Mystification of Oil Economics

It is commonly assumed that the board of directors of, say, Greenpeace and of Exxon are fundamentally antagonistic to each other. Yet, each in their own way, they both propagate the false notion that consumption is outgrowing oil supplies and it is economically expensive to produce more. The ecology activists use this argument to push a utopian program of economic primitivism; the heirs of Rockefeller to justify extortionate prices and the imperialist rape of backward oil-producing countries.

The view that oil consumption will soon overtake supply is not at all new. Quite the contrary. Yergin recounts that a century ago, in the 1890s, "The conventional wisdom remained that oil was a phenomenon of the Eastern United States, and pessimism continued to be the order of the day when it came to new supplies." Yet ever since the first wells struck oil in western Pennsylvania in the 1860s, major new fields have been discovered and developed practically every decade: the Russian Caucasus (Baku) in the 1870s and a few years later Sumatra and Borneo (then the Dutch East Indies); Texas/Oklahoma, Romania and Persia (Iran) in the first decades of this century; Iraq, Venezuela and the Arabian peninsula in the 1920s-30s; Libya and Nigeria in the 1950s-60s; northern Alaska and the North Sea in the '70s.

A careful and critical reading of *The Prize* will enable one to grasp the economic essentials of the world oil industry. But Yergin himself does not spell out these essentials, nor does he appear to understand them. The underlying pattern is so lost in the mass of material it is hard to see the forest for the trees. Furthermore, Yergin's conclusions often contradict his own empirical analysis.

The basic economic fact of oil is that it is much, much *cheaper* to extract, transport and refine than the principal alternative, coal. This was true in the 1860s when kerosene made from what was then called rock oil displaced kerosene distilled from coal (known as "town gas"). It is even more true today. It costs about 50 cents to extract and transport a barrel of petroleum from the main Persian Gulf fields. It would cost around $40 to manufacture a barrel of synthetic fuel from coal or oil shale. So the potential market price of oil is *80 times* its cost of production in the main producing regions.

Unlike coal, petroleum deposits are highly geographically concentrated. About two dozen mammoth fields—known in the industry as "elephants"—supply most

Noel Quidu

American imperialism launched Desert Slaughter so U.S. could turn Persian Gulf oil spigot on or off. Imperialist allies/rivals Germany and Japan were indirect target of Washington's war.

of the world's oil. Thus the world oil market has been subject to monopolistic control, from Rockefeller's Standard Oil in the late 19th century to the OPEC/Seven Sisters cartel in our own day. However, the monopoly profits are so exorbitant that the cartel partners frequently cheat on one another, independent operators are always trying to squeeze in, and governments of consuming countries often seek to undercut the high rigged prices.

The oil monopolists therefore confront what in their view is the chronic problem of reducing oversupply. In the early 1920s Henri Deterding, the head of Royal Dutch/Shell, complained to Standard Oil chief Walter Teagle (known as "the Boss") that the world was "suffering from over-production, over-refining, over-transporting, and—last but not least—over-retailing." The same thing could have been written by John D. Rockefeller half a century earlier and by Saudi Arabia's oil minister, Zaki Yamani, half a century later.

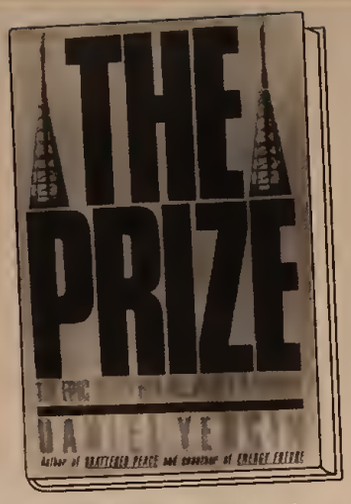
The subtitle of Yergin's work, "The Epic Quest for Oil, Money & Power," is misleading. The quest for money in this particular industry usually involves an epic struggle to *reduce* the supply of oil. In the early 1930s the discovery of the huge East Texas field (the Black Giant) under conditions of the Great Depression sent oil prices through the floor. State governor Ross Sterling—founder and former chairman of Humble Oil, a Standard subsidiary—sent thousands of National Guardsmen and Texas Rangers into East Texas to shut off the wells!

Rockefeller's heirs have been doing the same thing ever since, if not quite so flagrantly. At one point in the 1960s, a company geologist told Howard Page, who was running Standard of New Jersey operations in Saudi Arabia, that he was certain oil could be found in neighboring Oman. Page replied he would drill in Oman only if he was certain *no* oil would be found there. That way the money could be used as a tax write-off instead of adding to global oversupply and pushing down prices.

The development of new fields, especially when government-sponsored, is usually an attempt to get under the rigged world market price, not to secure more oil as such. This was demonstrated by the British government's acquisition of Anglo-Persian on the eve of World War I and by the initial penetration of Standard into the Near East in the 1920s. For years Marcus Samuel of Royal Dutch/Shell—the main distributor in the Eastern Hemisphere—had lobbied the British navy to switch its battleships from coal to oil. But when it finally did so in 1912, instead of buying its oil from Shell, the British government acquired a majority stake in a fledgling operation which had just struck oil in Persia. In this way the British treasury saved money by cutting out the monopolistic middleman and buying at cost from the producer.

In the early 1920s, Standard boss Teagle maneuvered Washington into pressuring the British to allow the Americans into the development of new fields in Iraq, then a de facto British colony under the guise of a League of Nations mandate. When the negotiations began Teagle demanded that all participants in the Iraqi concession get their oil *at cost*. Even the British puppet ruler, King Faisal, refused to give his country's oil away and scotched the deal. A few years later it was renegotiated on terms slightly less unfavorable to Iraq's quasi-colonial regime. The basic point is that Standard could have bought all the Iraqi oil it wanted from Royal Dutch/Shell and Anglo-Persian at the going world market price. Its only interest in investing directly in Iraq was to get the oil a lot cheaper than that.

The cost-price relationship has always been the key to oil economics and oil politics. In fact, it is technologically feasible for a major industrial country to run on synthetic fuel. But it is grossly uneconomical to do so. This was shown by the experience of Nazi Germany.



Daniel Yergin's book pushes U.S. war propaganda in 800-page history of oil industry.

During the 1920s the German chemical giant I.G. Farben pioneered the manufacture of synthetic fuel through the hydrogenation of coal. When Hitler came to power in 1933, he sponsored a major effort, organized through I.G. Farben, to switch the German economy to synthetic fuel. In 1940, the first year of World War II, almost half of Germany's oil and 95 percent of the Luftwaffe's aviation gasoline came from the hydrogenation of coal. Germany's synthetic fuel output continued to expand during the war until too many plants were put out of operation by American and British bombing.

However, the production of synthetic fuel absorbed a huge fraction of wartime Germany's material and labor resources, even with the massive use of slave labor. I.G. Farben set up one of its synthetic oil plants adjacent to the Auschwitz concentration camp. The Italian Jewish chemist and writer Primo Levi, in his *Survival in Auschwitz*, has left us a first-hand account of this marvel of German capital. But even the totalitarian mobilization of labor could not make up for the high cost of synthetic fuels. By contrast, the U.S. increased its oil production by 30 percent during the war using a small fraction of its capital and labor force.

Is There an Arab Oil Weapon?

In the postwar period major industrial countries with an abundance of coal, such as Britain, West Germany and Japan, switched to imported oil as their primary source of energy because it was far cheaper. At the same time, Western imperialist domination and military intervention in the Near East was now justified in the name of protecting the "free world's" vital oil supplies against potentially hostile Arab regimes backed by the Soviet Union.

On the other side, Arab nationalists viewed a cutoff of oil exports as their ultimate weapon against Western imperialism—a kind of economic H-bomb. In the 1950s the quintessential Arab nationalist, Egypt's Gamal Abdel Nasser, wrote:

> "The great factories, producing every kind of goods; all the instruments of land, sea and air communications; all the weapons of war, from the mechanical bird above the clouds to the submarine beneath the waves—without oil, all would turn back to naked metal, covered with rust, incapable of motion or use."

And Nasser went on:

> "...the average daily production per well is 11 barrels in the United States, 230 barrels in Venezuela, and 4,000 barrels in the Arab area. Have I made clear how great is the importance of this element of strength?"
>
> —*Egypt's Liberation: Philosophy of the Revolution* (1955)

However, the various Near East oil crises of 40 years (with the partial exception of 1973) have had little effect on the industrialized West, given the enormous global *excess capacity* in both production and distribution.

In 1951 the National Front regime of Mohammed Mossadeq in Iran expropriated Anglo-Iranian, the majority shareholder of which was the British government. The oil companies and Western governments imposed a total embargo on Iran, which then accounted for one-third of oil production in the Near East. Between 1950 and 1952 Iran's oil output dropped from 650,000 barrels a day to a mere driblet of 20,000. Yet in this same period global oil production increased by two million barrels a day, more than *three times* Iran's pre-nationalization output.

A few years later came the Suez crisis. Almost all oil from the Persian Gulf fields went by tanker through the Suez Canal in Egypt. When Nasser nationalized the canal in 1956, the British, French and Israelis invaded his country. In response, Nasser scuttled ships in the canal, putting the vital waterway out of operation for over a year. Yet West Europe's oil was easily supplied from the Western Hemisphere, while Persian Gulf petroleum was shipped around southern Africa or diverted to the American West Coast. The main effect of the Suez crisis on world oil economics was to encourage the development of supertankers, which were both a more economical means of transport and less vulnerable to political action by Near East regimes.

Another attempt to use the "oil weapon" was made immediately after Israel's victory in the 1967 "Six-Day War," when the Arab states declared an oil boycott of the Western world. The boycott was a spectacular failure. The Arab shortfall was quickly made up by increased American, Venezuelan and Iranian production. Within a few months Nasser himself was imploring the Saudis, Libyans and others to resume their oil exports so they could donate their petrodollars to the nearly bankrupt Egyptian state treasury.

The Rise and Decline of OPEC

The Prize narrates these episodes quite adequately. However, Yergin, like many others, maintains that the world oil market underwent a fundamental change in 1970. That was the year that oil production peaked in the United States, while Alaskan oil (in any case very expensive) was not yet on stream. Yergin argues: "While, of course, the recoverable reserves in the Middle East were huge, available production capacity was much more closely attuned to actual demand."

However, in the Persian Gulf region it is precisely recoverable reserves which are the true measure of excess capacity. Saudi Arabia and Iran are not like northern Alaska and the North Sea. Their reserves can be brought into production in a short period of time, with relatively little additional investment and at constant cost. In 1970 King Faisal told American ambassador James Akins he would double Saudi Arabia's oil production—from 10 to 20 mb/d—if Washington abandoned its support for Israel.

Der Spiegel

Arab nationalist leader Gamal Abdel Nasser (left) learned the "oil weapon" had little firepower.

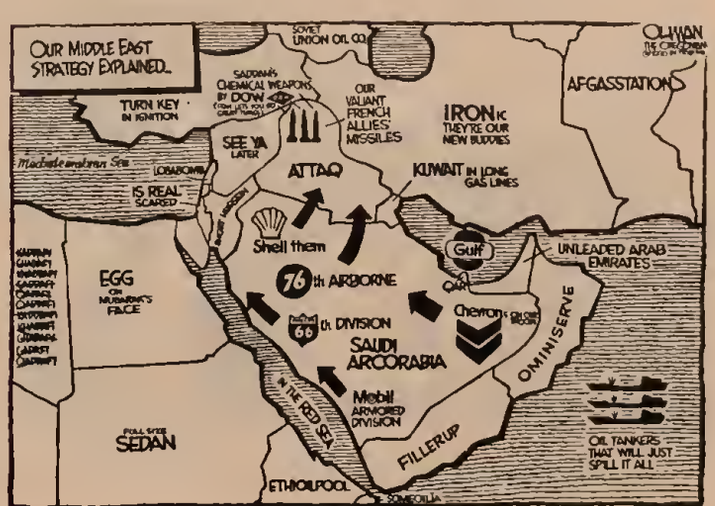
The oil-price explosion of the 1970s had nothing to do with a physical shortage of the gooey hydrocarbon relative to demand. It was created through the collusion of the sheiks of Araby and the shah of Iran with the heirs of Rockefeller and J. P. Morgan. At the same time, the U.S. ruling class promoted racist propaganda blaming the Japanese and Arabs for America's economic decline.

Following the October 1973 war with Israel, the Arab oil states announced a boycott of the U.S. and Netherlands, and a progressive cutback in total output. This action had a quite limited effect—partly because the shah stepped up Iran's production—and the boycott/cutback was abandoned after a few months. But the Persian Gulf producers then decreed a *fourfold* increase in the so-called posted price—from $2.50 to $10 a barrel—charged to the international oil companies which extracted and marketed their petroleum.

Genuine shock waves were felt from the American Midwest to the West German Ruhr to the factory districts of Tokyo and Osaka. The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC), which had little to show for its previous 14 years of existence, suddenly became a household term and was blamed for every economic ill in the world.

However, the oil-price explosion was *temporarily* effective only because OPEC had the collaboration and support of powerful forces in the imperialist countries, especially the United States.

continued on page 10



Oil Racket...

(continued from page 9)

The most immediate and obvious of these forces were the major international oil companies, derisively dubbed the "Seven Sisters" in the 1950s by Italian oilman Enrico Mattei, who tried to break through the Anglo-American cartel by doing direct deals with Iran and Libya. The Seven Sisters now passed along the higher posted prices to consumers and then added a markup of their own. Furthermore, they priced their substantial amounts of *non*-OPEC oil at the same far higher prices. In 1973—the year of the first "oil shock"—Exxon's profits leaped by 59 percent!

Secondly, the oil-price boom benefited the politically potent Texas-based independents (the real-life J.R. Ewings) who for decades had lobbied Washington with some success for "protection" against cheap Near Eastern oil. (The independents claimed and still claim that such protectionism would reduce U.S. "dependence" on the Arabs. In reality, the faster the U.S. depletes its own oil reserves the greater its future dependence on foreign supplies.) Last but certainly not least among the beneficiaries of OPEC were the big banks of Wall Street and the City of London, a bit later Frankfurt and Tokyo, who received billions of petrodollar deposits from the Arabian sheikdoms.

New York Times

Liberals' hero Franklin Roosevelt met Saudi despot Ibn Saud aboard U.S. ship in the Suez Canal during World War II. FDR promised lasting support for barbaric Saudi monarchy.

While significant interests in Wall Street and Texas benefited from the oil-price boom, higher energy costs were generally seen as a severe blow to American economic health and global power. Coming at the same time as U.S. imperialism's defeat in Vietnam, the OPEC "oil shock" contributed to a mood of pessimism within the American bourgeoisie. The message that the American people would have to tighten their belts to cope with permanently higher energy costs was a key ideological theme of the hapless Carter administration. In 1980 the prestigious journal *Foreign Affairs* ran an article titled "Oil and the Decline of the West."

Yet by then it was already clear that the oil-price boom would soon go bust. With oil selling for 30-plus times the cost of production in the Persian Gulf, it became profitable to develop extremely high-cost fields such as northern Alaska, the North Sea and the southern Gulf of Mexico. Additionally, the Soviet Union intensified its extraction of oil and natural gas from the frozen tundra of Siberia. Thus the late '70s saw an enormous expansion of oil capacity outside the Near East. OPEC's share of the world market *declined* from 53 percent in 1973 to 38 percent by 1981.

Amid rapidly growing oversupply, the world capitalist depression of 1981-82 slashed demand, and oil prices plummeted in world markets. In 1983 OPEC bowed to the inevitable and announced a cut in official posted prices. Throughout the rest of the '80s the cartel was further weakened as two of its major members—Iraq and Iran—pumped oil like crazy to finance their mutual slaughter in an eight-year-long border war.

When the war ended in a stalemate in 1988, Saddam Hussein began to pressure Saudi Arabia and Kuwait to raise oil prices to help him rebuild the shattered Iraqi economy. This intra-OPEC dispute culminated in Hussein's attempted annexation of Kuwait and the subsequent devastation of Iraq by American imperialism. The Gulf War underscored the U.S. rulers' longstanding commitment to preserve the sheikdoms of Arabia.

The Saudi Monarchy and Wall Street

During World War II, U.S. president Franklin Roosevelt entertained Ibn Saud aboard an American ship in the Suez Canal, assuring him of Washington's lasting friendship. A few years later Roosevelt's successor, Harry Truman, wrote to the Saudi monarch: "No threat to your Kingdom could occur which would not be a matter of immediate concern to the United States." After the 1956 Suez crisis, Truman's successor, Dwight Eisenhower, proposed to build up King Saud, Ibn Saud's son, as a counterweight to Nasser in the Arab world.

Why is Washington committed to preserving and strengthening this prefeudal monarchy whose barbaric practices—continued chattel slavery and the hideous oppression of women, exemplified by the execution of a princess for adultery and the arrest of women for driving cars—sometimes even scandalizes American public opinion? Yergin repeats the conventional wisdom: because Saudi Arabia has by far the greatest concentration of recoverable petroleum reserves on the planet. But all of the Persian Gulf states—including Ba'athist Iraq and Khomeiniite Iran, despite their declared hostility to the U.S.—have to and do sell their oil on the world market dominated by the Seven Sisters.

The Saudi monarchy differs fundamentally from the other major OPEC producers not because it exports more oil but because it reinvests its petrodollars on Wall Street and other world capital markets. Indeed, the Saudi monarchy, Kuwaiti emirate and other Arabian sheikdoms are the only consistently significant exporters of money-capital in the so-called Third World.

During the 1970s, the other major Third World oil producers used their billions of petrodollars *and more* to build up their armies, finance industrialization and support bloated and corrupt state bureaucracies. By the early '80s Iraq and Iran had squandered their petrodollar windfalls, while Venezuela and Mexico were running balance-of-trade deficits and mortgaging their future oil revenues to Wall Street and the City of London.

By contrast, Saudi Arabia's balance-of-trade surplus multiplied from $5 billion in 1973 to $80 billion in 1981. By the mid-'80s the kingdom's income from its financial assets abroad (interest, dividends and capital gains) was half as great as its oil revenues. King Fahd and his relatives now hold an estimated $200 billion in financial assets in the West and Japan, an amount equal to four times the annual gross national product of South Africa!

Saudi Arabia's unique importance for American capitalism is that it combines vast oil resources with a sparse population and primitive political and social structure. Spending for air-conditioned limousines and London call girls can absorb only a minute fraction of Arabia's oil revenue. The Saudi dynasty does not want to build up its army too much for fear of a nationalist military coup such as that which toppled Iraq's King Faisal in 1958. It has long been understood and planned that the American armed forces would intervene on the side of Saudi Arabia in any serious military confrontation with a hostile neighboring state (Iran, Iraq or Egypt).

King Fahd and family do not want to modernize the Arabian economy, rightly fearing that an industrial working class and technical intelligentsia would become a powerful force for social radicalism. The *entire proletariat* in Saudi Arabia (and Kuwait and the other oil sheikdoms) are *foreign workers*, who can be expelled at will, as *one million* Yemenis were during the recent Gulf War. The wealthiest country in the Arab world is thus deliberately kept socially backward and economically limited by its own rulers and their imperialist protectors.

Saudi Arabia's petrodollars are recycled into bank deposits, short-term government bonds and top-grade corporate securities in the imperialist centers. In 1974 the Federal Reserve Bank of New York made a special arrangement so that the Saudi Arabia Monetary Authority could buy U.S. Treasury bills and certificates without going through the usual competitive auction. In the late '70s about half of Saudi financial assets were held in the U.S., much of these going to finance the yawning federal budget deficit.

The London-based *International Currency Review* (Summer 1982) ran an article on "The Washington-Riyadh financial axis" which pointed out that "a powerful US motive has always been to transfer a substantial proportion of the burden involved in financing excess Federal sector spending to willing 'captive' petro-rich national agencies." The article lashed out at Washington's "appeasement of the oil cartel through facilitating the linked creation of unprecedented volumes of petro-liquidity to finance the monopoly's rigged oil prices."

To use the term "appeasement" in this connection is quite wrong. The Saudi monarchy is a junior partner, and in many respects a creature of Wall Street, not its enemy or even rival. From the standpoint of world capitalism, the Saudi monarchy and other Arabian sheikdoms are merely conduits to *recycle* the superprofits extorted by the Anglo-American oil cartel from consumers around the globe into the multinational corporations and imperialist state treasuries. The greatest source of wealth in the Arab world is thus used to exploit and terrorize the Arab peoples. Saudi Arabia's petrodollars literally paid for the Pentagon's B-1 bombers and Tomahawk missiles which massacred over 100,000 Iraqi men, women and children.

Life

Iraqi workers demonstrate in Baghdad in 1958 overthrow of British-imposed monarchy. The new nationalist rulers soon cracked down on militant oil workers and Kurdish minority. Internationalist workers revolutions will place the world's resources at the service of all humanity.

Oil in a Socialist World Order

While the Arabian sheikdoms conspicuously squander their oil revenues or invest them in Wall Street, Arab nationalist demagogues like Iraq's Saddam Hussein claim to use their oil wealth in the interests of the Arab masses. This is a lie. The overthrow of King Faisal in 1958 ignited a genuine popular revolution, with the working class, centrally the Kurdish oil workers, organized around the then-powerful Iraqi Communist Party. However, the Iraqi revolution was betrayed by the Stalinists, eventually leading to the establishment of Saddam Hussein's nationalist Ba'ath regime.

The Baghdad Ba'athists (like the shah of Iran) carried out a certain degree of industrialization and modernization, while providing creature comforts for a new middle class based on the state bureaucracy. But Iraq's oil revenue was also spent on consolidating a state apparatus of mass terror against worker militants, leftists and Kurds, and building up a large army whose main achievement was the nearly decade-long border war with Iran. Under Hussein, Iraq's petrodollars (and Iran's) literally paid for the death of a million Iraqi and Iranian youth in this senseless slaughter.

The Persian Gulf oil fields can bring benefits to the Arab workers and peasants only through a social revolution which overthrows the sheiks of the Arab peninsula, the nationalist despots in Baghdad, Damascus and Cairo, the bloody Shi'ite theocracy in Iran and the racist and expansionist state of Zionist Israel. Only within the framework of a socialist federation of the Near East, as an integral part of a world socialist order, can the vast petroleum deposits of the region be used in the interest of the Arab peoples and of all humanity.

The Persian Gulf fields would provide the rest of the world—poor, backward countries like India as well as the advanced industrial societies—with cheap, plentiful oil. In turn, a socialist North America, Europe and Japan would help transform the Near East countries into modern industrial societies. For example, hundreds of thousands of Arab, Persian and Kurdish youth—many of them young women liberated from the veil of Islam—would freely receive the finest technical and scientific education available in the world.

The ecology activists are right in one important respect: the massive burning of hydrocarbons—whether oil or coal—is in the long term bad for the earth's atmosphere. The answer, however, is not to save oil by cutting the living standards of North American and European working people. A planned socialist economy would carry out the scientific research required to develop safer, more efficient sources of energy (including nuclear and solar energy). But there is one absolutely necessary *precondition* for an energy-efficient future. The heirs of Rockefeller and sheiks of Araby must be swept into the dustbin of history. ■

Remember Attica...

(continued from page 2)

forces" must not be tolerated, he said, because "they pose a serious threat to the ability of free government to preserve order."

The bloodbath began at 9:43 a.m. on September 13. After a helicopter dropped CS gas, a 1,000-member assault force moved in with orders to "shoot to kill." Prisoners were mowed down as they had their hands over their heads, following the orders from the helicopter to surrender. Nine minutes later it was over. Twenty-nine inmates and ten hostages were shot to death and many more were wounded in the assault by the combined forces of prison guards, state troopers, sheriff's deputies and National Guard. The utter falsity of the excuse for moving in—that the guard/hostages were having their throats slashed—became obvious when the medical examiner reported the hostages were killed with shotgun blasts, shotguns the prisoners did not have.

A savage campaign of repression followed. Hundreds of black prisoners, bloodied and choking from tear gas, were ordered to strip, lie face down in the mud and crawl into A Yard. They were lined up and forced to run a gauntlet of crazed, sadistic guards. One of the leaders of the Attica revolt, Frank "Big Black" Smith, told how the guards "lay me on a table, and they beat me in my testicles. And they burned me with cigarettes and dropped hot shells on me.... They broke glass up in the middle of the hallway and they made people run through the gauntlet. They had police on each side with the clubs they call nigger sticks and they was beating people."

Fifteen months later, 62 Attica Brothers were charged in 42 indictments with 1,300 crimes. In 1976, after the prosecutions suffered setbacks in the courts, then-guvernor Carey cut his losses and granted pardons and commutations. The State Commission on Attica described the police assault as "the bloodiest one-day encounter between Americans since the Civil War," outside of the Indian massacres of the late 19th century. Attica was followed in the Reagan years by the bloody cop massacre of Philly MOVE, on 13 May 1985, when police dropped a bomb on a black commune, murdering eleven people including five children, and turning an entire neighborhood to cinders. This, too, was part of the racist U.S. capitalist onslaught against perceived "black revolutionaries."

We Will Not Forget Attica

Two decades after Attica, the prisons are more overcrowded and conditions more brutal. With no solution for the rampant crime bred by the poverty of this racist capitalist state, the bourgeoisie's only answer is more cops, more jails and tougher sentences. In Bush's "New World Order," racist cop terror is endemic. Democrats and Republicans alike agree on extending the death penalty, and the U.S. Supreme Court has given prison officials carte blanche to do just about whatever they wish. At the high-tech torture chambers of Marion, Illinois, inmates are confined to their cells *23 hours a day*, denied access to the library and subjected to constant surveillance, sensory deprivation and repeated brutality by guards. Imprisoned former Black Panthers Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt) in California and Mumia Abu-Jamal on Pennsylvania's death row are fighting for their freedom and their very lives.

The real criminals of Attica—the racist authorities whose hands dripped with blood—were never brought to justice. This requires a revolutionary workers government. The Attica inmates' manifesto, "To the People of America," set forth demands "that will bring closer to reality the demise of these prison institutions." But prisons are a vital component of the capitalist state. As we wrote, "the critical revolutionary role can be played not by the unemployed and prison population alone—however great their oppression and combativeness—but by their class brothers in the industrial working class."

Like Sacco and Vanzetti, the Rosenbergs, George Jackson and countless others murdered by the state for challenging the racist status quo, the memory of the Attica Brothers will inspire present and future generations in the class struggle.

In 1974 the surviving Attica Brothers and families filed a federal civil rights class action lawsuit against Rockefeller and state prison officials. After nearly two decades of state efforts to block the suit, it is finally coming to court. Trial begins on September 30 in U.S. District Court in Buffalo. To support the lawsuit, send tax-deductible contributions to: NCBL/Attica Justice, 13 Gay Street, New York, NY 10014.

* * *

Attica holds a special place in the history of the Partisan Defense Committee and Spartacist League. Present-day PDC staff members Valerie West, Richard Dundy and Rachel Wolkenstein were founding members of the Attica Defense Committee in Buffalo. Richard recalled how they responded as soon as they heard of the rebellion at the nearby state prison: "When the Attica inmates took over D Yard, we joined with the Buffalo Marxist Collective, Youth Against War and Fascism, and other organizations and others to go to Attica, where we held solidarity demonstrations outside the prison walls. We called for a mass protest demonstration in Lafayette Square in downtown Buffalo the evening after the takeover—a demo at which the Buffalo cops brutally attacked demonstrators. A few days after the massacre, Valerie went to New York City to work with the National Lawyers Guild to organize a broader defense effort."

It was urgently necessary to get medical help to attend to the surviving prisoners. Dundy, then a medical student, got a doctor from SUNY Buffalo to travel to Attica to give injured inmates the first real medical care they had received. The law students documented the brutal assault on the prisoners, in preparation for their defense. This included gathering proof that the prison authorities deliberately went after particular inmates known as leaders, such as Sam Melville and L.D. Barkley. This documentation served as the initial groundwork for the civil suit which is only now coming to trial. Among the lawyers who worked on the case were Dennis Cunningham, Michael Ratner, Elliot Wilk, Michael Deutsch.

At the time, Richard, Valerie and Rachel were radical students. The next year they joined the Spartacist youth group. They were attracted in part by the Spartacist League's class-struggle defense policies, based on a Marxist understanding of the class nature of the state and the non-sectarian tradition embodied in the old Wobbly slogan, "An injury to one is an injury to all." They went on to become founding members of the Partisan Defense Committee.

* * *

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Sta., New York, NY 10013. ■

Canada...

(continued from page 16)

the union was "letting the government off a very sharp hook." Presented with a contract offer widely seen as worse than the first one, but saddled with a leadership complicit in the NDP/CLC strikebreaking, the 8,600 workers voted narrowly to go back in. Transit workers won't soon forget who whipped them back to work for the Bay Street bankers.

Labor Shows Its Power

Last year the media were surprised when the NDP swept the Ontario elections (so were the NDP leaders). Today they are surprised when strike fever sweeps the country. It's beginning to dawn on Canada's rulers and the people who do their bidding that workers are fed up with taking it for years. In a 17 September article titled "Bitter Strikes Mark End of Decade of Labor Peace," *Toronto Star* columnist Carol Goar wrote:

> "For nine years, Canada had been as free of strikes and lockouts as a modern industrial nation with a strong union movement can be.... Then, three weeks ago, something snapped. Workers who had accepted modest wage settlements through the '80s, watching their real income shrink in the face of inflation and rising taxes, decided they had had enough.... And now labor economists are predicting that other unions, emboldened by this show of defiance, will flex their muscles."

Currently rating *12 percent* approval in the opinion polls, Mulroney's Tories keep setting new records for most unpopular government of all time. They've hit the working class and poor with blow after blow. Strikebreaking legislation was used *40 times* in the 1980s. Unemployment is officially 11 percent, as a continuing capitalist depression has combined with the effects of the U.S./Canada free-trade pact to eliminate *one out of every seven manufacturing jobs* in Canada over the last 18 months, most of them gone for good. Welfare and social services have been slashed, and early this year Mulroney's despised Goods and Services Tax added 7 percent to the price of just about everything. Meanwhile, "sin taxes" mean skyrocketing prices for gas, tobacco and booze: a pack of smokes in Toronto corner stores often costs $7 or more.

Until now, near-universal opposition to the Tories has mainly been channeled toward right-wing reaction and national chauvinism, fueling a rise in racism and pitting English Canadian workers against their French-speaking-class brothers and sisters in Quebec. The far-right Reform Party of Preston Manning leads the polls in the prairie provinces, winning broad support around a platform of anti-French bigotry, anti-immigrant racism and a populist crusade against taxation. For decades, the labor tops and NDP have helped foster English Canadian chauvinism, refusing to recognize Quebec's right to national self-determination and wrapping themselves in the Maple Leaf flag with calls for anti-American and anti-Japanese protectionism.

Meanwhile the nationalist leaders of the Quebec labor movement (which was once the most militant in all North America, waging a semi-insurrectionary general strike in 1972) have channeled workers' combativity into support for their "own" nationalist bosses, represented by the Parti Québécois and Bloc Québécois. The PQ envision themselves getting rich as the northern branch of the Rockefellers' Citibank, selling hydro power to New York while keeping "their" workers in line. The summer of 1990 saw nationalist reaction in Quebec whipped up in mob violence against Mohawk Indians at Oka and Châteauguay. This year pogromist gangs in Montreal's impoverished French-speaking East End attacked black African refugees with baseball bats, rocks and beer bottles, driving them from their homes.

The wave of Canada-wide strikes began to break down the national and racial divisions fostered by the bosses, showing that militant labor struggle can unite workers and the oppressed against their common enemies. English Canadian, Québécois and immigrant workers stood shoulder to shoulder on mass pickets in Ottawa and its sister city of Hull across the river in Quebec. Tens of thousands of women, black and Asian PSAC members were among the best and most militant of the strikers.

Ballyhooing the so-called "death of Communism" abroad, the ruling class is trying to dig a grave for the unions at home. This fall's wave of labor strikes threatened to throw a wrench into their plans. But, just as the NDP social democrats and sellout union bureaucrats push anti-Communism abroad, and back imperialist slaughter like the Persian Gulf massacre of Iraq, so too they came to the rescue of their capitalist masters at home.

For the working class to run society requires forging a leadership that has the program and the determination to wage a *fight for power* in North America. That means ousting the pro-capitalist misleaders of labor and forging a new class-struggle leadership for all the oppressed: English-speaking, Québécois, immigrant—Canadian, American, Mexican. As the Trotskyist League of Canada wrote in its leaflet distributed to striking federal government and transit workers:

> "Like any major, hard-fought labor battle, today's strikes are going straight up against the bosses' state with its strikebreaking governments, courts and cops. At bottom what is posed is the political question: which class shall rule, the capitalists or the workers? The problem isn't just Mulroney and his particular gang of fat cats—it's the whole, rotten capitalist system....
>
> "We need to build a *revolutionary workers party*—one which unlike the NDP social democrats doesn't respect the 'property' values of the bourgeoisie. A party which says to all the exploited and oppressed: we make it, we build it, it ought to be ours, *so let's take it*. And when we control the wealth then we can start to undertake the socialist reorganization of this society." ■

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Traitors...

(continued from page 5)

have openly shown themselves for what they are: *not Trotskyists but traitors to the October Revolution.*

Painting Counterrevolution as "Victory"

Having lost the popular-frontist influence they assiduously cultivated during the "antiwar" movement of the late '60s and early '70s, the American SWP's eclectic brand of reformism has grown increasingly bizarre over the years. The same issue of the *Militant* which hailed Yeltsin's countercoup also announced that "World capitalism has suffered a historic defeat in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union," and carried a talk by Barnes under the heading, "Why U.S. Imperialism Lost the Cold War"! One has to ask, what planet do these people live on? The Barnesites simultaneously proclaim themselves to be North America's "Fidelistas" while pushing those forces in the Soviet Union who are out to strangle the Cuban Revolution as a favor to Washington.

Even as it unabashedly and uncritically reported how Yeltsinite mobs were tearing down statues of Lenin and Feliks Dzerzhinsky, the *Militant* (13 September) tried to paint it as some sort of proletarian uprising: "Key to the defeat of the August 19 coup was the action of tens of thousands of workers in Moscow, Leningrad, and elsewhere who defied the government's tanks, defended the democratic rights they had won in recent years, and in the process widened the space to advance their interests through demonstrations, debates, and political organization." The FIT likewise praised the "Soviet masses" for stopping the coup, and Socialist Action transformed the anti-Communist mobs of pro-capitalist yuppies into a "popular uprising" (see "Who Was on Yeltsin's Barricades," page 5).

In justifying their support to Solidarność counterrevolution a decade ago, the line of these outfits was that "ten million Polish workers can't be wrong." Today Solidarność in power is subjecting its former working-class base to vicious capitalist austerity. Even when the mass of workers is temporarily deluded into supporting counterrevolutionary forces, it is necessary for the communist vanguard to swim against the stream and defend the historic interests of the international proletariat as a whole. Moreover, in this case it's utter sophistry to claim that revolutionary-minded workers flocked to Yeltsin's counterrevolution. If anything, the overwhelming mass of Soviet workers—despite political confusion, cynicism and illusions in Western-style capitalist "prosperity"—exhibited far more class consciousness by refusing to heed Yeltsin's appeals than these cynical liars.

WV Photo

Spartacists opposed Solidarność counterrevolution in September 1981 NYC picket.

Indeed, the USec's *Inprecor* (29 August) not only acknowledged the lack of working-class support for Yeltsin's counterrevolution, but chided the Soviet workers for their absence:

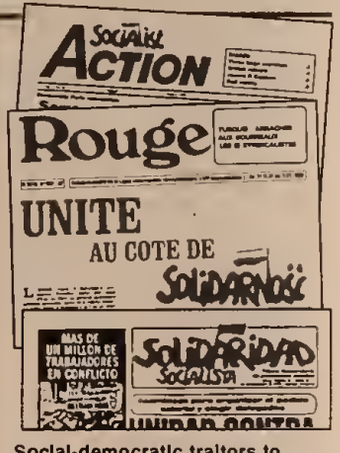
> "The next months will see the accelerated introduction of market reforms. The fact that the power play was defeated without the mobilization of the workers certainly strengthens Yeltsin's and the liberals' autonomy on this level: for the moment, they are less dependent on workers and popular support, and they will soon have their own repressive forces and their own loyal bureaucracies."

So the Soviet workers should have backed the rabidly restorationist Yeltsin in order that he would less readily attack them! This takes the meaning of chutzpah to new heights! Did the Polish workers' earlier support for Wałesa, which the USec so fulsomely enthused over, hamstring the "shock treatment" of capitalist austerity he is now meting out?

Mandel & Co. have no more in common with Bolshevism and its Trotskyist continuity than did Stalin and his heirs with Leninism. Neither rooted in the working class for a prolonged period nor anchored to a revolutionary program, when buffeted by Reagan's Cold War drive they were pushed ever more into the arms of anti-Soviet social democracy, whose hallmark since 1917 has been hostility to the October Revolution. They joined the imperialist hue and cry over the 1979 Soviet intervention in Afghanistan and cheered Solidarność' bid for counterrevolution in Poland two years later. They hailed anti-Communist nationalist mass murderers who collaborated with the Nazi genocide of the Jews, like the Croatian Ustashi and Estonian Forest Brothers.

These handmaidens of social democracy have become full-blown social democrats themselves. Thronging to the counterrevolutionary barricades outside Yeltsin's White House, they have offered themselves up as foot soldiers in Bush's "New World Order." Not even a pretense of Trotskyism is left to any of them.

Der Spiegel



Social-democratic traitors to Trotskyism proclaimed "Solidarity with Solidarity," adopting Polish Solidarność logo to identify with Walesa's clerical-nationalist anti-Communist movement.

Capitalist "Democracy" vs. the Workers State

Insofar as these cheerleaders for counterrevolution in the Soviet Union attempt to provide any kind of "theoretical" fig leaf, it is that the Stalinist bureaucracy is the chief, indeed the only, instrument for counterrevolution. The view, summed up in the phrase "Stalinism is counterrevolutionary through and through," has historically been used to justify de facto abandonment of the Trotskyist position of defense of the Soviet Union. Today it is being used to justify *support to the counterrevolution*. Thus, trying to buttress its outlandish claim that the victory of the Yeltsinites was a defeat for imperialism, *Socialist Action* (September 1991) claims that with the botched coup by the "gang of eight": "It will be extremely difficult now for the bureaucracy and its allies to organize a new, effective, instrument to carry through the restoration of capitalism."

In the first place, as Trotsky pointed out time and again, the bureaucracy was not a homogenous class but a brittle, contradictory layer resting atop proletarian property forms, from which it derived its privileged position, and potentially including both restorationist and revolutionary elements. In the absence of a proletarian challenge and under sharp pressure from imperialism, it was the restorationist wing of the Stalinist bureaucracy which blossomed under Gorbachev. The coup plotters were themselves committed to introducing a capitalist market economy, though more gradually and under centralized control. But the bureaucracy has now utterly collapsed. And, in any case, Yeltsin had already broken from it to become the spokesman for the incipient bourgeoisie—the "yuppskies," black marketeers and a political spectrum ranging from would-be Western "democrats" to the fascists of Pamyat.

But the bottom line for these Stalinophobic proponents of counterrevolution, as it has been since the time of Karl Kautsky's diatribes against the October Revolution, is to back capitalist "democracy" against the dictatorship of the proletariat, whether under Lenin and Trotsky or disastrously deformed by Stalinism. Socialist Action leader Jeff Mackler declared in an August 28 Bay Area radio interview: "The essence of socialist politics is democracy." That was the "essence" of Kautsky's attack on the dictatorship of the proletariat *under Lenin and Trotsky*. As Lenin replied in *The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky* (1918): "It is natural for a liberal to speak of 'democracy' in general; but a Marxist will never forget to ask: 'for what class?'" Mackler apparently knows what class he is working for—the bourgeoisie. In the radio interview he flatly declared, "I agree with the bans on the Communist Party." So does the SWP. Shades of McCarthyism!

In Britain, the Workers Power group, subject to the hegemonic influence of Neil Kinnock's Labour Party, offers a crystallized expression of bourgeois "democratic" counterrevolution. *Workers Power* (September 1991) scarcely attempts to prettify the Yeltsinite forces, and even offers a candid eyewitness account of the social dregs that manned Yeltsin's barricades. Nevertheless it adamantly insists:

> "No matter what the socially counter-revolutionary nature of Yeltsin's programme, no matter how many spivs and racketeers joined the barricades to defend the Russian parliament, it would be revolutionary suicide to back the coup-mongers and support the crushing of democratic rights....
>
> "It is far better that the fledgling workers' organisations of the USSR learn to swim against the stream of bureaucratic restorationism than be huddled in the 'breathing space' of the prison cells."

Better to be subjected to capitalist exploitation, to hunger and homelessness, to brutal oppression of women and Great Russian chauvinist pogroms, says Workers Power, than for the Stalinist degenerated workers state to survive a day longer. Of course, the "workers organizations" they have in mind are those led by fascist-connected pro-capitalist "free trade unionists" like the notorious Yuri Butchenko whom Workers Power toured through Britain last year.

WP not only put themselves in Yeltsin's camp, they attack him for not

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Sam Marcy: Last Hurrah for Stalinism

While a slew of social-democratic slimeballs jumped aboard the bandwagon of capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, Sam Marcy's Workers World Party (WWP) declared: "Say No to Yeltsin-Big Business Takeover of the USSR" (*Workers World* Special Edition, 31 August). Of course, two years ago Marcy's WWP also hailed the "market socialist" Peking bureaucracy's Tiananmen Square massacre, which drowned an incipient workers political revolution in blood. With even the Communist Party's old war-horse Gus Hall (who, like Marcy, also vacations in Pyongyang) under siege by a Gorbachevite majority in his ranks, the Marcyites are a lonely holdout among the U.S. left, still clinging to their anachronistic niche as sycophants for the few Stalinist bureaucracies left.

With the fate of the homeland of the October Revolution at stake, Marcy's WWP placed all its hopes in the "gang of eight" enfeebled former Gorbachev lieutenants to "bring a halt to counterrevolution." A 21 August statement on the coup said they were "withholding full comment on the program and methods" of the coup leaders. Thus WWP ducked the fact that these supposedly stalwart fighters against counterrevolution promised to continue pro-capitalist "reforms" and to uphold every one of Gorbachev's capitulations to U.S. imperialism. But Marcy, having consulted his "historical materialist" Ouija board, proclaimed that such promises were just a clever ruse to fool the imperialists: "The fact of the matter is that the Emergency Committee was attempting to return to the course of socialist construction" (*Workers World*, 5 September).

WWP eventually chided Yanayev & Co. for believing that they could reassure the imperialists with their promises. But

Workers World

Sam Marcy (center) rubs elbows with Stalinist "Great Leader" Kim Il Sung (second from right) on 1990 visit to North Korea.

the Marcyites' real beef was the ludicrous charge that they were "Blanquists" for failing to "mobilize the masses on a socialist basis." Louis-Auguste Blanqui was a French utopian communist, whose voluntarist theories denied the need to organize the working class to seize power, and thus led to adventurist acts. Marx considered Blanqui a great revolutionary, and Blanquists were among the leaders of the 1871 Paris Commune, the first workers insurrection, where, as Lenin said, they fought bravely and "acted contrary to their doctrines." But Marcy's hoped-for saviors of the Russian Revolution *opposed* any working-class mobilization and didn't mention the word socialism. Blanqui was a rebel who wanted to turn the world upside down; the "gang of eight" were a section of the old, bankrupt bureaucratic ruling caste that has led the USSR straight to disaster. "Blanquists"?—the humbling bureaucrats who attempted the half-hearted coup were more like the AFL-CIO tops trying to organize a strike!

For the Marcyites, "defense" of the workers states equals defense of the "hardline" bureaucrats (wherever any can still be found). But after the botched coup, it is clearer than ever before that there can be no going backward to the bad old days of Stalin when repression was the "answer" to every threat from any direction. In the wake of the Yeltsinite counterrevolution, the only defense of socialized property in the USSR lies in the hands of the Soviet working class.

Since breaking with Trotskyism by supporting the Kremlin bureaucracy's crushing of the 1956 Hungarian workers political revolution, the Marcyites have hailed the Stalinist bureaucracies as the vanguard in a "global class war," even as the Stalinists sought to appease and accommodate imperialism. Like them, the Marcyites place all their hopes in pressuring the imperialists into "peaceful coexistence." Where we organized an urgent demonstration of solidarity with Cuba under the banner of "Soviet Pull-out: Set-Up for U.S. Attack! Defend Cuba!"—which the Marcyites chose not to attend—WWP initiated a "coalition" including various pro-Yeltsin outfits for a September 18 rally at the UN to plead with that U.S.-dominated "den of thieves" to "break the U.S. blockade against Cuba." Fat chance.

Moreover, when we appeared at the UN demo with our "Defend Cuba!" banner and signs proclaiming "Cuba in Peril—High Time for Socialist Democracy!" the Marcyites started muttering "CIA." Workers democracy is no less anathema to the Marcy cult than it is to the Stalinists they tail. And for the same reason: it stands in the way of their chasing after "progressive" capitalists. At El Salvador solidarity demos in Washington in the early '80s, the Marcyites gooned for the Democratic Party to exclude our banners for "Military Victory to Salvadoran Leftists!" In defense of workers democracy we took down their exclusionary "daisy chain." For all their repulsive enthusing over the Tiananmen Square massacre and North Korean "Great Leader" Kim Il Sung's *juche* ("self-reliance"), the Marcyites' real home is in the Democratic Party of U.S. imperialism.

For these last defenders of Stalinism, pushing "unity" with Democrats like Jesse Jackson and sucking up to the virulently chauvinist trade union bureaucracy has always come first. WWP's "United Labor Action" was an official endorser of "Solidarity Day II" in Washington, as the "AFL-CIA" leadership celebrated Yeltsin's counterrevolution and anti-Communist "free trade unions." With their Stalinist heroes rapidly "market reforming" themselves out of existence and the Democrats dead in the water for '92, the Marcyites might well be facing their own last hurrah. ■

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being anti-Communist enough. WP concedes, "The measures to deprive the Stalinists of all the levers of economic and political power are an essential stage, a prerequisite to turn to the next stage—the task of rapidly dismantling the instruments of central planning." But they "put no trust in Yeltsin...to carry out the destruction of the Stalinist dictatorship." No, they call for a *workers' witchhunt*, for "workers' action to drive out the party and KGB spies in the workplace." And Workers Power's German affiliate, the Arbeitermacht group, calls (unnecessarily) for the SPD—bloodhounds for the butchers of Luxemburg and Liebknecht, and architects of the German bourgeoisie's *Ostpolitik* aimed at subverting and smashing the Soviet Union—to organize demonstrations to support the Russian counterrevolution.

For a Fourth International Trotsky Would Call His Own!

One self-styled Trotskyist grouplet that tried to maintain the usual centrist posture—one foot in the camp of counterrevolution and another in the camp of revolution—was the British Revolutionary Internationalist League (affiliated to Peter Sollenberger's fragmented Revolutionary Workers League in the U.S.). The *Revolutionary Internationalist* (11 September) carried an article headlined, "Defend Collectivised Property! Build Workers' Councils in the USSR!" The RIL acknowledged that in the wake of the botched coup, "All the forces pushing for capitalist restoration have been enormously strengthened." Yet, echoing Workers Power, they attack our call on Moscow workers to clean out the counterrevolutionary rabble outside the Russian parliament. They add:

> "For Trotskyists there should have been no more talk of critical support for, or for united fronts with the Yeltsinites than with the coup leaders. Where strikes occurred in response to Yeltsin's initial (never-repeated) call, Trotskyists should have participated, but fighting to turn them against both wings of the bureaucracy."

The RIL wants to "fight" capitalist restoration but doesn't want the workers to crush the shock troops of restoration. They oppose a "united front" with Yeltsin, but call on Soviet workers to observe Yeltsin's strike call—with the ludicrous aim of turning it against Yeltsin! They claim to oppose "Yeltsin and the restorationist wing of the bureaucracy," but attack the Spartacists for opposing Solidarność counterrevolution in Poland.

The "gang of eight" was incapable of sweeping away Yeltsin in its pathetic excuse for a putsch because, as we wrote, it was a "perestroika coup." But both imperialism and the forces of internal counterrevolution were aligned on Yeltsin's side. The coup plotters were not only irresolute but didn't want to unleash the forces that could have defeated the more extreme counterrevolutionaries, for that could have led to a civil war if the Yeltsinites really fought back. And in an armed struggle pitting outright restorationists against recalcitrant elements of the bureaucracy, defense of the collectivized economy would have been placed on the agenda whatever the Stalinists' intentions. Trotskyists would have entered a military bloc with "the Thermidorian section of the bureaucracy against open attack by capitalist counterrevolution," as Trotsky postulated in the 1938 Transitional Program. This precisely was our policy toward Jaruzelski in 1981. But the RIL, beholden to social-democratic "anti-Stalinism," can't stomach being in a bloc with Stalinists even in defense of a workers state.

Leon Trotsky went to his death—at the hands of a Stalinist assassin—an intransigent defender of the Soviet workers state. His last political struggle was waged over this question, against the Soviet-defeatist Burnham/Shachtman opposition in 1939-40 in the then-Trotskyist American SWP. As Trotsky wrote in his April 1940 "Letter to the Workers of the USSR" so eloquently: "Those who are incapable of defending conquests already gained can never fight for new ones." Should the homeland of October succumb to the counterrevolutionary tide, workers around the world will pay for it in blood for years to come. The need has never been more urgent for reforging a Fourth International that Trotsky would have recognized as his own. Defeat Yeltsin/Gorbachev counterrevolution! For a Trotskyist party in the Soviet Union, built in the struggle to reforge the Fourth International! ■

Barricades...

(continued from page 5)

> in other parts of the USSR, in Moscow at least the working class played little part in the resistance to the coup."
>
> —*Workers Power*, September 1991

The observer goes on to describe how leaflets, posted by Boris Kagarlitsky's pro-capitalist "Socialist Party" and the Green Party, which opposed the coup "but also criticised Yeltsin...were immediately ripped down by the Yeltsinites. This indicates the tensions within the anti-coup camp and the anti-democratic character of many of Yeltsin's supporters." It sure does!

Workers Power were not the only "leftists" to shamefacedly admit that the Yeltsin barricades were manned by utterly reactionary elements. A member of the Green Party interviewed by the United Secretariat's *Inprecor* (29 August) added:

> "During the power play, the mobilization was not very significant, and the people had extremely divergent views. The majority of the population seemed relatively indifferent. In Moscow no factory went on strike. There were miners strikes in the provinces, but they were not really massive. There were very few workers in front of the 'White House,' the Russian Parliament, during the construction of the barricades. The great majority of those who participated in these actions were youth and members of Democratic Russia, etc.; but some leftist militants also participated....
>
> "We distributed and pasted up our leaflets on the barricades, but the reception was generally rather negative because most of the activists were partisans of Yeltsin."

This did not deter the USec from standing with Yeltsin.

Another "socialist" outfit to join the barricades for counterrevolution outside Yeltsin's headquarters was the Moscow Socialist Workers Union, affiliated to Cliff Slaughter's Workers Revolutionary Party in Britain. Alexei Gusev, a spokesman for the group, described how "people were surprised to see a red flag" at the barricades. And while claiming, "The working class took part in the resistance; they were the real fighters in front of the White House," Gusev admits "the working class as an organised force...remained passive," and adds, "At a factory where we distributed leaflets some workers told us they didn't want to follow Yeltsin decrees" (*Workers Press*, 31 August).

If Gusev's "red flag" and leaflets were not ripped up as well by the Yeltsinites at the "White House," it is perhaps because these "reds" not only supported Yeltsin's counterrevolution but, in the words of WP's observer, "refused to carry any slogans or any positions in defence of planning against Yeltsin."

In their own words, these "leftist" apologists for capitalist counterrevolution confirm the urgency of our call on Moscow workers to sweep away the "counterrevolutionary rabble" manning Yeltsin's barricades, including the handful of latter-day Mensheviks like Workers Power and the WRP. ■

Cuba...

(continued from page 1)

a Soviet military response in case of Yankee invasion.

Denouncing Gorbachev's stab in the back, on September 13 the Spartacist League held an urgent solidarity demonstration to "Defend Cuba!" outside Cuba's mission to the UN in New York. Spartacist supporters carried placards demanding "U.S. Killer Cops of the World, Keep Your Bloody Hands Off Cuba!" "U.S. Out of Guantánamo!" "Vietnam Was a Victory—Two, Three, Many Defeats for U.S. Imperialism!" and "Cuba in Peril—High Time for Socialist Democracy." The Trotskyist SL has from the outset ardently defended Cuba against imperialism, fighting for international workers revolution: other placards carried at the demonstration read, "Stalin's 'Socialism in One Country' Undermines Defense of All Workers States" and "For Socialist Revolution Throughout the Americas!"

"The American ruling class and its depraved *gusano* henchmen want to bring back gangster-ridden capitalism to Havana," said a Spartacist spokesman, adding: "The revolution lifted the Cuban working people from the degradation, racism and grinding poverty they suffered under the Batista dictatorship, the U.S. sugar barons and the Mafia syndicate. Today the Cuban population has medical care and education superior to that in U.S. cities. If the capitalist bloodsuckers return, all that the Cuban people have built in the last three decades will be wiped out. It is our duty, the duty of all opponents of Yankee imperialism, to make clear their stand in solidarity with Cuba in this crucial hour."

In contrast, a host of self-proclaimed socialists claim to stand in solidarity with Cuba, yet most of these reformists just lined up with Yeltsin's countercoup in Moscow, which set the stage for the Soviet abandonment of Cuba!

For over 30 years, Washington has tried to roll back the Cuban Revolution—through invasion, assassination, and a decades-long economic blockade intended to starve the Cuban people into submission. On the heels of its invasion of Panama and the hideous slaughter of the Iraqi people, the U.S. is out to impose its "New World Order" on Cuba, 90 miles off the coast of Florida. While U.S. rulers from Democrat Kennedy to Republican Bush have railed against Havana "exporting revolution," in reality the Castro regime, following the Stalinist line of building "socialism in one country," counseled the Chilean and Nicaraguan masses not to embark on the road of a "second Cuba." But all attempts to appease vindictive U.S. imperialism are doomed to failure.

With each Soviet capitulation to imperialist blackmail, from rollback in East Europe to support for the Persian Gulf slaughter, the imperialists up their demands. U.S. rulers are still smarting over their Bay of Pigs fiasco, in April 1961, when Cuban workers militias mobilized to crush Kennedy's CIA invasion. Counterrevolution against Cuba is a pathological obsession of U.S. imperialism, which views the Caribbean, indeed all of Latin America, as its "backyard."

Starr/Picture Group

Castro and Gorbachev in Havana, 1989.

In the wake of Gorbachev's announcement, Bush's ranting threats against Fidel Castro have come almost daily. At the United Nations the U.S. president declared Cuba the "lone holdout in an otherwise democratic hemisphere." Salvadoran death squads, Nicaraguan contras on the loose, butcher Pinochet still running the Chilean army, while millions of Latin American children starve and hundreds of thousands suffer from cholera in a hemisphere held in debt bondage to the imperialist banks—this is the "democracy" that godfather Bush praises.

Leifer/Time

Members of Cuban militia in Havana.

Cuba's "Zero Option"

While the size of the soon-to-go Soviet brigade is small compared to the battle-hardened Cuban armed forces of almost 200,000, and almost that many again in the reserve Territorial Militias, their "symbolic" value was that if the United States invaded the island, they would have to kill Soviet soldiers. When Khrushchev provided Cuba with substantial military aid in 1962 to combat CIA-sponsored guerrillas in the Escambray mountains and placed Soviet nuclear weapons and bombers on Cuban soil, the U.S. imposed a naval blockade on the island and threatened to seize Soviet ships. Khrushchev backed down and removed the missiles, but the brigade stayed and the USSR sent substantial economic and military aid to Cuba.

Up to now over three-quarters of Cuba's imports (including most of its oil) have come from the Soviet Union. While CIA estimates of a $5 billion annual Soviet "subsidy" are surely exaggerated, the combined effect of guaranteed Soviet-bloc purchases of Cuba's sugar crop at 40 cents a pound (while the "free market" price hovered around 8 cents), and stable oil supplies at well below world market prices (one-third the OPEC price per barrel in the late 1970s), set the basis for economic planning and development providing the Cuban working people with a higher standard of living and social services far superior to those available to working people elsewhere in Latin America.

But Soviet oil prices were raised during the '80s, and then last year deliveries to Cuba were sharply cut back while the price paid by Moscow for Cuban sugar was lowered to 25 cents a pound (the same as paid by the U.S. and the European Common Market to their suppliers under quota agreements). This summer—at the G-7 summit in London in July and at the Bush-Gorbachev summit in Moscow—the U.S. insistently demanded the Soviets abandon Cuba as the price for a few dollars in aid (i.e., capitalist penetration of the Soviet Union). When Gorbachev finally came across, even the *New York Times* (12 September) called his action "groveling." Now Russian threats to impose world market prices on Cuban exports and to require that Cuba pay hard currency for imports spell disaster.

In response to the growing isolation of Cuba, Castro has been digging in his heels. For the past 18 months Cuba has been shifting production and consumption patterns to adjust for reduced imports. Termed a "special period in peacetime," it is preparation to resist all-out economic war: bicycles instead of bus and taxi transport, oxen instead of tractors to pull plows and carts. There have been drills to rehearse a "zero option," with drastic electricity cuts anticipating a cutoff of all oil imports.

As a result of the collapse of the Soviet bloc, Cuba is scrambling to find ways to earn hard currency and to import needed machinery, spare parts, medicines and oil. In the last few years, Cuba has been trying to turn away from its almost singular reliance on sugar exports by developing a tourist industry as a necessary evil to obtain crucial hard currency. (One result is "tourism apartheid," with the socially destabilizing effects of a dollar economy on the impoverished island, and revived prostitution.) Cuba is also utilizing its advanced medical services to export high-tech medical equipment and vaccines. A nuclear power system being built with the help of a thousand Soviet technicians was scheduled to come on line in early 1993, providing 30 percent of current energy needs, but its fate is now uncertain.

For Socialist Revolution Throughout the Americas!

In response to Gorbachev's pullout announcement, the Cuban Communist Party daily *Granma* (14 September) published a front-page editorial complaining of Moscow's unilateral "fait accompli":

> "It fills us with dismay and indignation to think that we are moving towards a world order in which small Third World countries, such as Cuba, whose social systems are not to the liking of the United States, will be forced either to submit or be obliterated...a new age of barbarism, built upon the technological supremacy and the lust for world domination of the United States."

While vainly seeking to link withdrawal of the Soviet brigade with closure of the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo in eastern Cuba, and saying that "Cuba is willing to contribute to finding negotiated political settlements to regional conflicts"—as in Angola, where Cuban troops have been withdrawn after 15 years of fighting the South African apartheid army—the statement vowed: "Cuba will never agree to be handed over or sold to the United States. It will never return to slavery, and will struggle to the death to resist this."

But as the Castro regime battens down the hatches, it has taken on a real bunker mentality. Symbolic of a tightening of bureaucratic control was the 1989 prosecution and judicial murder of General Arnaldo Ochoa and his associates on charges of drug trafficking in a televised kangaroo court comparable to the infamous Moscow Trials of the 1930s (see "Stalinist Show Trial in Cuba: The Execution of General Ochoa," *WV* No. 500, 20 April 1990). This farce enormously damaged revolutionary morale, grievously undermining the defense of Cuba.

Compared to most Stalinist regimes, Castro's Cuba, directly under Yankee guns, has sought to counter imperialist pressure on it by supporting guerrilla struggles, sending doctors and teachers to Sandinista Nicaragua, etc. In addition to the *more than 400,000* Cuban men and women who fought and taught in Angola, ten times that number reportedly volunteered to go. As a result, internationalist appeals have a real resonance in Cuba. But Castro's various international efforts (some of them not so savory, like his support to the bloody Mengistu regime in Ethiopia) have always been subordinated to a strategy of seeking "peaceful coexistence" with

Museum...

(continued from page 3)

fierce argument about just who was sabotaging defense of the Lenin Museum. We said we were proud that our party had a program for the defense of the Soviet Union. They finally gave up and moved away.

The front of the Lenin Museum for the next three hours was like a political bazaar with all of Moscow reviewing the demonstration. At the demonstration, we had to sharply rebuke some members of the Moscow "Unity" group, who claim to be socialists yet *still* want to conciliate Pamyat. We said, "Well, Pamyat are fascists, and it's the duty of any workers organization to smash them!"

The next attempt at exclusion came from some big hulk who presented himself as a leader of Unity and a rally organizer, demanding to know who invited us. One of our Soviet comrades had a good answer for him: "The fact that the Lenin Museum is in danger is all the invitation we need." Finally, Anpilov himself came up with a pack of rabid OFT types at his elbows. He demanded that our sign calling for the formation of a Trotskyist party must come down. After some back and forth, one of the comrades said, "Look, Stalin didn't succeed in silencing the Trotskyists 50 years ago and we're not about to stop now!" Anpilov became even more purple and stormed off when he saw our signs denouncing Great Russian chauvinism and anti-Semitism.

The question of nationalism and anti-Semitism was a key divide. It made people around us choose hard, and demonstrated the difference between our politics and all the old crap of the "patriots."

After the rally ended, there was a procession to lay flowers at Lenin's tomb. It must be noted this had something of a religious quality, itself a legacy of Stalinist conciliation, with a hushed, eerie atmosphere, and one woman genuflecting at the tomb. Some people couldn't contain themselves and started speeches right at the steps of the tomb, denouncing Gorbachev's treachery.

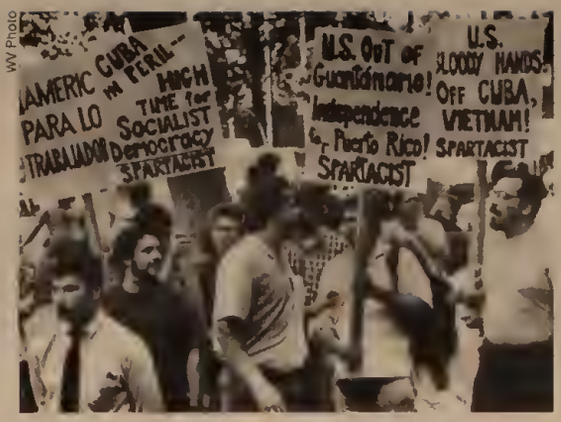
After a concluding moment of silence, the crowd joined together in singing the *Internationale*. Out of the silence of Red Square mingled the Russian, English and German voices of the demonstrators, fists went up with the final refrain. An older woman heard an American comrade singing in English and was so touched that comrades from abroad had come to defend Lenin that she kissed her. The Russians didn't want this rally to end—they went through all three verses of the *Internationale*. ■

imperialism and regional bourgeoisies.

The Cuban Revolution inspired a generation of radical youth throughout the Americas. Young New Leftists went to cut cane in Cuba on Venceremos Brigades. When Fidel Castro came to Harlem's Hotel Teresa in 1960, the black community came out to greet him. Robert F. Williams received refuge in Cuba when he was being sought for organizing armed self-defense of black people against racist terror in North Carolina. Former Black Panther Assata Shakur received political asylum in Cuba. But the Castro regime did not pursue an internationalist strategy of promoting revolution in the imperialist heartland.

Karl Marx pointed out a century and a half ago that unless communist society is extended internationally to the most advanced industrialized nations, an isolated workers state would be condemned to "want made general"—collectivized poverty. If the nationalist line of "socialism in one country" (a self-justification for the Stalin burcaucracy's attempt to protect its privileges by "renouncing" world revolution) brought the Soviet Union to bankruptcy, as Leon Trotsky warned it would, how much more absurd it is to think that Cuba can go it alone in building "socialism in one island" in the jaws of the imperialist monster.

Anti-imperialist rhetoric and hunkering down won't be enough to defend the Cuban deformed workers state from the Yankee onslaught—whether a tightened embargo, a naval blockade or invasion.



Spartacists at protest outside United Nations, September 18.

Today it is urgently necessary for all opponents of imperialism to mount an *international* defense of Cuba, through revolutionary struggle at home.

Workers Democracy to Defend Cuba

The Spartacist League from its inception as a tendency called for the defense of the Cuban deformed workers state while fighting for revolutionary workers democracy as opposed to the narrow bureaucratic rule of Castro's Stalinist regime. The first issue of *Spartacist* (February-March 1964) declared, "Defend the Cuban Revolution!" Even earlier, as the Revolutionary Tendency in the Socialist Workers Party, we fought against the SWP leadership's praise of the Castro regime as "unconscious Trotskyists." The RT submitted a draft resolution to the SWP's 1963 convention noting Castro's suppression of the Cuban workers' and peasants' democratic rights, the imposition of Stalinist hacks on the labor movement and the proclamation of a one-party system, alongside the enormous social and economic accomplishments of the revolution:

> "Thus Trotskyists are at once the most militant and unconditional defenders against imperialism of both the Cuban Revolution and of the deformed workers' state which has issued therefrom. But Trotskyists cannot give confidence and political support, however critical, to a governing regime hostile to the most elementary principles and practices of workers' democracy, even if our tactical approach is not as toward a *hardened* bureaucratic caste."

After 30 years in power, the Stalinist bureaucracy has hardened greatly, as shown lately by the Ochoa affair. Proletarian political revolution is necessary to replace the narrow rule of the Castroite elite with a deepgoing workers democracy in defense of the revolution.

Millions of Cubans are rightly proud of their revolution and defiantly say "socialism or death." Castro does not stay in power through bloody repression, but as a young student working two weeks as a volunteer in the fields told *Time* magazine, "We need a change, but from inside our system. We need to talk about our mistakes and find solutions inside socialism." The reporter noted, "these aren't assembly-line thinkers; they genuinely care about the gains of the revolution."

Genuine workers democracy not only would mobilize the Cuban masses in defense of their revolutionary gains, but is a necessary prerequisite to effectively run a planned economy. The best defense of Cuba is workers revolutions from the U.S. to Mexico and throughout Central and South America. We seek to mobilize the workers movement against the imperialist economic blockade of Cuba, to demand that the U.S. get out of Guantánamo, to defend the Cuban Revolution. U.S. hands off Cuba! For Trotskyist parties to fight for socialist revolution throughout the Americas! ■

BT...

(continued from page 4)

BT leader Howard Keylor upholds the Stalinist lie that the Soviet-allied imperialists in World War II were fighting a "democratic" war against fascism. And BT heavy Fred Ferguson still supports the Soviet military suppression of the 1956 Hungarian Revolution! But the BT's genuflections before the Kremlin coup aren't serious, just a convenient way for them to drop the baggage of Soviet defensism.

In and of itself, the collapse of the Kremlin Stalinists does not signal that the Soviet degenerated workers state has been destroyed. With its position that the failure of the coup equals the victory of counterrevolution, the BT apes the Stalinists' lie which identifies the existence of the workers state with the continued rule of the parasitical, nationalist bureaucracy. Trotsky caught the methodological convergence between the ideology of the Stalinist bureaucracy and "Third Camp" anti-Sovietism in a polemic against Max Shachtman:

> "Shachtman revises not only the present policy of the Fourth International but also the past. Since we are against Stalin we must therefore be against the USSR too. Stalin has long held this opinion. Shachtman has arrived at it only recently. From his rejection of the Kremlin's politics flows complete and indivisible defeatism."
>
> —"From a Scratch to the Danger of Gangrene" (January 1940)

From the BT's cynical call for military support to the coup comes complete and indivisible defeatism over the capacity and will of the Soviet proletariat to be mobilized against counterrevolution.

The Hannah Arendt School of "Anti-Stalinism"

Another telling example of what the BT's reference to the "Stalinists' state" amounts to was in East Germany (the former DDR). There the ICL called for workers political revolution to oust the disintegrating Stalinist regime, for a "red Germany of workers councils," and then, as the imperialist drive to annex the East German deformed workers state escalated, we fought tooth and nail against capitalist reunification. We mobilized our tendency internationally following the mass protests which brought down the Honecker regime, circulating Trotskyist propaganda throughout the country calling for "No Sellout of the DDR—Workers and Soldiers Councils Now!" But in an article on "Robertsonites in Wonderland" in their paper *1917* (Third Quarter 1991), the BT pronounces our intervention a "disaster" which was predicated on our belief in an "imaginary political revolution" in the DDR.

For the BT, you see, once the Stalinist repressive apparatus fell apart in October 1989, it was nothing but counterrevolution on the march. For them there was no political revolution in the DDR and no possibility of one. In their recounting, the mass demonstrations in November and December of 1989 where the desire to fight for genuine communism was expressed in banners and slogans by members of the SED (the Stalinist party in East Germany) like "Return to Lenin!" "No Sellout of the DDR!" and "For Communist Ideals! No Privileges!" don't merit a mention. On the contrary, the BT's views were captured in an article entitled "A Glimpse Inside the 'Monolith'" (*1917*, Summer 1990), a sneering account of one BTer's visit to a branch of the SED which scoffs at "the appalling political level" and writes off the SED members as "chickens with their heads cut off."

One need look no further than the headline of this piece to find the echo of those "political theorists," exemplified by Hannah Arendt, who with the onset of Cold War I argued that Stalinist totalitarianism had reduced the workers of the Soviet bloc to mindless, soulless slaves who were forever incapable of struggle. Arendt and her ilk, as self-proclaimed "partisans" of workers struggle, took their place on the front lines for the imperialist "liberation" of the workers of these countries, particularly as expressed through the agency of Cold War social democracy. Here also we find perfect symmetry in the arguments of the BT, who revile our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) for their "phobia regarding the social democracy."

The German BTs reviled the Spartakists' initiation of the 250,000-strong united-front demonstration that protested the fascist desecration of the Treptow Park memorial to Soviet soldiers who fell in battle liberating East Germany from Hitler's Nazis. Under the heading of the "SpAD's Debacle at Treptow," they condemn our intervention as evidence of our supposed "capitulation" to the Stalinists of the SED/PDS. But what really rankled them was that we didn't issue "an invitation to the SDP/SPD to participate in the mass demonstration against the fascists."

The BT described such a call as "indispensable" to break workers in the DDR from their illusions in the Social Democrats. Leaving aside the fact that the SPD's "base" in the DDR extended little beyond some preachers and lawyers with little influence among the working class, the German Social Democrats were the "indispensable" tool for the imperialists' drive to annex the DDR. In the procapitalist demonstrations in Leipzig the SPD marched alongside skinheads under the banner of "Germany, One Fatherland." It was hard to tell the difference between the Social Democrats and the fascists as they all shouted "Reds out!" against counterdemonstrators.

Trotskyism vs. Anti-Sovietism

While they are eager to proclaim the victory of counterrevolution in the Soviet Union, the BT is appalled that we call Helmut Kohl's reunified Germany the "Fourth Reich." Despite the fact that Kohl's regime is the self-designated successor state to the Third Reich where virtually the entire state apparatus and the rest of the leading personnel of the ruling class was taken over through Konrad Adenauer's renazification program, the BT says that our use of the term the "Fourth Reich" is "hysterical" propaganda. We can assure the BT that the working class of East Germany and the neighboring countries to the east of Kohl's new Reich don't share their touching faith in the democratic credentials of German imperialism.

And what about their declarations of siding with the Kremlin coup leaders? The BT claimed to give "military support to the Soviets and their allies" against the CIA's *mujahedin* cutthroats in Afghanistan. After Gorbachev had treacherously withdrawn the Soviet troops, the Partisan Defense Committee offered "to organize an international brigade to fight to the death" on the side of social freedom in Afghanistan. Ridiculing this proposal as "bizarre" and a "cynical publicity stunt," the gutless wonders of the BT rejected fighting under the military discipline of Stalinists as "physically hazardous"!

The BT denounced us for saying that the Soviet troops in East Germany stood as a bulwark against NATO imperialism. Disappearing the class divide between the Red Army and the Bundeswehr, they, like the Social Democrats, presented the Soviet armed forces in the DDR as an "occupation" army there to preserve the "continued rule of corrupt Stalinist parasites over the working class." As the U.S. imperialists made preparations for war in the Persian Gulf, the BT reviled us as "would-be deputies" of the Kremlin for our early call on the Soviet Union to rescind its arms embargo of Iraq. (This demand was raised in a 9 August 1990 letter addressed to the Soviet embassy, not to General Snetkov, as the BT has since proclaimed. A copy was sent to Snetkov, the commander of Soviet forces in East Germany. Seemingly a small point, but the BT's small lies are the foundation stones of their big lies, so we want to set the record straight.)

With the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan, the sellout of the DDR, the arms embargo against their former Iraqi clients, the efforts of the bankrupt Kremlin Stalinists to appease imperialism opened the door to the counterrevolutionary tide that is now sweeping the Soviet Union. In each instance the BT attacked us for concretely standing for the military defense of the gains of the October Revolution.

In the face of the imperialists' drive to destroy the DDR, the BT was horrified at our call to "Defend the gains of our workers state!" They wrote that the working people could never regard a deformed workers state as "theirs." This is completely antithetical to Trotsky's attitude. As he wrote in "The Soviet Economy in Danger" (October 1932):

> "We accept the workers' state as it is and we assert, 'This is our state.' Despite its heritage of backwardness, despite starvation and sluggishness, despite the bureaucratic mistakes and even abominations, the workers of the entire world must defend tooth and nail their future socialist fatherland which this state represents."

Today we urgently seek to mobilize the Soviet proletariat and the working class internationally against the forces of capitalist counterrevolution that are assiduously dismantling every gain of the world's first workers state. The BT, which has other fish to fry in alien class milieus, offers its belated sympathies to the corpse of the Kremlin Stalinists and writes off the Soviet Union as a lost cause. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

NDP, Union Tops Knife Mass Labor Struggle

Strike Wave Rocks Canada

TORONTO—A wave of public-sector strike action swept across Canada in early September, bringing large sections of the economy to a halt and winning widespread solidarity among trade unionists and the general population. It was the largest public workers strike in Canada's history, a show of labor power which could have brought down the hated Conservative government of Brian Mulroney, with its wage freeze for public workers, double-digit unemployment and gouging taxation. But faced with this possibility the union tops and their allies in the New Democratic Party *consciously knifed* the militant labor action, sabotaging, isolating and finally scuttling the strikes.

It began at the end of August when members of the Canadian Union of Postal Workers (CUPW), without a contract for more than two years, began a series of rotating walkouts. Militant pickets confronted scabs from Halifax to British Columbia, while the giant Montreal and Toronto locals defied national instructions to "rotate back" to work and stayed on the lines. Montreal CUPW sent out flying squads to shut down scab mail depots, stood down the cops with street barricades near the main downtown post office, and demanded an all-out cross-Canada strike and defiance of any government back-to-work legislation.

Scores of workers were fired or suspended, and many unionists, including the president of the Toronto local, remain fired. But on September 5 national union leaders ordered everyone to return to work, with nothing resolved, to await the deliberations of a government-appointed mediator. They did this *in full knowledge that CUPW was about to be joined on the picket lines by tens of thousands of other workers coast to coast.*

Four days later 110,000 federal government workers in the Public Service Alliance of Canada (PSAC), furious at a Tory-imposed wage freeze, launched an unprecedented national strike. Building picket lines which grew more militant by the day, they tied up government operations throughout the country. Longshoremen, grain handlers, air traffic controllers and other unionists refused to cross the lines, leaving ships sitting empty in the Vancouver port, grain unloaded in Thunder Bay and flights canceled in and out of Toronto airport. Far from being hostile to the PSAC strikers, who were mostly white-collar office workers making $25,000 a year or less, tens of thousands of people throughout Canada leaned on their horns in response to picket signs saying "Honk If You Hate Mulroney."

Tessier/Ponopresse

Spartacist Canada

Ottawa, September 16—20,000 strikers and union supporters rally on Parliament Hill, protesting Mulroney's attempt to impose wage freeze on public workers.

Then on September 12, transit workers in Toronto hit the bricks, tying up the country's financial center with a strike that shut down the second-largest transit system in North America.

Less than a week after PSAC began its national strike, a worried Tory government introduced back-to-work legislation imposing their wage-freeze diktat and threatening the union with fines of $100,000 a day for defiance. In response, 1,500 strikers staged a 5 a.m. mass picket of Toronto airport September 16. In Ottawa, 20,000 strikers and other unionists rallied in protest on Parliament Hill. "Down with Mulroney!" they chanted, "Lyin' Brian's got to go!" PSAC president Daryl Bean spoke of defying the legislation and going to jail, "if that's what it takes" to beat the government attacks.

The Trotskyist League of Canada (section of the International Communist League) distributed a leaflet to thousands of strikers in Ottawa, Toronto, Vancouver and elsewhere that day which pointed the way forward: "The only 'illegal' strike is one that loses—let's win this one. To do that all of labor must stand behind PSAC in *defying* the government's back-to-work order through co-ordinated strike action from coast to coast!"

But PSAC members were stabbed in the back by their own leaders, and above all by the NDP social democrats and the bureaucrats of the Canadian Labour Congress. For nine days workers threw Mulroney's threats back in his face. But the Tories didn't need legislation or troops—NDP House leader Nelson Riis and the backstabbing CLC tops shut down the strikes for them, all in the interest of capitalist "order"...and the election chances of the NDP, which expects to win provincial majorities in British Columbia and Saskatchewan this fall. PSAC leaders claimed a "major victory," as the government now says it will "negotiate." The members, many bitter and angry, went back.

Simultaneously, the Ontario provincial government, run by the same NDP, invoked Article 39 of the Labour Relations Act for the first time in history to force a new vote by Toronto transit strikers. Provincial premier Bob Rae threatened to use back-to-work legislation if the ranks voted "no" a second time. The *Toronto Star* noted that Rae was "stuck between a rock and a hard place" and

continued on page 11

Executioner's Ax Hangs Over Warren McCleskey

As we go to press on Tuesday, September 24, black prisoner Warren McCleskey is facing imminent execution in the electric chair, the victim of a vindictive racist vendetta by the state of Georgia. We reprint the urgent protest sent by the Partisan Defense Committee this morning:

We are writing to protest the scheduled execution of Warren McCleskey. The death penalty is barbaric and an outrage against justice and decency. We demand this "legal" murder not be carried out and his sentence be commuted.

The U.S. Supreme Court has made Warren McCleskey's name indelibly synonymous with the race and class bias inherent in the death penalty. The Court used his 1987 appeal to give its seal of approval to the death penalty's racist application. Just months ago that same Court maliciously denied a second *habeas corpus* petition which set forth newly discovered evidence. The Court used this latest decision to drastically limit the use of federal *habeas corpus* to challenge a state court conviction and death sentence, no matter how meritorious the challenge.

We insist the execution be halted and death sentence commuted.

Karas/Atlanta Journal and Constitution

Warren McCleskey has courageously fought the racist death penalty.

WORKERS VANGUARD

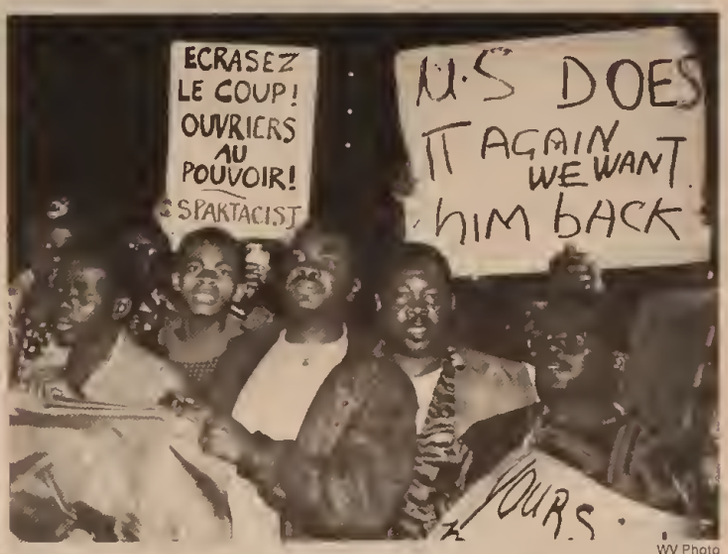
25¢

No. 536 | 11 October 1991

U.S./OAS Intervention Means Colonial Rule

Smash Haiti Coup! For Workers Power!

Mike Kamber



WV Photo

Left: Uzi-toting Haitian soldiers patrol the capital. Right: Haitian protesters in New York, October 1, after bloody coup. Spartacist sign says, "Smash the Coup—Workers to Power!"

U.S. Out of Guantánamo! Defend Cuba!

OCTOBER 7—On September 30, barely a day after his return from a triumphant visit to the United States, Haitian president Jean-Bertrand Aristide was ousted from office and exiled in a bloody coup led by "moderate" general Raoul Cedras. It started the night before with mutinies in the capital; by daybreak troops were firing on Aristide's house outside Port-au-Prince, later capturing him at the National Palace. As soldiers shut down all but one of Haiti's 15 radio stations, the president was hauled off to army headquarters. Aristide escaped with his life only after the U.S. ambassador intervened. In the past week, the army and police have been indiscriminately killing hundreds.

After decades of bloody terror under U.S.-sponsored dictators "Papa Doc" Duvalier, his son "Baby Doc" and assorted generals, Aristide was touted as "the first democratically elected president" in Haiti's history. His landslide victory in last year's vote was supervised by observers from the UN (Jimmy Carter) and the Organization of American States. With the fervent support of a popular movement known as "Lavalas" (cleansing flood), Aristide made vague promises of a *déchouquage* (uprooting) of Duvalierist forces who infest the army and government. But eight months later, those forces are running the show, and Aristide is looking to imperialist godfather George Bush to put him back in power.

Meanwhile, what the U.S. is plotting to impose on Haiti is hardly a "return to democracy." For a while it appeared that the U.S. wanted to broker a deal with the army and the Duvalierists to allow a hamstrung Aristide to return, on *their* terms, as a "democratic" figurehead for the status quo. The *New York Times* (7 October) reported that administration "officials said they had concluded that Father Aristide must publicly disavow mob violence and work toward sharing power with the Parliament." Throwing their weight around the Caribbean, the Yankee imperialists jumped at the excuse to send Marines to the U.S. base at Guantánamo Bay, Cuba. These butchers of the Iraqi people are taking aim at the Cuban Revolution, and would like nothing better than to install another Batista in Havana.

As we go to press, it is reported that soldiers stormed into the Haitian parliament, pistol-whipping legislators who dutifully voted to install a Supreme Court justice as puppet president and to hold new "elections" in which Aristide would be banned as a candidate. Nowadays the U.S. makes a fetish of "democratic elections," but for most of Latin America "election" is just an adjective describing a form of fraud. In Haiti, it customarily modifies "massacre." So now the army orders gunpoint "elections" to legitimize its ouster of Aristide. What's needed in response is a revolutionary struggle by the working class, from the free trade zone of Port-au-Prince to Santo Domingo—where Dominican workers have staged repeated general strikes against IMF austerity and the Balaguer regime which stole last year's elections—to the Haitian diaspora in North America.

U.S. Imperialism: Keep Your Bloody Hands Off!

In New York City, home to over 300,000 Haitians, news of the coup was met with horror and shock. Only

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Germany: Bitter Fruits of Capitalist Reunification

Fourth Reich Pogrom Against Foreign Workers

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Romanian Miners Revolt Against "Free Market" Starvation

PAGE EIGHT

L.A., San Francisco

Angry Protests Over Veto of Gay Rights Bill

Los Angeles protesters denounce veto by California governor Wilson.

SF Sentinel

SAN FRANCISCO—Thousands of angry gays and defenders of gay rights took to the streets on September 30 in San Francisco and West Hollywood the day after California governor Pete Wilson vetoed a bill outlawing job discrimination against gays. Protests continued for several days. Wilson's veto is an outrage, effectively declaring homosexuals to be less than human in the eyes of the state. The consequences are ominous, and not just a predictable upswing in legally sanctioned discrimination by bigoted employers.

As is recognized across the political spectrum, from disappointed gay rights lobbyists to the celebrating Moral Majority bigots who mounted a hysterical campaign against Assembly Bill 101, the veto is a green light from the state for a growing epidemic of gay-bashing. Democratic rights are indivisible! The workers movement has a duty to defend the rights of gays against all attacks—from "legal" discrimination to police beatings to murderous fascist violence in the streets!

In San Francisco, 7,000 protesters marched from the Castro District to the new state office building to protest the veto. As the demo was winding up, windows were smashed and a couple of offices trashed in the building. Anger first flared when former SF police chief Frank Jordan showed up claiming to support AB101. Infuriated demonstrators surrounded this ex-top cop and gave him a small taste of the treatment meted out by his thugs in blue when they sealed off an entire block of Castro Street during an October 1989 AIDS protest and viciously beat anyone who dared to step outside. Jordan, "shoeless when he fled" (*San Francisco Examiner*, 1 October), was rescued by cops after a little roughing up, later bellyaching about "mob rule."

The next day when Wilson was shouted down by 300 angry demonstrators at Stanford University, the governor snapped, "this is not the time and place for fascist tactics." Newspapers editorialized against the veto but ran screaming headlines about "violence" and the gay "riot." SF's Democratic mayor Art Agnos vowed to prosecute "violent" demonstrators. The bourgeoisie expects gays to eat it and shut up. Under the circumstances, angry gay demonstrators acted with remarkable restraint.

"Civil rights or civil war!" chanted demonstrators marching to the County Museum of Art in Los Angeles on October 1, where Wilson was hobnobbing with Mexican president Carlos Salinas de Gortari. They joined a small group protesting against Salinas (who is starving the Mexican workers and peasants on behalf of Yankee imperialism). Later that night, LAPD riot cops attacked protesters outside the Century Plaza Hotel, where Wilson was supposed to be staying. Dozens of cops charged the crowd, clubbing indiscriminately. "It was a typical storm-trooper rush," said L.A. gay rights activist David Smith.

"Moderate Republican" Wilson was elected last year with a lot of votes from gays after he claimed to support gay rights. But Wilson aspires to run for president in 1996 and needs right-wing support. After hemming and hawing about the bill for months Wilson rushed to announce his veto before the release of an opinion poll on the subject. It turned out the poll revealed 62 percent of the state's voters were *for* signing the bill, including a majority of Wilson's Republicans! So politicians across the state are coming out in favor of the vetoed bill—as did, with the utmost gall, the SF Police Officers Association! SF cops are notorious for beating gays in the city's streets and jailhouses.

"We were betrayed," said Laurie McBride of the Lobby for Individual Freedom and Equality, a Sacramento gay rights lobby. "We're very numb right now," said Frank Ricchiazzi of the gay Republican Log Cabin clubs. Sunday night, immediately after the veto was announced, demonstrators in San Francisco's heavily gay Castro District chanted: "Gay Republican is an oxymoron." But Republican or Democrat, from Queer Nation to Log Cabin, attempts to fight anti-gay bigotry by pressuring the bourgeois state are futile.

AB101 was a simple extension of some existing state civil rights laws to include homosexuals. A bare statement of basic democratic rights, it should never have been in question, yet a previous version was vetoed by then-governor Deukmejian seven years ago. No legal statement of equality or law against discrimination, however, can change the basic social reality of oppression in capitalist America. Even in San Francisco, where the large gay population means gays have clout in electoral politics (and the petty-bourgeois gay movement has a thoroughly bourgeois leadership), reported incidents of gay-bashing numbered second only to New York City in 1990, and are on the rise.

So-called "liberal" Wilson wants to prove his credentials as Bush's heir by busting the unions, starving the poor, and otherwise viciously attacking blacks and Hispanics in California, and targeting gays helps. From Hitler's "New Order" to Bush's "New World Order," homosexuals have always been victimized under capitalism, not only targeted by backwoods bigots but subject to discrimination by the most liberal sectors of the ruling class, who join with out-and-out reactionaries in upholding the bourgeois institution of the family as the bedrock of social "stability." It will take a thoroughgoing socialist revolution to lay the basis for replacing the family by socializing its functions. The Bolsheviks eliminated all discriminatory laws against homosexuals shortly after the victory of the October Revolution (although these gains were later destroyed by the Stalinist political counterrevolution).

Some hard class struggle could reverse the all-sided reactionary offensive against labor and minorities, and defend gays by mobilizing the social power of the working class. Unflinching opposition to all forms of oppression is central to the task of leading the proletariat to power. Then we can sweep out all the garbage of bigotry and build a socialist society that will make equality and freedom a living social reality for all. ■

TROTSKY

LENIN

For Workers Defense Guards Against Fascist Terror

Following the capitalist reunification of Germany, numerous fascist attacks and now pogroms against immigrant workers pose the urgent need for the working class to form defense guards to crush the Nazi terrorists. Half a century ago, Leon Trotsky warned against looking to the "democratic" bourgeois governments, who today "tolerate" the fascists in order to unleash them tomorrow against the workers. He insistently called instead for workers united-front action to stop the Nazis in their tracks. The labor/black mobilizations initiated by the Spartacist League to stop KKK/skinhead/Nazi provocations in major American cities over the last decade have been based on this class-struggle strategy laid out by Trotsky in the 1938 Transitional Program.

The petty-bourgeois democrats—including Social Democrats, Stalinists, and Anarchists—yell louder about the struggle against fascism the more cravenly they capitulate to it in actuality. Only armed workers' detachments, who feel the support of tens of millions of toilers behind them, can successfully prevail against the fascist bands. The struggle against fascism does not start in the liberal editorial office but in the factory—and ends in the street. Scabs and private gunmen in factory plants are the basic nuclei of the fascist army. *Strike pickets* are the basic nuclei of the proletarian army. This is our point of departure. In connection with every strike and street demonstration, it is imperative to propagate the necessity of creating *workers' groups for self-defense*. It is necessary to write this slogan into the program of the revolutionary wing of the trade unions. It is imperative wherever possible, beginning with the youth groups, to organize groups for self-defense, to drill and acquaint them with the use of arms.

A new upsurge of the mass movement should serve not only to increase the number of these units but also to unite them according to neighborhoods, cities, regions. It is necessary to give organized expression to the valid hatred of the workers toward scabs and bands of gangsters and fascists. It is necessary to advance the slogan of a *workers' militia* as the one serious guarantee for the inviolability of workers' organizations, meetings, and press.

—Leon Trotsky, "The Death Agony of Capitalism and the Tasks of the Fourth International" (September 1938)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions $7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

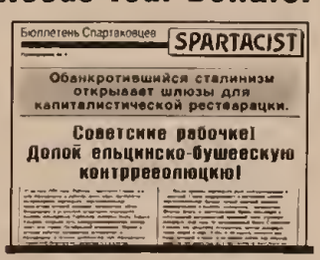
Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 536 **11 October 1991**

Defeat Yeltsin-Gorbachev-Bush Counterrevolution!

Lenin-Trotsky Fund Needs Your Dollars!

The resources of the International Communist League are sparse, our current tasks mammoth. We have just printed 70,000 copies of the Russian translation of "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" (pictured at right). We are now reprinting the first Russian-language *Spartacist Bulletin*, "What Is Trotskyism," of which 25,000 have already been sold throughout the Soviet Union. Pro-socialist Soviet workers are thirsting for Trotskyist literature, but economic realities dictate that we must heavily subsidize our publications to keep them affordable. Printing costs, travel and other expenses mean that an internationalist intervention in the Soviet Union costs money. Help forge the Trotskyist nucleus needed to lead the Soviet working people in struggle against counterrevolution.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Anti-Abortion Bigots Flop on Fifth Avenue

Thousands March for Women's Rights

Abortion rights demonstrators overwhelmed religious fanatics who tried to invade New York City on September 29, as over 4,000 women's rights activists took to the streets, outmobilizing the anti-abortion bigots four to one. A conglomeration of anti-abortion groups called "Metropolitan New York Life Chain" had boasted that they would bring out 10,000 people to form a mammoth human crucifix along Fifth Avenue and 34th Street in the heart of Manhattan. Instead, their ragged ranks often had gaps of entire blocks between anti-abortion signs. The turnout for the pro-choice counterdemonstration, called by WHAM (Women's Health Action and Mobilization), was notably young and irreverent.

The battle over women's right to abortion has dominated domestic politics for the last several months. For six weeks this summer, anti-abortion bigots terrorized women in Wichita, Kansas, seeking to spearhead a national wave of reaction to outlaw this basic right. But after the Senate panel holding hearings on the nomination of anti-abortion black Reaganite Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court split seven to seven, pro-choice forces are gearing up for a renewed pressure campaign directed at Congress.

On October 5, 5,000 abortion rights demonstrators rallied in San Francisco at the Civic Center Plaza, where the Spartacist League had a banner, "Labor: Defend Abortion Clinics!" The next day there was an anti-abortion human chain of 500 in SF. The "life chain" said they would erect crosses nationwide October 6, claiming they turned out tens of thousands in 350 cities like Wichita and Orlando. Meanwhile, "Operation Rescue" threatens assaults on abortion clinics in Boston and elsewhere November 2.

In New York City, a full-page ad in the *Village Voice* headlined "Oh, Toto! They're Not in Wichita Anymore!" helped bring out a high-spirited crowd, who made it clear to the right-wingers bused in from the suburbs that they certainly weren't in Kansas. "Welcome to Babylon, Idiots" said a sign carried by one brazen young woman in red satin horns and black cape. One popular chant among college and high school groups as they marched past St. Patrick's Cathedral on Fifth Avenue was "Keep your rosaries off our ovaries!"

Drum-beating students from Bard picked up the Spartacist contingent's chant, "Defend the clinics! Take a stand! Free abortion on demand!" Spartacist signs called on labor to defend abortion clinics, as well as "Abortion Rights for Teens! Down with Parental Consent Laws!" "Break with the Democrats! Forge a Workers Party!" and "Women's Liberation Through Socialist Revolution!" To the surprise of many of the marchers, construction workers high on beams along the route cheered and applauded the show of strength for abortion rights.

The boisterous crowd was a refreshing challenge to the present reactionary climate. Yet, as shown by the popular chant "Not the church, not the state, women will decide our fate," there are plenty of illusions in "lifestyle liberation" (possible perhaps only in a few places like NYC or San Francisco, and requiring a decent income) that stand in the way of any real struggle for liberation for all. How can women—or any oppressed group—in fact "decide their fate" when this capitalist state, with its ideological prop of organized religion, is still in power?

WV Photo

New York City: Spartacist contingent at September 29 abortion rights demo.

Clarence Thomas: Reagan Reactionary

The Bible bigots with their human crosses, and the KKK with their burning crosses, have both endorsed Clarence Thomas for the Supreme Court. If this black reactionary is confirmed, everybody figures *Roe v. Wade*, the Court decision legalizing abortion, will be down the tubes. While Thomas is on record declaring abortion is an affront to "natural law," with his White House handler beside him he lied his way through the hearings, claiming in all his years in politics he never once expressed an opinion on abortion rights.

As the Bush league campaigned to present Thomas as something of a "moderate," they tried to bury his record as an arch-conservative who climbed the Reagan ranks by opposing virtually every gain won by blacks during the decade of the civil rights movement. Moreover, Thomas has been linked to official lobbyists for the South African bantustans. In a letter to the *New York Times* (8 September), Edward S. Herman noted that Thomas is an editorial board member of the Reaganite *Lincoln Review*, published by the conservative Lincoln Institute, headed by Jay Parker, who was an agent of the Transkei and Venda apartheid puppet regimes.

As head of Reagan's "Equal Employment Opportunity Commission," Clarence Thomas presided over dismantling affirmative action and other government programs for minorities. Meanwhile, his wife has been doing the same thing to women's rights, in her post as assistant secretary at the Department of Labor. According to a *Washington Post* (10 September) profile, Virginia Lamp Thomas, the daughter of Omaha, Nebraska Republican Pooh-Bahs, is a fanatic Reaganite ideologue in her own right, who has fought against such reforms as comparable-worth legislation and the Family Leave Act (which Bush is threatening to veto). How appropriate that these two met at a function of the B'nai B'rith Anti-Defamation League, after Strom Thurmond remarked jovially to Thomas, "You need to find a wife."

The pro- and anti-abortion demos this month are connected with the fight over Thomas' appointment to the Supreme Court. But while bourgeois feminists like NOW occasionally prattle about a "third party," in reality they crawl on their bellies for the Democrats, who have caved in to, when they weren't already gung ho for, every demand of the Reagan/Bush White House for the past 12 years, from Operation "Desert Slaughter" against the Iraqi population to the war on women's and black rights at home.

What's needed to defend women's fundamental right to abortion is to stop the bigots on the streets, outside the clinics they try to close down. A massive show of strength by all those they are targeting, backed up by the force of labor, would send these "right-to-lifers" packing. But they are only the rabid smalltimers unleashed by Bush and his fellow capitalists. It will take a workers socialist revolution to finally break the ancient chains of fear and superstition these "Operation Rescue" terrorists exploit, as well as to ensure free abortion on demand, free quality health care to everyone, and every other basic, elementary human need this reactionary system is bent on obliterating. ■

AP

Supreme Court nominee Clarence Thomas, surrounded by coterie of reactionary Republican senators.

Workers Vanguard Subscription Drive

Totals: Week Five of Six

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Boston	260	277	107
Chicago	500	514	103
Cleveland	100	112½	113
Los Angeles	300	324	108
New York	1,140	1,255	110
Oakland	800	831	104
San Francisco	300	498	166
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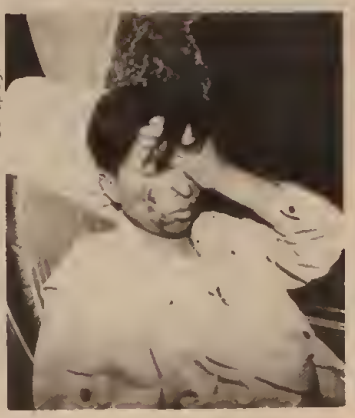
Fourth Reich Pogrom Against Foreign Workers

La Repubblica



Der Spiegel Photos

Nazi terrorists with Reich war flag in Berlin (left); Vietnamese and Mozambican workers in Hoyerswerda (right), victims of racist rampage.

BERLIN—After months of murderous Nazi/skinhead assaults on immigrants and refugees in Germany, a hideous pogrom was unleashed in late September in the East German mining town of Hoyerswerda, not far from the Polish border. Day after day, fascist-led mobs attacked hostels for foreign workers and asylum seekers. A racist wave of terror spread across Germany, peaking on October 3, the first anniversary of reunification. On this "day of celebration" of the Fourth Reich there were over two dozen fascist attacks. In Hünxe (Rhineland), two Lebanese children were critically burned and a whole hostel for asylum seekers was burned down. In Krefeld a Turkish worker was stabbed to the ground in broad daylight—in front of numerous passers-by.

This is the bitter fruit of capitalist reunification. Already in February 1990 we Spartakists warned: "The SPD [Social Democratic Party] is today the main organizer of a capitalist counterrevolution in the DDR [East Germany], while the fascists will be unleashed as the vanguard troops of reunification. They would be the storm troops of reaction when a Fourth Reich is shaken by its first crisis" (*Arprekorr* No. 21, 1 February 1990).

This development has been fanned by the aggressive "asylum debate"—in reality an *all-party attack on refugees*. The recent election campaign in Bremen was a "deportation election," instigated and led by the SPD. The Social Democratic head of the Bremen state government, Wedemeier, is already refusing to accept refugee applications from Romania and Poland. With the SPD thus fanning the flames of racism, the Nazis of the DVU received 6.2 percent while the fascist Republikaner got another 1.5 percent of the votes.

While the Christian Democrats want to formally overturn the constitutional right of asylum, the Social Democrats want to gut it by parliamentary regulation excluding various categories, and the Greens are calling for quotas. The PDS (successor to the former East German Stalinist ruling party) falls in with this racist popular front, calling for "more cops." At the same time they want to "discuss" with Nazi/skinhead murderers. And then they want the Reichskanzler to place himself as a "protective shield" in front of the hostels—clearly as "protection" against the image of the "ugly German"! The satellites of Social Democracy are also doing their bit: the BSA (followers of the dubious David North) supported the SPD of Lafontaine, the notorious deporter of Roma and Cinti (gypsies), in the Bundestag elections last December, while the Arbeitermacht (Workers Power) grouplet supported the SPD of Wedemeier in Bremen.

We Spartakists fight for self-defense groups based on the workers movement to protect the hostels. On October 3 we intervened in demonstrations against racism in Hamburg and Berlin with our program for worker/immigrant mobilization. When the 20,000-strong Berlin demo went past a Vietnamese workers hostel, it was greeted warmly by the workers, who distributed packs of cigarettes to the demonstrators. (After being fired from their jobs in East Germany, many Vietnamese have been forced to sell cigarettes on the street to provide a livelihood.)

At an anti-fascist demonstration in Hoyerswerda on September 29, many residents gladly took our *Spartakist* supplement calling to "Smash Nazi Terror Through Worker/Immigrant Mobilization!" Several workers in the lignite mines took bundles to distribute and to discuss with coworkers in their plant measures against fascist attacks. The supplement was welcomed in the hostel of the remaining Mozambicans and Vietnamese, who told of their fears about October 3. The fight for union-organized self-defense groups of workers/immigrants against Nazi/skinhead terror must be welded to a program for united class struggle in East and West against the mass unemployment that the Nazis feed off.

Below we reprint the *Spartakist* supplement of 28 September.

Spartakist Photos

September 29: Anti-fascist demonstrators gather in Hoyerswerda, joined by local residents. Police attack demonstrators with water cannon.

Smash Nazi Terror Through Worker/Immigrant Mobilization!

Two weeks before the anniversary of "German unity" on October 3 the Fourth Reich is showing its ugly face. For days fascistic gangs blocked the hostels of immigrants in Hoyerswerda, smashed the windows and threw firebombs into the flats. All this under the very eyes of neighbors who in some cases applauded the pogrom. The attacks by the brown scum have reached a new stage because the fascists find a fertile soil in the DDR, where after the counterrevolution already half of the working people (those on short-time work, women, those over 50) are unemployed and kicked into social misery. Now the Nazis with all the old racist shit are once again creeping out from their ratholes.

Determined action of the working class and their anti-fascist allies can stop the fascists In Hoyerswerda now nearly all of the foreigners have been driven out of town. *But this could have been prevented* Hoyerswerda is no Nazi town but a workers town, suffering under capitalist destruction and despair like the rest of the ex-DDR. Determined intervention of the organized working class could easily sweep away those few hundred Nazi/skinhead punks and racist rowdies, could silence the "onlookers" and win much support in the community. It is a question of *leadership*, of the intervention of a revolutionary working-class party, like the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD) seeks to build—internationalist and anti-racist.

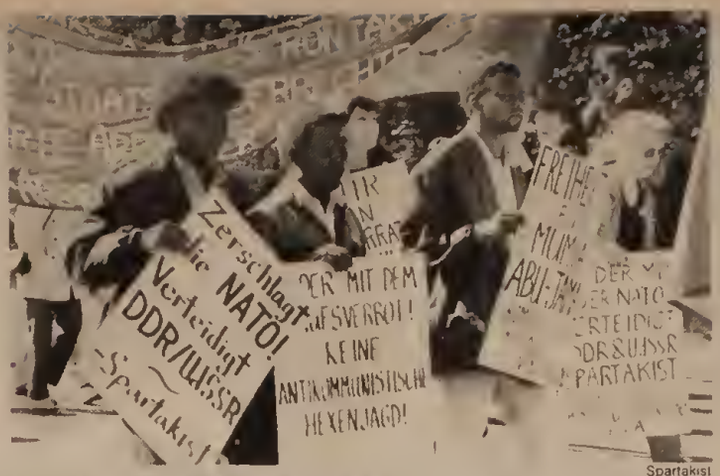
In Hoyerswerda the fascists were able to win with the support of the bourgeoisie, in the wake of the months-long barrage of the "asylum debate." The virulent campaign against refugees was whipped up from the infamous *Bild* newspaper to the "sophisticated" racist articles in *Der Spiegel*. The Fourth Reich built its "economic miracle" on the superexploitation of imported "guest workers." Today the capitalists stir up hatred against a "flood of asylum seekers" and are building the

"fortress Europe" to organize the plunder of East Europe and the Soviet Union under the German D-mark order.

Bonn's policy is part of the general witchhunt: immigrants are forced out of jobs and then deported en masse. The racist popular front of the Christian Democrats (CDU/CSU), Social Democrats (SPD) and Greens, extending to the PDS, is only arguing over the most effective deportation methods or talking of quotas, thus fostering the Nazi/skinhead bands. SPD leader Björn Engholm rushed forward to demand "collection camps" for asylum seekers and a "speed-up" of the legal deportation proceedings, whereas the Greens are screaming for "quotas" for foreigners. The black-red-gold PDS, having already given away the DDR to the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz, is eagerly participating in building a new state apparatus of the Fourth Reich and in making East Germany "*ausländerrein*" ("cleansed" of foreigners). They are trying to polish up the image of the "ugly Germans" for the German bourgeoisie.

But the true image of "democratic Germany" is terror against immigrants and refugees. From the beginning, the Spartakist Workers Party said "No to capitalist reunification!" and warned that the counterrevolution would bring mass misery for the workers, women and immigrants.

Hoyerswerda is an example of the devastating consequences of the capitalist counterrevolution in the DDR. Previously everybody had a job and a home. With *Anschluss* (annexation) to the Fourth Reich there is no perspective for strip-mining brown coal (lignite) anymore and the giant "Schwarze Pumpe" enterprise plans to lay off 5,000 in the coming weeks. Although coal and gas are urgently needed for energy production the mining regions are to be shut down. Not for economic reasons but as part of the campaign of destruction faced by all the working people in the former DDR. The purpose is intimidation and demoralization of the East German pro-



May Day 1990: Mozambican workers joined Spartakist Workers Party contingent in East Berlin. Banner demands full citizenship rights for immigrant workers.

letariat, with the result that Nazi gangs can carry out their murderous activity in open daylight.

Because strikes and protests against mass layoffs remained isolated and there was no massive and broad workers' resistance, the German-nationalist demagogy of the Nazis gets a hearing, especially among youth who see no perspective or future for themselves. This is mainly the responsibility of the SPD-led trade-union bureaucracy that has prevented workers' struggles. The social-democratic "plant council" members have distinguished themselves as the most rabid "anti-Stasi" witchhunters and openly worked for the class enemy to prevent workers' struggles and ram through the mass layoffs.

To defend itself the working class needs a party with a revolutionary program, that fights for jobs for all with no loss in pay. Equal pay for equal work! Housing, transport and the social infrastructure must be rebuilt. What is needed for this is a program of public works at full West German union wage scales and under trade-union control, which will take the unemployed and youth off the streets. To undercut the fascists, the destruction of the East German working class must be stopped.

Police Terror in the Fourth Reich

"More police" is now the battle cry especially of the PDS. But Hoyerswerda once again proved that the police only went into action to prevent self-defense of the hostels and to arrest the protesters who had gathered to defend the residents. And when the police finally were activated on orders from the city council, it was not to sweep away the fascists but to deport the immigrant workers and refugees. A police lieutenant declared before the microphones of the press: "We are satisfied now that all the foreigners are gone."

The Nazis didn't end up in jail but the refugees were bused out of town in the middle of the night. No destination was given; one Vietnamese was severely injured by a stone thrown at him when the bus departed. The police refused to get an ambulance as the refugees demanded. After an odyssey of three hours they arrived at Pirna, where they had to spend the night without a meal in an open field. Some of them fled to Berlin and Hannover.

The bourgeoisie tries to blame the DDR workers state for the fascist mobilizations in East Germany, and paints a rosy picture of life for immigrants in the West. This is an obvious lie. Of 62 firebombings in the last eight months, more than 20 happened in the West German state of Nordrhein-Westfalen. On September 19 when the Nazi scum in Hoyerswerda threw their Molotov cocktails unhindered, that same night in Saarlouis a Ghanaian, Samuel Yeboahin, was burned to death in a firebomb attack; two of his fellow hostel residents from Nigeria were severely injured. In the Saarland, governed by former SPD crown prince Lafontaine, the fascist Republikaner are sitting in city hall. The following day in Saarlouis 400 demonstrators protested with the slogans: "Fascists do the dirty work for CDU/SPD/Greens" and "Hospitable Saarland: Saarbrücken deports, Saarlouis burns to death."

Full Citizenship Rights for Immigrants!

In the West as well as in the East, miners are fighting for their jobs and their livelihoods. More and more workers, from railway and postal workers to steel and mining, are feeling that the reunited Deutsche Bank republic means sinking standards of living and increasing fascist atrocities. Some contingents of disciplined workers of IG Bergbau (miners union) together with their fellow workers of the ÖTV (public employees) are a power that can protect the hostels of immigrants and refugees.

In West Germany the 2.2 million immigrant workers are a strategic part of the powerful proletariat, which is welded together multinationally in key industries. Workers from southern Europe and

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Lies of the Times

4 October 1991

Editor
New York Times
New York, NY

Dear Sir:

In your article "East Germans, Nurtured by Bonn, Take Heart and Begin to Prosper" (*New York Times*, 29 September) by Stephen Kinzer you paint a picture of life in East Germany that vastly distorts the bitter reality which reunification with the capitalist West has brought. Particularly striking were the figures cited to demonstrate that a "consumer boom" is "reshaping the way eastern Germans live." According to your article, 42 percent of families in the East now own a compact disk player and 34 percent have a personal computer at home. The writer added, "In East Germany there was little reason to even keep such statistics."

These claims are so wildly out of kilter with the hardships being faced by the East German population that I decided to contact the Allensbach Public Opinion Institute which you cited as the source. According to their recently published survey results, which included questions on household property, only 8.2 percent of the East German population own a CD player and 9.1 percent have a home computer. Quite a different picture. On the other hand, 76 percent own color TV sets, which were mass produced in the former DDR, which was the tenth-strongest industrial power in the world. For most East Germans, their participation in the "consumer boom" consists of looking through chic shop windows at the shelves full of expensive goods they can't afford.

This relates to a far more serious distortion of the consequences of capitalist reunification in the article, which hides the devastating level of unemployment it has brought. Mr. Kinzer does refer to the "more than one million jobless people in Eastern Germany," noting that their anger fed protests against Chancellor Kohl last spring. But in purveying the official German government figures, you leave out the thinly disguised unemployment of the 1.6 million who are on *Kurzarbeit* ("short-time work," which for many means 0 hours), the 210,000 in WPA-like temporary job programs, the 360,000 who have been forced into early retirement so far this year and the 700,000 public employees who have been removed from their jobs and placed in a "waiting line." This totals almost 4 million unemployed, some 45 percent of the workforce.

But even this understates the job loss since reunification, similar to the way that American government unemployment statistics hide real unemployment by leaving out "discouraged workers" who are simply declared no longer part of the labor force. In East Germany, the workforce "shrank" by over 800,000 since the end of 1989. The prime minister of Saxony, Kurt Biedenkopf, has said that a quarter of the population will never have a job again. Most of these are women, over 90 percent of whom

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Photo: Unemployment line in East Berlin's Marzahn district.

Employment/Unemployment in Ex-DDR July 1991

Official unemployed (equals 12.1 percent of the labor force)	1,068,600
Additional unemployed	
Kurzarbeit ("short-time work," often 0 hours)	1,610,000
ABM (= WPA) programs	210,000
Early retirement	360,000
Warteschleife (gov't. workers in "waiting line")	700,000
Total unemployed (equals 44.7 percent of the labor force)	**3,948,600**
Total labor force, 3rd quarter 1989	9,664,000
Labor force, July 1991	8,831,400
Removed from labor force by July 1991 (mostly women, approx. 110,000 foreign workers)	832,600
Actual job losses (equals 49.5 percent of 1989 labor force)	**4,781,200**

Sources *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, 7 August, *New York Times*, 7 August, *Der Spiegel*, 11 and 25 March

Young Spartacus

Young Spartacus

Join the Spartacus Youth Clubs!

We Fight for the Communism of Lenin and Trotsky!

PART ONE OF TWO

Every ruling class tries to fool those they rule over with an ideology that their exploitative order is the most natural, the most just, and eternal. But working people, wish-they-were-working people, oppressed minorities and radical youth aren't exactly happy campers in Bush's "New World Order," a society which combines worship of the American dollar with echoes of Hitlerism. We live in a barbaric "democracy" for the rich, built on the exploitation of millions who create the wealth but are denied the fruits of their labor. This racket for the rulers is enforced with a battering ram of unemployment, homelessness, a siege of cop terror in the ghettos and barrios, and assaults on basic democratic rights from abortion to education.

The world we live in is not defined by the social and economic relations between classes in this country alone. Our world was shaped by the Russian Revolution of 1917 where Marxism and the egalitarian belief that those who labor should rule was taken out of the realm of abstraction and given flesh and blood. For those fighting for revolutionary social change in their own countries, from South Africa to Haiti to the U.S., the threat of capitalist *counterrevolution* in the Soviet Union today is an urgent issue. The outcome of the Soviet crisis—*which class will rule*, the proletariat through a political revolution led by a genuine communist party, or the bourgeoisie through the destruction of the workers state—has enormous implications for the workers of the whole world.

Just look at recent events: after Gorbachev pulled the Red Army out of Afghanistan, sold out East Germany to the West and forced the Cubans out of Angola, an emboldened U.S. slaughtered 100,000 Iraqis to dominate the world's oil supplies and demonstrate its military superiority and ruthlessness to its economically more dynamic rivals, Germany and Japan. Now Cuba is in the Yankee cross hairs, set up for imperialist attack by the criminal withdrawal of Soviet troops. And world war looms as a very real possibility as the big imperialist powers intensify competition for the spoils of new wage slaves and new markets opening up since the collapse of Stalinism in East Europe and the USSR.

L.Y. Leonidov

V.I. Lenin and Leon Trotsky, at center, leaders of the Russian Revolution, in Moscow's Red Square on 2nd anniversary of Bolshevik Revolution.

Bush proclaims a "unipolar world" and sees a globe free for the taking with a wave of American imperialism's nuclear big stick. While the "free press" fed you scare stories about Saddam Hussein's "chemical arsenal," they buried the fact that it was the U.S. which *used* chemical weapons like napalm and white phosphorus to burn Iraqis alive and had hundreds of nuclear warheads stationed in the Persian Gulf. Moreover, the U.S. is the *only* country ever to use nuclear weapons, murdering hundreds of thousands of Asians in the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Only the military power of the Soviet Union restrained the U.S. from using nuclear weapons again against the colonial peoples of Korea, Vietnam and Cuba who freed their countries from imperialist subjugation and capitalist exploitation and were then subjected to vindictive economic boycotts aimed at starving the people.

America's posture as global policeman of the "free world" is expressed also in its war against the labor movement and its genocidal devastation of what the bourgeoisie considers the "surplus" black population at home. This is the domestic reflection of the capitalist rulers' drive to "roll back Communism" and every movement for social liberation that threatens their profit system which is founded upon racism and class injustice. Ronald Reagan's sabre rattling against the Soviet "evil empire" was initiated on the home front by the smashing of the PATCO air traffic controllers union, hauling the union leaders away in chains and firing the entire striking workforce.

Since 1917 the "Russian question" has been the touchstone for anyone claiming to be a revolutionary. For starters, it is necessary to debunk the lie proclaimed by the bourgeoisie that what we are witnessing is the "death of communism." It is *Stalinism* that has reached the point of terminal crisis. These bureaucratic regimes usurped the political power of the working class, disorganized and undermined centralized socialist planning, fueled murderous nationalist conflicts with the introduction of "market reforms," strangled political and cultural life, and emboldened imperialism by selling out revolutions abroad in the hope of "peaceful coexistence" with the West. This was not communism but its antithesis. Trotsky called Stalinism "the syphilis of the workers movement." We Trotskyists long ago warned that Stalinism was a deadly threat to the survival of the workers states, and fought tooth and nail against every Stalinist betrayal.

More than fifty years ago, Leon Trotsky described the Soviet Union as a "degenerated workers state"—a contradictory society that still embodied the basic economic and many social gains of the working-class seizure of power in 1917, yet was deformed by the rule of a parasitic bureaucracy. In the face of murderous Stalinist repression, the Trotskyist Left Opposition fought to preserve and extend the gains of the Russian Revolution: for unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against imperialist attack or internal counterrevolution and for a proletarian *political revolution* to oust the repressive, nationalist bureaucracy. As James P. Cannon, the founder of American Trotskyism, stated in a 1939 speech:

> "We want to advance the world revolution of the proletariat. This determines our attitude and approach to the Russian question. True, we want to see reality, but we are not disinterested observers and commentators. We do not examine the Russian revolution and what remains of its great conquests as though it were a bug under a glass. *We have an interest! We take part in the fight!*"

Trotsky's prescient analysis provides the basis for leading the critical class battles today against the capitalist counterrevolution being imposed by the pragmatic Gorbachev, the unspeakable

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LOS ANGELES

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Yeltsin and their godfather Bush. For while the Soviet "yupskies" are buying Big Macs with their hard currency, the mass of the Soviet working people are facing the full brunt of the economic "shock treatments" braintrusted from Wall Street and Harvard. And that spells impoverishment, mass unemployment, starvation and fascist pogroms. The multinational Soviet working class must be politically mobilized to defeat and overthrow the counterrevolutionary forces now in the ascendancy.

The Russian Revolution Belongs to the Workers of the World

How did the bureaucratic degeneration of the Russian Revolution occur? How do the roots of "perestroika" go back to Stalin and his renunciation of internationalism—the "theory" of "socialism in one country"? To understand *and combat* the counterrevolution it is necessary to learn about and reclaim the traditions of the revolution it seeks to undo.

1917 was the third year of World War I, a war that brought destruction and misery on a scale unprecedented in history. The imperialist powers conscripted millions of young men to kill each other so the rulers could capture new markets and more wage slaves. In *The ABC of Communism* Bukharin and Preobrazhensky calculated: "If we assume the average weight of a soldier to be 150 lb., this means that between 1 August 1914 and 1 January 1918 the capitalists had brought to market twelve hundred million pounds of putrid human flesh."

Sent off to die for the profits of their rulers, the international working class had no stake in this war whatsoever. A fundamental principle of Marxism is that the working class has no "fatherland" under capitalism and must unite on an international class basis to defeat the bourgeoisie. Yet in Germany, the powerful Social Democrats scandalously supported "their" bourgeoisie in the war. The pacifists who preached "no war" in times of peace impotently prattled about "peace through negotiations" as millions of young men were being slaughtered in the trenches.

Only in backward Russia was there a party with the political appetite and program to channel the tremendous discontent over the war into a revolutionary struggle against the entire old order. The rulers could not rule in the old way, and the long-suffering masses would no longer accept the rule of their oppressors. The tsarist regime cracked and fell, ushering in a period of dual power where the workers and soldiers heeded only their own authoritative and democratically elected organs called *soviets* (the Russian word for councils). After a period of sharp struggle, power passed into the hands of the soviets. Where everywhere else the dictatorship of capital ruled, whether in "democratic" or autocratic form, here in Russia for the first time in history the workers established their own class rule: the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The Bolsheviks won a majority in the soviets because they were the only consistent fighters for the interests of the working class and the poor peasantry. Led by Lenin, steeled through years of struggle in exile, in prison and the underground, and sharpened through bitter fights with the Mensheviks, who argued that Russia must first pass through a stage of bourgeois development, the Bolsheviks built a combat party which at the decisive moment was prepared to lead the working class in the seizure of state power. Lenin formulated this in the demand, "All power to the Soviets!"

Trotsky had earlier failed to understand Lenin's insistence on the need for a hardened party of the revolutionary vanguard, but had foreseen already in 1905 that even to achieve basic democratic tasks of eradicating the autocracy and expropriating the large landholders it was necessary for the workers to take power. He now became a leader of the Bolsheviks. Arrested in July 1917 by the "democratic" capitalist Kerensky regime, Trotsky wrote from prison:

> "Full power to the soviets, although far from as yet meaning 'socialism,' would in any case break the resistance of the bourgeoisie and—in dependence upon the existing productive forces and the situation in the west—would guide and transform the economic life in the interests of the toiling masses. Having thrown off the fetters of capitalist government, the revolution would become permanent—that is, continuous. It would apply the state power, not in order to consolidate the regime of capitalist exploitation, but in order to overcome it. Its final success on this road would depend upon the successes of the proletarian revolution in Europe.... Such was and remains the sole perspective of the further development of the revolution."

Viktor Bulla

Petrograd, March 1917. Working women raise banner: "Comrade Workers and Soldiers, Support Our Demands."

As the revolutionary opportunity opened, the Bolsheviks rapidly won hundreds of thousands to their program, advancing the simple slogan of "*Peace, Land and Bread!*" In Russia in 1917 only the communists could fight for such basic rights because they could only be realized through socialist revolution. "Peace" for the proletariat meant an unconditional withdrawal of Russia's troops from the imperialist slaughterhouse, in order to wage class war on the bourgeoisie. "Land" for the peasants meant seizure and expropriation of the landlords' property. "Bread" meant working-class rule and control of the economy.

Bourgeois politicians and "historians" today claim the October Revolution was a "Bolshevik coup" by a handful of evil, conniving fanatics. These ruling-class gentlemen cannot accept the fact that the poor, the downtrodden, the "unwashed" masses organized as a powerful, conscious *class for itself* and seized power from their exploiters. In Petrograd, the cradle of the revolution, the insurrection was virtually bloodless precisely because the Bolsheviks had won the allegiance of the overwhelming mass of working people.

The Russian Revolution broke the chain of imperialism at its weakest link. But this revolution made *in* Russia was not made *for* Russia alone. World War I had enormously radicalized the working class internationally. The example of the Russian Revolution stirred the toilers of the East as a model of how to throw off the yoke of colonial subjugation. Across Europe and even the United States workers struck against their imperialist rulers' attempts to overthrow the Russian Revolution. The most class-conscious workers around the globe joined the Communist International to extend the proletarian revolution and build socialism on a world scale. As Trotsky wrote in *History of the Russian Revolution*:

> "The productive forces of our time have outgrown not only the bourgeois forms of property, but also the boundaries of national states. Liberalism and nationalism have become in like degree fetters upon world economy. The proletarian revolution is directed both against private property in the means of production and against the national splitting-up of world economy.... The creation of a national socialist society, if such a goal were in a general way attainable, would mean an extreme reduction of the economic power of men. But for that very reason it is unattainable. Internationalism is not an abstract principle but the expression of an economic fact. Just as liberalism was national, so socialism is international. Starting from the worldwide division of labor, the task of socialism is to carry the international exchange of goods and services to its highest development."

The dictatorship of the proletariat in Russia was for the Bolsheviks a bridge to revolution in the more economically developed West. Mounting the tribune in the triumphant Petrograd Soviet, Lenin proclaimed, "We must now set about building a proletarian socialist state in Russia. Long live the world socialist revolution." The Bolsheviks understood that a socialist transformation of society could not be resolved except through an international extension of the revolution. In his report to the Eighth Congress of the Bolshevik Party in 1919, Lenin declared:

> "We live not only in a state but in a system of states, and the existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for an extended period is unthinkable. In the end either one or the other will conquer."

The new Soviet Republic remained isolated. Revolutionary ferment in the West did not culminate in smashing the power of the capitalist class but was misled, squandered, or suppressed because of an absence of authoritative revolutionary leadership. A revolutionary upheaval in Germany in 1918-19 was suppressed by what Rosa Luxemburg called "the stinking corpse of Social Democracy" whose leaders bailed out capitalism and were responsible for the murder of the leaders of the revolutionary internationalist Spartakusbund, Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. Fourteen capitalist armies—including the United States—invaded Bolshevik Russia in an attempt to smash the workers state and reconquer that sixth of the globe for capitalist exploitation.

[TO BE CONTINUED]

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BERKELEY

Romanian Miners Revolt Against "Free Market" Starvation

Romanian coal miners shook the country to its roots at the end of September. Their massive protest strike against the government's pro-capitalist austerity measures grew into an explosion of working-class rage which brought down the cabinet of Prime Minister Petre Roman. The infuriated mine workers commandeered trains as thousands streamed into the capital of Bucharest, where they fought a running battle with security forces for two days, finally sacking the parliament building. President Ion Iliescu was able to derail the upsurge only by demagogically promising to satisfy all the miners' demands.

These events are significant for all of East Europe and the Soviet Union: this is the most explosive working-class struggle so far against pro-capitalist measures aimed at dismantling nationalized property and auctioning it off to Western capitalists. The "reformers" have to shove down the throats of working people the resulting impoverishment, unemployment and loss of social benefits. The Romanian miners' upsurge gives a taste of the sharp resistance—even in a relatively underdeveloped country—which the workers can be expected to put up. The very bourgeois Italian *Corriere della Sera* (27 September) expressed this from its class viewpoint:

> "But if Romania has been rejected by the 'dusty faces' [miners] in their Balkan dimension, it is difficult not to see in the events of Bucharest a sinister portent which extends to Bulgaria and Albania and reaching the republics of the ex-Soviet Union...."

After the fall of the despised Ceausescu regime in December 1989, Iliescu won the miners' support by providing heat and lights and increasing the food supply. Today Iliescu presides over power blackouts, freezing apartments and empty store shelves. The new private shops in downtown Bucharest feature luxury products like videos, but the average wage earner can no longer afford the basic staples. Life in the Jiu Valley coal fields, where 4,000 miners have been laid off since the latest round of austerity cuts, was described by one miner: "The conditions are terrible there.... We waited patiently for the government to offer us some hope but there was none" (*Independent* [London], 27 September).

In the past the coal miners have come to Bucharest—in February and June 1990—in response to appeals by the government to defend it. In June 1990 the Jiu Valley miners were instrumental in sweeping off the streets of Bucharest the ultrarightist youth who were rioting against the government and preparing the way for a reactionary coup. Iliescu's National Salvation Front, which stepped into power with the overthrow of Ceausescu, swept the May 1990 elections by demagogically promising a painless transition to a market economy in which workers' living standards would be preserved. But by the end of the year, Prime Minister Roman was calling for the kind of brutal "shock treatment" ordered by the IMF bankers cartel and applied in Poland. After a trip to Washington in April, Roman replaced half of his cabinet with rightist pro-capitalist elements.

Sighetu/Reuters

Defiant miners storm Bucharest parliament, bring down prime minister.

Already in the spring there was a railway strike, and in June rail workers joined with coal miners, teachers, public employees and locomotive builders in the Faur works in Bucharest, the country's largest factory. When miners returned to the capital last month it was to settle accounts with a regime which had betrayed its promises. The miners ousted the cabinet of technocrats, but they had no perspective on how to go forward. Now Roman has been replaced by the minister in charge of privatization! As the Stalinists demonstrate their bankruptcy by capitulating to imperialism, what's lacking is a real communist party fighting to preserve the nationalized property and other social gains while placing the proletariat at the helm through elected workers councils, recallable at any time.

The Crisis of Working-Class Leadership

Accounts in the Western bourgeois press have emphasized the fact that, as the miners battled the police and attacked government buildings, they were joined by many of the same reactionary youth they had driven from the streets in June 1990. Consequently, the miners' demands opposing the capitalist market reforms became mixed with cries of "Down with Communism!" However, the miners' slogans were directed against the drive to create a capitalist market economy. They called for a pay increase with price indexing, a price freeze, guarantees against mine closures, greater investment to retool the mines. The head of the national bank complained: "They were shouting anti-Communist slogans, but all their demands were Communist-style demands" (*New York Times*, 3 October).

Jiu Valley miners' leader Miron Cosma declared upon his arrival in Bucharest: "We do not want political changes, we do not want the president or the government to resign, we only want Roman down and a freeze on prices" (AP, 25 September). But the miners exploded with rage when government leaders refused to meet with them. Chanting "Iliescu and Roman, go and work in the mines!" some 5,000 miners broke through the protection grating surrounding the government palace and, armed with clubs, iron pipes and hatchets, tried to force their way into the heavily defended building. As riot police fired rubber bullets and tear gas from behind a six-foot concrete wall, the miners confiscated jerry cans of gasoline from passing cars and attacked the seat of the government with Molotov cocktails.

Le Monde (27 September) haughtily denounced the "customary barbarism" of the miners. However, the city's population, ground down by the same austerity policies, clearly took the side of the miners and brought them food and drink. The miners made a special point of venting their rage on the privately owned shops, a provocative symbol of the country's pro-capitalist reforms. By nightfall a panicked Roman told French TV that the miners were carrying out a "neo-Communist putsch." The Supreme Defense Council authorized sending the army into Bucharest. At dawn on the 26th the miners' banner in front of the parliament building read: "Comrades, We Have Woken Up—We Don't Want the National Salvation Front Anymore." Dozens of armored cars took up positions around the government palace. But when the new attack by the miners came, the troops fraternized with the strikers. Miners courageously leapt onto the armored cars in their path as many of the soldiers shouted encouragement.

While the miners from Jiu Valley battled police in the capital, the strike movement spread to the coal fields in northern Romania, where a quarter of a million miners laid down their tools. In the Black Sea port of Constantsa the dockers declared their readiness to go to Bucharest to help the miners, raising the possibility that the movement could burgeon into a general strike. By mid-afternoon President Iliescu, desperate to head off the movement, announced the resignation of Prime Minister Roman. Cosma appeared on the balcony of the government building to announce that Iliescu had accepted all the miners' demands, and called on them to "go home" or else "a lot of blood will flow" (*Le Monde*, 28 September). But now the miners wanted Iliescu's hide as well.

Using several garbage trucks, the miners rammed their way into the parliament building and futilely appealed to the assembly to depose the president. Frustrated, the miners finally left after a meeting with Iliescu, who pieced them off with empty promises to meet their demands. Most of the miners pulled out of Bucharest in trains with chalked slogans on the sides saying "Am Vincit" (We Have Won). Others marched to University Square and joined thousands of demonstrators in cheering right-wing oppositionists such as the monarchists Doina Cornea and fascistic former student leader Mariam Munteanu. The miners' leader Cosma was invited to the nearby congress of the Peasant Party, whose leaders support the exiled king.

In the aftermath of the miners' revolt, National Salvation Front leaders are looking for scapegoats. Elaborating Roman's claims of a "neo-Communist putsch," they are "pointing to the far left or to the neo-Communists of the Socialist Labor Party as the leaders of the miners" (*La Repubblica* [Rome], 29 September). The SLP is headed by Ilie Verdets, a former prime minister and Central Committee member of the Romanian CP under Ceausescu, whose regime drowned the 1977 Jiu Valley miners strike in blood, deporting thousands. (The right claims that many ex-members of the Securitate secret police have joined the new party.) In response to Roman's right-wing course, said Verdets, "we created the SLP as a counterweight on the left." He complains that "large-scale privatizations...will only sharpen contradictions because the people will bear the costs" (*People's Weekly World*, 13 July).

The imperialists and Romanian right-wingers denounce the present government as a slightly disguised Communist regime. And in fact the CP (albeit under a different name) is still running Romania, the security apparatus is still in place and the economic structure hasn't been touched. The support for a latter-day hardline Stalinist party like the SLP is indicative of the deep apprehension of the Romanian working people over the course taken by Iliescu & Co. which is bringing untold misery. But no brand of Stalinism, neo- or otherwise, can counter the capitalist-restorationist forces and open the road to genuine socialist development. This requires the internationalism of Lenin's Bolsheviks, which was continued under Trotsky's Left Opposition. One of the top leaders of the Left Opposition was Christian Rakovsky, the principal leader of the pre-WW I Romanian socialist movement and first presi-

Der Spiegel

President Ion Iliescu (right) and erstwhile prime minister Petre Roman. Stalinist "reformers" want workers to pay for pro-capitalist policies.

dent of the Soviet Ukraine, who later died in one of Stalin's prison camps.

Stalinist Betrayal and Proletarian Revolution

The pro-capitalist Stalinist bureaucrats still in office in Bucharest have turned the already weak Romanian economy into a disaster zone. Following the overthrow of Ceausescu, they actually had some hard currency reserves because of the dictator's insane obsession with squeezing enough wealth out of the flesh of the Romanian workers to fully pay off the imperialist banks. To consolidate their social base, the Stalinist hacks spent millions to buy consumer goods —everything from frozen chicken to U.S. television shows. By the fall of 1990, with the hard currency reserves exhausted, the IMF cracked the whip: no loans would be approved without a thoroughgoing capitalist "reform" and anti-working-class austerity program. As the Paris *Le Monde* (19 April) put it: "It became necessary, after the post-revolutionary and pre-electoral spending spree, to return to austerity and go over to the hard laws of the market economy to obtain credits from the West."

As elsewhere in East Europe, the idea was to close "unprofitable" heavy industrial plants and sell off the rest of state property while supposedly attracting capitalist investment from the Western imperialists. However, no one is interested in buying Romania's industry, and what little foreign investment there has been is in luxury shops and fast food stores. This is a program for the *destruction* of the industrial working class. As a striking worker at the Faur locomotive plant declared last summer, "We don't need boutiques and shops in this country, we need work."

Meanwhile the market reforms and the slide toward economic collapse are fueling an upsurge of xenophobia and anti-Semitism. A widespread press campaign of thinly veiled calls for pogroms against Jews is led by *Romania Mare* (Greater Romania), the country's largest weekly. Bloody pogroms against Roma (gypsy) communities have become a regular occurrence. The ultrarightist nationalists, many of whom came out of the Stalinist bureaucracy, find support in the governing National Salvation Front. Last April the Romanian parliament voted (unopposed) a minute of silence to mark the anniversary of the execution of wartime dictator Ion Antonescu, who presided over the extermination of some 300,000 Romanian Jews.

Dusan Vranic

June 1990—Romanian miners heeded government appeal, swept ultra-rightists from the streets of Bucharest. Now they want to sweep away government.

The powerful upsurge of the Romanian miners showed the way to throw back the program of capitalist restoration being introduced in East Europe and the Soviet Union. In the absence of a revolutionary alternative, as the workers reject the "ex"-Stalinist hacks like Iliescu who so obviously betray them, and while "neo"-Stalinists can only look to the past, they may, as in Poland, turn in desperation to reactionary nationalists whose demagogy camouflages their support for capitalism. The Romanian miners, with their courage and militancy, urgently require an internationalist party to lead them in a struggle that would extend throughout the Balkans, reaching across East Europe and to the decisive Soviet Union. The International Communist League is dedicated to building such parties in the struggle to reforge Trotsky's Fourth International. ■

Fourth Reich...

(continued from page 5)

from Turkey and Kurdistan stand in the forefront of the class struggle. They owe no allegiance to the SPD, which serves as a transmission belt for "German interests" into the working class. The SPD plays the workers off against each other—against immigrant workers, Roma and Cinti and other refugees. The workers need an internationalist revolutionary party, to unchain the power of the working class, fighting against racism, anti-Semitism and mass unemployment, and sweeping away Bonn's "foreigners law." Full citizenship rights for all immigrants!

Fascist Mob Riots in Hoyerswerda

Determined and powerful actions by the working class are necessary to stop the fascists. This can be seen especially from the example of Hoyerswerda. The skinheads started with stones and bottles; then came tear gas and Mauser pistols. The inhabitants of the hostels defended themselves with sticks and iron bars, but on the following day the attacks continued; by Thursday (September 19) the hard core of the fascists had grown from 50 to 400 and marched to the hostel where refugees from Angola, Yugoslavia and Romania lived. Surrounded by cheering onlookers and with police that regularly showed up too late, the Nazis spread their terror.

It is downright tragic that many refugees set their hopes on living in western Germany, where for years camps have been built for Roma and Cinti, where these people are hunted and terrorized by police and fascists.

The brutal attacks called into action decent citizens who want to put an end to the racist terror. Only 30 kilometers away from Hoyerswerda, in Cottbus leftist youth stopped the fascists when they attempted to attack a hostel for refugees. The International League for Human Rights, the Jewish Group, Autonomes, the SpAD and other groups came to Hoyerswerda. A part of the population of Hoyerswerda took the side of the leftists. But by themselves, powerless vigils in front of hostels for foreigners do little. A few hundred workers could easily put a stop to the threat. A trade unionist in Hoyerswerda remarked to the comrades of the SpAD: "Yes, a few miners from their workplace could easily stop this, and that is what I will be discussing with them tomorrow." A worker expressed his outrage over the Nazi attacks on his Mozambican coworkers: "For years they did the dirty jobs for us in the coal fields."

"Hoyerswerda can happen anywhere" threatened the minister of the interior of Sachsen, Krause. Indeed, Hoyerswerda marked a new stage—this was a pogrom that lasted for days. The bourgeois state was successful in implementing *its* "program for foreigners." In order to root out the strong anti-fascist tradition of the DDR, they all use the lie that "40 years of Communism" produced these Nazi beasts.

The DDR was a workers state, albeit bureaucratically deformed from the outset, which was founded by *victims* of Nazi terror. When in December 1989 the despicable Nazi desecration of the Soviet memorial in Treptow occurred, 250,000 came out to a powerful united-front demonstration proving that the anti-fascist tradition in East Germany was still alive. We Spartakists initiated this united front (which was then taken up by the SED-PDS) to revive the tradition in the Berlin factories and NVA (East German army) barracks, the internationalist tradition of Leon Trotsky and his fight in the early 1930s for a workers united front to smash the fascists. This tradition was first broken by the victory of the Nazis, made possible by the KPD [German CP] and SPD, who capitulated without a fight.

Stalinist nationalism based on the myth of "socialism in one country" was instrumental in demoralizing the East German working class and isolating it from its international class brothers. Immigrant workers from so-called fraternal "socialist" countries had to live in cramped hostels separated from the rest of the population, and they received less pay for the dirtiest jobs. After the Berlin Wall fell, the Spartakists distributed in our *Arbeiterpressekorrespondenz* internationalist greetings in Vietnamese, Portuguese, Spanish, Polish and Russian to these workers and to the Soviet soldiers and their families.

Obscenely, the Stalinists tolerated small skinhead gangs. But only now under capitalism, with its mass unemployment, despair and hopelessness, the fascists have a material basis to recruit. In the absence of a determined working class, it is possible for fascists to grow from beer hall thugs into a rabid mass movement.

Workers and immigrants must be mobilized for united-front actions, incorporating all opponents of racist terror, to stop the Nazis. For this it is necessary to forge a revolutionary party with a program to organize the power of the working class. Before us stands the task of bringing down the whole rotten capitalist system to sweep away fascism once and for all. ■

Times Lies...

(continued from page 5)

had a job in the collectivized economy of the DDR (East Germany). Women were disproportionately hit by the first wave of firings, and many more were forced out by "economy" measures to make firms "profitable" by closing child-care centers. And under German law, women with children are not eligible for unemployment benefits unless they can prove they have day care. Soon they may lose the right to abortion. Under the Fourth Reich women have been relegated to *Kinder, Kirche, Küche* (children, church, kitchen), just as they were in the Third.

But the bloody face of the Fourth Reich has been revealed most vividly in the escalating racist terror which has now reached the level of pogroms. More than 100,000 of those who "disappeared" from the East German labor force were foreign-born workers, most of whom have been deported. Those who remain, as well as tens of thousands seeking asylum, have been the targets of a wave of murderous Nazi/skinhead attacks, which reached a crescendo this last weekend as reactionaries "celebrated" the *Anschluss* (annexation) of East Germany into the Reich. In a subsequent article (1 October), Mr. Kinzer reported on the fascist-led lynch mob assault on apartment complexes for foreigners in the town of Hoyerswerda, and gave a chilling account of the mass racist sentiment he encountered there.

Interestingly, Hoyerswerda is barely a half-hour's drive from Cottbus, which Mr. Kinzer chose as his showcase of the new optimism in East Germany. In fact, some of the fascist lynchers came from there. Rather than belief in a bright future, the mass unemployment which has devastated this mining region has produced the desperation that the Nazi terrorists feed off.

In March 1990, the East German population was stampeded into voting for capitalist reunification with promises of a "quick D-mark" and instant prosperity. But instead of an economic miracle the result has been a disaster for the working people. The temporary construction boom over this last summer was financed by tens of billions of government-borrowed D-marks which are now running out. Industry in the East, on the other hand, is being systematically destroyed (production has fallen by *more than two-thirds*). Steel and chemical plants are being physically dismantled through the temporary "job creation" programs! This is the fabled "magic of the marketplace" in action.

An index of the purported "optimism" of the East German population are the reports that, in the aftermath of reunification, births are down by 40 percent, marriages down by 50 percent, and suicides have more than doubled.

Four decades of Stalinist bureaucratic rule prevented the population of the East German workers state from deciding on how their labor should be expended and how its fruits should be distributed. One year of capitalist rule has torn down much of what they built up with tremendous effort on the ruins of the Nazi regime destroyed by the Soviet Red Army. What restoration of capitalism would mean for the Soviet peoples—with fratricidal nationalist slaughter and mass hunger, and no equivalent flood of Western capital to tide over Yeltsin and Gorbachev—is far worse.

In light of the results of capitalist reunification for East Germany a year later, and the catastrophe that capitalist dissolution of the Soviet Union portends today, it is important to note that this is not just the "20-20 vision of hindsight." The Trotskyists of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) told the truth at the time, when the East German population was in the grip of "D-mark intoxication." In the March 1990 East German elections, the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) was the only party to say categorically "No to capitalist reunification!" The SpAD's Manifesto declared that capitalism would bring mass unemployment, women driven back to the home, draconian elimination of social services, a drastic cut in living standards, racist terror and anti-red witchhunts, and marauding fascist bands as the stormtroopers of the Fourth Reich. This has now come to pass.

The Trotskyists called for opening the road to genuine socialism through a planned and centralized economy ruled by the proletarian democracy of elected workers councils, for a red Germany as part of a Socialist United States of Europe. Today the German Spartakists fight for mass mobilization of the workers movement to smash fascist attacks on immigrant workers, for a class-struggle fight against mass layoffs and unemployment, for revolutionary unity of the German, Polish and Russian workers. Forging a world party of socialist revolution, a reborn Fourth International, is key to resisting triumphalist imperialism, which has shown its true face of barbarism from the U.S.' war of annihilation against Iraq to the pogroms of the Fourth Reich.

Sincerely,
Jan Norden
Editor, *Workers Vanguard*

Haiti Coup...

(continued from page 1)

days before, 10,000 packed the huge Cathedral of St. John the Divine in Harlem to hear Aristide. The day after the coup, several thousand outraged Haitian Americans demonstrated at the UN, on Eastern Parkway in Brooklyn, and in New Jersey. In the slums of Miami's "little Haiti," angry crowds burned stores owned by associates of Duvalier's hated Tontons Macoutes thugs and set a police car on fire. Father Aristide, a radical priest expelled from the Salesian order for preaching the "liberation theology" of the Ti Legliz (little church), is reverentially seen as a savior by the Haitian poor, sent to lead them out of the wilderness of brutal oppression.

At the October 1 demonstration at the UN, a Spartacist League representative spoke in French to over 2,000 protesters, warning, "Aristide, despite his intentions, reinforced illusions in the ability to supposedly 'democratize' the bourgeois army. It is impossible to 'democratize' the capitalist army. It is impossible to transform society through elections." The SL speaker was greeted with enthusiastic applause and cheers. Many solidarized with our signs reading "Ecrasez le Coup! Ouvriers au Pouvoir!" ("Crush the Coup! Workers to Power!"). In several days of demonstrations, almost 600 copies of Spartacist literature in English and French were sold, including *Workers Vanguard* with the headline "Defend Cuba!" and our *Black History and the Class Struggle* pamphlet "Toussaint L'Ouverture and the Haitian Revolution."

Many in the demonstrating crowds carried signs blaming Bush, American ambassador Adams and the CIA, feeling instinctively that the U.S. must be behind the whole thing. Graffiti in Miami demanded "CIA, Stop Killing Blacks!" Yet since the coup, Aristide has been appealing to the OAS and the UN Security Council to reinstate him, either through economic sanctions or military action. Pro-Aristide demonstrations in Washington called for the OAS to intervene. But any form of U.S. intervention, even with a UN or OAS cover, will be directed at holding down the Haitian masses and upholding the Duvalierists. Lenin called the predecessor to the United Nations "an imperialist den of thieves," and in the '60s Che Guevara dubbed the OAS "the Yankee Ministry of Colonies." This is no less true today.

The U.S. has traditionally used the Caribbean "backyard" for target practice. The rape of tiny black Grenada in 1983 and Bush's mass slaughter in Panama in 1989 set the stage for the annihilation of Iraq last year. When asked about the possibility of U.S. military intervention, Bush replied that he was "disinclined" to use U.S. troops, adding, "We've got a big history of American force in this hemisphere, and so we've got to be careful about that" (*Washington Post*, 3 October). The very next day, Bush dispatched 500 Marines "to protect U.S. citizens"! As for the OAS, that was the fig leaf under which the U.S.

Coutausse/Contact

Port-au-Prince, July 1991: President Aristide (left) with new army chief Raoul Cedras, who later led coup to overthrow him.

invaded Santo Domingo in 1965, siding with reactionary generals in suppressing insurgents fighting to restore the deposed elected president Juan Bosch.

As the Cuban and Haitian working people face the gaping jaws of the imperialist shark, it's necessary to unite in revolutionary struggle across the Windward Passage. *U.S. out of Guantánamo! No intervention by the U.S./OAS, patrons of Duvalier!*

From Allende to Aristide: Popular Front Spells Defeat

The history of imperialist rule over Haiti is long and bloody. In 1915, American Marines (all-white, mostly Southerners) invaded, on the usual pretext of "protecting U.S. citizens." Six months later the U.S. also invaded the Dominican Republic. The Yankee occupation lasted 19 years, during which racial color prejudice was reinforced through systematic favoritism toward the lighter-skinned mulatto population. The Guard, a combination of army and police, was formed and trained by the Marines to smash the peasant rebellions and guerrilla struggle of Charlemagne Péralte. Since that time, all top Haitian officers have received U.S. training, and the military has acted as strong-arm men for imperialism and the Haitian comprador bourgeoisie.

At his inauguration, Aristide announced "this day marks the marriage of the people and the army." But on July 2, Aristide, clearly worried about his "marriage," promoted Cedras to head of the army in order to protect against another coup attempt. (An earlier failed attempt by Tontons Macoutes leader Roger Lafontant in January sought to prevent Aristide from taking office.) One of the army's stated reasons for the coup was that Aristide was also "usurping" its authority by having his own presidential guard trained by the Swiss. The present coup by Aristide's appointee Cedras is an obvious parallel to the Pinochet coup against Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular government in Chile. After a trial coup attempt in June 1973, General Augusto Pinochet was brought in as a "constitutional" defense minister. But Allende was not as fortunate as Aristide: he never made it out of the Moneda Palace alive.

As we cautioned in our article "Haiti: Election Avalanche for Radical Priest" (*WV* No. 517, 4 January):

> "In this deeply polarized and hideously oppressed land, complicity in unspeakable crimes is pervasive at all levels of the ruling elite—and particularly the officer corps.... Aristide will either play the role of groveling instrument of the Haitian bourgeoisie and the U.S. imperialist overlords or he will be swept away in a reactionary crackdown aimed at decisively disciplining the pitilessly oppressed population."

In his election campaign, Aristide reassured the Haitian ruling class, "We give guarantees to the bourgeoisie.... We tell them: we are with you. You have nothing to fear" (*Haiti Progrès*, 28 November 1990). But despite Aristide's guarantees, Haiti's tiny and corrupt ruling class feared that Aristide's plebeian supporters would seek vengeance for decades of oppression. And now its guard dogs have acted on those fears. The "popular front"—the lie that the bourgeoisie will share power with the working class, the landless peasantry and the urban poor—is a suicidal route. In Chile, over 30,000 workers and peasants were murdered in Pinochet's bloodbath.

Aristide capitulated to the IMF's demands for starvation austerity and devaluation of the local currency. He spoke of his "close friendship" with the U.S. ambassador. But the Haitian rulers did not trust him, particularly after the president-priest made a speech to his supporters on September 29 in which he praised their use of "Pe LeBrun"—slang for the flaming-tire "necklace"—against the Duvalierists and the army. "If we get a sticky-fingered official," he said, "do not neglect to give him what he deserves." "Isn't that a beautiful tool?" he added, "It smells good and everywhere you go you want to breathe it." And every member of the Haitian bourgeoisie looking down on the teeming slums of the capital from the louvred windows of their villas in Pétionville thought, "The next Michelin's for me."

The day after the coup, hundreds of the poor massed in the town of St. Marc, carrying sticks and pikes, and crying, "If Aristide has problems, we will solve them with tires!" (*Haïti Progrès*, 2 October). But within the context of Haiti's subordination to U.S. imperialism, such acts of vengeance, however justified, cannot liberate the dispossessed masses. If U.S. intervention or an army crackdown cuts off a popular uprising, it is likely that the impoverished slums will explode in an orgy of "necklacing." In addition to the masses who have languished under the military boot, the horrendous poverty breeds lumpen criminal gangs of "san manmans" and "zenglendos" (the former Tontons Macoutes). As the army engages in indiscriminate massacres, a gigantic bloodbath could engulf this long-suffering land.

In the face of this desperate thirst for retribution, what's urgently necessary in Haiti is a revolutionary struggle for proletarian power. Instead of random revenge, organized people's tribunals must mete out implacable justice in drumhead trials and uproot the Duvalierists and Macoutes. Under revolutionary leadership, the tiny working class could place itself at the head of the peasant and urban poor—but to do so, the struggle must go beyond the bounds of Haiti. In a country afflicted with everything from AIDS to kwashiorkor (a product of severe malnutrition), rampant prostitution and selling human body parts, it is obscene to preach to the downtrodden that "the last shall be first." Part of the "liberation theology" ideology is "love thine enemy"—as Aristide says he "loves" Cedras! "The meek shall inherit the earth"? No—they'll be ground down into the earth unless they link their struggle to the fight for world socialist revolution.

The fate of the Haitian masses is intimately bound up with the class struggle throughout the Americas, just as the Haitian Revolution was directly linked to the Great French Revolution which proclaimed the "Rights of Man." The uprising of the slaves of Haiti sparked revolts in South America and in the United States, and inspired the workers and peasants of Cuba. Today, poverty has driven a large section of the working class off the island. But as the Spartacist representative stressed, speaking to demonstrators in front of the UN on October 1:

> "The Haitian proletariat is much more powerful than it may appear on this tiny island. Haitian workers are firmly implanted in the working class of the Caribbean and in North America. In Montreal, New York, Boston and Miami the Haitian workers can be a living bridge between a revolution in Haiti and in the imperialist center, the United States. What is necessary is a struggle on an international scale, a revolutionary internationalist party."

Today, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) is the party which is waging this fight. *A bas l'impérialisme! Ouvriers au pouvoir!* ■

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Victory to Boston School Bus Drivers Strike!

BOSTON—On September 24, more than 600 school bus drivers struck In-City Bus Company (ICBM), the firm that manages Boston's school busing program. ICBM is trying to impose a wage freeze and health care takebacks on the workers, members of USWA Local 8751.

The local Murdoch tabloid, the *Boston Herald*, screams that the drivers should get the PATCO treatment, while the liberal *Globe* haughtily denounces the union's "intolerable irresponsibility." And ICBM and the School Committee are trying to whip up a "back to work" scab movement inside the union, while threatening to make the drivers public employees and ban future strikes. These union-haters need to be taught a lesson.

But USWA Local 8751 Exec Board member Steve Gillis, writing in Sam Marcy's *Workers World* (19 September), appeals instead to Boston mayor Flynn, asking plaintively, "will the mayor act responsibly and demand that ICBM negotiate a just contract?" The labor officialdom wants Flynn to enforce a toothless ordinance against "replacement workers" and pleads with MBTA bosses to stop carrying students on the transit system. Instead of begging the Democratic Party politicians, the drivers need some *solidarity strike action now*, especially from Boston transit workers. That can shoot down ICBM!

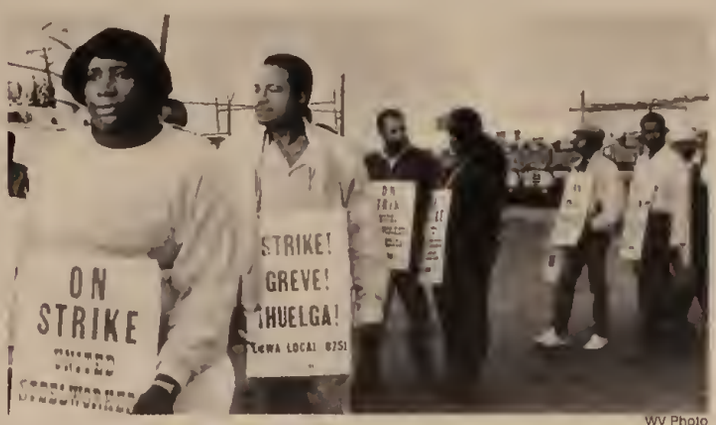
We reprint below portions of a leaflet issued by the Boston Spartacist League on September 24.

* * *

This is the third time in five years the largely black, Haitian and Hispanic union has been forced to strike against a city administration that has long since criminally undercut the busing program to the point where it can hardly be considered a force for school integration.

This year the School Committee has again consolidated schedules as a "controlled choice" program is expanded to allow for a return to the "neighborhood" (read segregated) school. And every candidate in the Boston mayoral race is fully committed to the resegregation of the school system—from the darling of the liberals Reverend Graylan Ellis-Hagler, who has publicly endorsed the "neighborhood school" concept, to Flynn, who got his start in local politics with the mobs stoning black children on buses in the '70s.

We've seen what happened to the Greyhound workers when the labor misleaders not only let the strikers hang by themselves, but sabotaged efforts to shut down the terminal. The union bureaucrats police the unions for their pals in the anti-labor, racist Democratic Party. And it's their same "friends of labor" in Congress who killed the rail strike. So-called "progressive" union officials like Steve Kirschhaum send the strike into a blind alley by telling workers to "pressure" Mayor Ray Flynn.



WV Photo

Boston school bus drivers picket Bayside Bus Terminal in first hours of strike.

This is a set-up to lose! Flynn made his mark organizing the anti-busing racist mobs against the black children of Boston. He has stood behind every union-busting demand of ICBM and the School Committee—that is what the bosses' Democratic Party politicians get paid for. The ties to the Democratic Party are a millstone around our neck. We need a workers party. Workers of this city, everywhere, need a class-struggle leadership willing to take on this racist capitalist system. To get what we need—quality, integrated education, housing and jobs for all—will take a socialist revolution.

Let's win this one! The city says they are going to issue thousands of passes to students to ride MBTA transit buses, while extra buses are being added to drivers' schedules. To hell with that! City transit workers must smash this scheme with some solidarity *action* to back up the Local 8751 strike. In 1982 a one-day strike by the Boston Carmen's Union had the Central Artery backed up for seven miles. A city-wide transit strike will give the drivers the muscle they need to win! Victory to the school bus drivers! ■

Gatesgate...

(continued from page 12)

out one Big Lie after another.

And Robert Gates fit the bill. In addition to outright lies (such as the much-publicized reports of Soviet MIG-25s sent to Nicaragua), in a December 1984 memo Gates "out-Caseyed Casey" with his calls to bomb Managua, denouncing the Reagan administration for "half measures, half-heartedly applied." And well after Gorbachev took over the helm in the Kremlin, Gates went around giving a speech titled "War by Another Name," insisting that nothing had changed in the Soviet Union.

When Gates gave the Senate committee his 20-point defense of denials and non-denial denials against allegations of cooking the CIA books, it was a virtual compendium of the last decade of anti-Soviet lies: the fabricated "Case for Soviet Involvement" and a far-fetched "Bulgarian connection" in the notorious 1981 "Pope plot"; the lie that Soviet forces in Afghanistan were using "lethal chemicals"; phony "information portraying increased contra successes between 1984 and 1986" to justify Reagan/Bush's war on Sandinista Nicaragua; claims of an "international terrorism" connection with narcotics traffickers to bolster the "war on drugs"; the USSR supposedly coordinating "international terrorism" through Syria, Libya and Iran; claims of Soviet gains in Iran in order to justify the Iran/contra arms deals, etc.

Tellingly, in the whole catalogue of CIA lies and disinformation that was raised in the Senate hearings, the most dangerous anti-Soviet Big Lie of Cold War II was not even mentioned: KAL 007. A mountain of evidence has accumulated that the 1983 overflight of the most sensitive Soviet military facilities by a civilian Korean airliner was part of a crazed war provocation engineered by the Oval Office. If not only Democrats but rad-libs and self-styled "leftists" swallowed the CIA's anti-Soviet lies, it was because they had *politically* enlisted in the anti-Soviet war drive.

We Trotskyists maintained our forthright defense of the gains of the October Revolution against the anti-Soviet war drive and were able to expose the CIA's lies for what they were. In response to the Korean Air Lines affair we declared, "Reagan's Story Stinks!" (see the Spartacist pamphlet, *KAL 007: U.S. War Provocation*). And when NBC's Marvin Kalb broadcast the outlandish claim of a KGB assassination plot against the Pope, we immediately nailed it as a "monstrous new Big Lie against the Soviet Union" ("NBC Peddles CIA Disinformation—Whose Kill Pope Plot?" *WV* No. 315, 15 October 1982).

Company Bank and October Surprise

Along with the Gates nomination came the BCCI scandal. The 29 July issue of *Time* magazine reported that, while stealing billions from its small-time, mostly Asian, depositors, BCCI financed a secret "black network" which worked with the CIA and "used sophisticated spy equipment and techniques, along with bribery, extortion, kidnapping and even, by some accounts, murder." The article warned that the bank's connections to various intelligence agencies "are so pervasive that even the White House has become entangled." But don't expect the Democrats to look too hard at this one either: a whole slew of former Carter administration officials were sucking off the BCCI tit.

Started in 1972 by Pakistani financier Agha Hassan Abedi, who promoted the 1977 coup which put CIA favorite General Zia in power, BCCI only became an international empire when the Carter administration started funneling arms and money through Pakistan to the anti-Soviet *mujahedin* in Afghanistan. Abedi subsequently "gave $8 million to a Carter charity, Global 2000, and traveled with the ex-president around the Third World" (*Newsweek*, 26 August). Long-time Democratic éminence grise Clark Clifford was a key American insider for BCCI, helping them secretly take over Washington's First American Bankshares. Other Democrats who reportedly gained by BCCI's largesse include Andrew Young and Bert Lance.

The Bank of Credit and Commerce International was a conduit for Contragate. At the same time, BCCI became the personal money manager for Manuel Noriega, who was recruited as a high-paid CIA asset while Bush was Company CEO in the mid-'70s. The same London bank branch which handled Noriega's account also disbursed payments to 500 British CIA agents. Records of Panama BCCI accounts "mysteriously disappeared" while being shipped to the U.S. under guard of Drug Enforcement Administration agents.

BCCI also handled the financial end of the Reaganites' October Surprise arms-for-election deal with Iran. Bits and pieces of information about this plot had been circulating for years, particularly in the social-democratic *In These Times*. We reported on the Reagan/Bush 1980 arms bribe to Teheran in our article, "Reagan/North's Plot for Military Coup" (*WV* No. 433, 24 July 1987). This last spring, the affair resurfaced with an op-ed piece in the *New York Times* by former Carter aide Gary Sick. This was spelled out in more detail in the PBS *Frontline* (16 April) program, which reported that two Iranian arms dealers, the Hashemi brothers, arranged several meetings in Madrid in July and August 1980 between Reagan campaign manager Bill Casey and a leading ayatollah.

A *Nightline/Financial Times* investigation aired on ABC (20 June) found that the elusive Casey was indeed mysteriously absent from the U.S. when the Madrid meetings took place, and hotel records confirm that the Hashemi brothers were there. Cyrus Hashemi died in 1986 "under mysterious circumstances," but his brother is still alive, and talking. He told *Nightline* that during late 1980, a Greek freighter purchased by Cyrus Hashemi made four round trips carrying arms shipments between Israel and Iran. Former Israeli intelligence operative Ari Ben-Menashe adds that the Israelis were out to get Carter, partly because he had called a halt to Israeli arms shipments to Iran during the "hostage crisis." And in the end, the hostages were released by the Khomeini regime minutes after Reagan was sworn in on 20 January 1981.

The web of this multifaceted intrigue reaches so far that *Newsweek* (23 September) published an elaborate diagram of "The Unified Scandal Theory," not only linking Watergate, Contragate, BCCI and the S&L scandal to the CIA, but throwing in everyone from Billy Carter and Imelda Marcos to Jessica Hahn and Jim Bakker's PTL. The aim is to make a joke of the far-reaching tentacles of the CIA. But this is no joke, and the dead bodies littering the Contragate trail testify to that. The latest is Danny Casolaro, an investigative reporter who was tracking down connections between the various conspiracies and was found dead in August in a hotel bathtub in West Virginia with a dozen slashes across his arms.

But the spineless Democrats dutifully stayed away from any questions relating to the "October Surprise" during the hearings, setting up a separate "inquiry" to be held only after Gates is in. As New York *Daily News* columnist Lars-Erik Nelson wrote, far from seeing nothing in the charges against Bush, the Congressional Democrats fear "that they will find evidence of a vast treasonable conspiracy that entangles Bush, casts doubt on the legitimacy of the 1980 Reagan victory, implicates Israel in the subversion of a U.S. election.... And then what would they do about it?" Gates may be expendable, but the president is not. No less than the Republicans, the Democrats are intent on protecting the institution of the imperial presidency, even if they don't have a chance in hell of getting it for themselves and even if it meant having an election stolen from them.

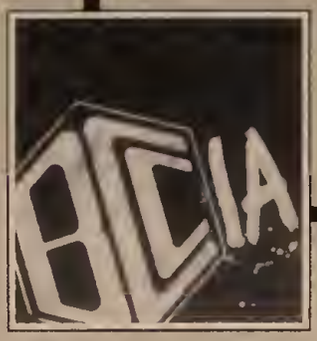
Liberals and social democrats like *In These Times* want to "clean up" the bourgeois state and its various agencies of espionage and terror. We Marxists understand that these outfits' sole reason for existence is to defend the interests of the most rapacious imperialist power on earth. Behind all the "think tank" analysts is U.S. imperialism's murder machine. As we wrote in "Godfather of CIA's Murder, Inc.—The Bush File" (*WV* No. 468, 6 January 1989) shortly before Bush's inauguration:

> "The Democrats didn't nail Reagan and Bush on the Iran/contra affair because these covert operations are the stock in trade of the declining American empire in its desperate worldwide crusade for counterrevolution. The network Bush brought into play are the hit men for imperialism in its death agony, and it will take world socialist revolution to put this Company out of business for good." ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

"October Surprise"—BCCI-CIA—Gatesgate

Amnesia on the Potomac



Credits clockwise from top left: McNamee/Newsweek (2), Der Spiegel (2), Economist

Bush at the center of circle of CIA murder and mayhem. Clockwise from top left: Contra colonel Oliver North, CIA nominee Robert Gates, Reagan with former spymaster William Casey, "Company" bank BCCI.

As Senate confirmation hearings on a new CIA chief drew to a close, Ohio Democrat Howard Metzenbaum chided Bush nominee Robert Gates over "the 33 non-recollects that you gave this committee, and the 40 don't-knows." Not that the gentlemen of the Senate Intelligence Committee tried all that hard to tickle Gates' "selective amnesia." California Democrat Alan Cranston (of the "Keating Five" savings and loan scandal) sympathized, "Nobody can remember every detail of things that happened five years ago." And Democratic committee chairman David Boren (who figures he will own Gates if the nomination goes through) wound up the hearings with a glowing accolade to Bush's appointee.

Down the corridor, the Senate Judiciary Committee was holding hearings on the administration's choice for the Supreme Court, Clarence Thomas, who stonewalled over every question about his opposition to affirmative action for minorities and women's right to abortion. The blasé acceptance of this epidemic of temporary amnesia is business as usual in a capital inured to "plausible deniability" and government by lies and cover-up long before Watergate. But when hands-on managers like Bush and Gates try to act like Reagan, who could plausibly deny remembering anything that wasn't on his cue cards, the charade becomes even more ludicrous.

In reality, this flouting of any pretense of constitutional, much less democratic, principles is a prop to maintaining the imperial presidency of this most rapacious imperialism. Senatorial "advice and consent" to the executive branch, supposedly a cornerstone of the "separation of powers" in American bourgeois democracy, today means "consenting" to presidential diktat. Congressional "oversight" means overlooking CIA skullduggery and Pentagon mass murder. Now even the piddling charges on which contra colonel Oliver North was finally convicted have been thrown out, and Bush crows, "the system of justice is working." In all this, the Democratic and Republican parties and the judicial machinery of the capitalist state are obeying a higher class loyalty, to a corrupt and declining "New World Order."

From Contragate to "Gatesgate"

When Robert Gates was first nominated to replace Bill Casey as CIA head in 1987, the stench of the Iran/contra scandal was still too thick in the air. Even then, with memories less than a year old, the Democrats tiptoed around anything that really would have put Gates or his bosses on the spot. Casey, who alone supposedly knew all, conveniently croaked, saving everybody a lot of embarrassment. But now CIA Central America desk officer Alan Fiers has squealed that he was ordered to lie to Congress to cover up the CIA's role in Contragate. Gates' deputy Clair George has been indicted on perjury and obstruction. A former investigator commented sarcastically: "Gates's immediate subordinate knew and his immediate superior knew. Desk chiefs knew, their assistants, secretaries, clerks, and stenographers knew. Everybody, it seems, except Robert Gates" (*Village Voice*, 23 July).

Everybody knows that Gates knew; he "was fully in the loop," says former Saigon station chief Thomas Polgar. On top of that, Gates is also deeply implicated in recent media exposés of the "October Surprise," the 1980 Reagan/Bush campaign's reported deal with Teheran to delay release of 52 American hostages and spike any chance of Carter's re-election. And now the spectacular collapse of the Bank of Credit and Commerce International has generated revelations about a far-flung international operation of arms and drug deals with the CIA at its center. BCCI's footprints were all over the October Surprise and Iran/contra arms deals. As the New York Telephone ad jingle goes, they're "all connected." And if George Bush was "out of the loop," as he claims, it was only because he was at the center of the circle.

Workers Vanguard told the truth: "Pope plot" was anti-Soviet Big Lie.

Cold War Big Lie

The "Pope Plot" Against Andropov

WORKERS VANGUARD
11 February 1983

And here we get to Robert Gates. Gates joined the CIA in 1966, but his career really started moving when he was drafted onto Ford's National Security Council in 1974 and became part of then CIA chief Bush's circle, which included then NSC chief of staff Dick Cheney, national security adviser Brent Scowcroft and Seoul CIA station chief Donald Gregg. Gates and Gregg stayed on under Jimmy Carter, and are widely considered to be the moles in Carter's White House who leaked information about the Democratic administration's Iranian hostage initiatives to the Republican campaign committee headed by Casey. As soon as Casey took over the CIA, he made Gates his executive secretary. A year later, Gates was catapulted over far more senior figures into the position of DDI (Deputy Director of Intelligence).

With the Democrats refusing to touch either the Octoher Surprise or Contragate, the Gates hearings would probably have been a complete snore but for a palace revolt by CIA professionals chafing at the Casey/Gates regime's crude falsifications and heavy-handed treatment. *Newsweek* (30 September) reported that "more than two dozen CIA officials" privately lobbied the Senate committee against Gates. *Newsday* (3 Octoher) noted that during the hearings, "current and former spies in the audience openly buttonholed undecided senators to lobby against the nomination." Many were analysts from the CIA's Soviet affairs division who had been bludgeoned hy Gates as he spearheaded a drive to clean out the more liberal Cold Warriors in the agency. With Reagan & Co. painting the Soviet "evil empire" as the font of all "international terrorism," the job of the CIA was to simply churn

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 537

25 October 1991

Clarence Thomas: Anti-Abortion Hanging Judge Confirmed

Sex, Race and Reaction

On October 15, black reactionary Clarence Thomas was narrowly approved for a seat on the Supreme Court. Thomas replaces Thurgood Marshall, one of the leading lawyers of the civil rights movement, a prominent liberal and the first black on the high court. The drive of the Reagan/Bush administrations to pack the court with conservatives has already gutted prisoners' rights and opened wide the floodgates to the racist death penalty. The 1980 Republican convention vowed to eliminate women's right to abortion by appointing "right to life" judges. Now, with the "god squads" on the streets besieging clinics and Thomas on the Supreme Court, after years of whittling away at the 1973 *Roe v. Wade* decision legalizing abortion they're gearing up to throw it out. But the issue won't be settled by the judges in their black robes.

The 52-to-48 Senate vote was preceded by a sordid "hearings" circus, marked by cynical use of the race card by an administration which got elected using the vicious "Willie Horton" racist fear-mongering campaign, and now obscenely poses as champion of the black man. The bizarre week in Washington was a televised orgy of prudery and prurience in the service of racism and sexism. It was a peculiarly American saga, focusing a harsh glare upon the workings of bourgeois politics in its palpable decay. It was a "Capitol mud bath," as one reporter described it. European observers shook their heads in disbelief at the tawdry spectacle of politics as soap opera. Millions of Americans were disgusted, while the hearings' TV ratings swamped the baseball playoffs.

Berry/Boston Globe

Starr/Picture Group

Bush pushes through nomination of black reactionary Clarence Thomas, who is "personally" not "bothered" by the racist death penalty.

What we found most disgusting was how the real crimes of Clarence Thomas—a certified enemy of black rights and women's rights, a Reaganite right-winger who had chopped away at and subverted even the most minimal equal rights laws, a black front man for white supremacy whose associates, as we noted in our last issue, are tied to the bantustan governments of apartheid South Africa, a hanging judge who is "personally" not "bothered" by the racist death penalty—were covered up.

Although pitched over the question of "sexual harassment," in fact the fight on Thomas' nomination was over abortion rights. Those for abortion were against Clarence Thomas, those against it were for him on the Supreme Court. While the feminists looked forlornly to the Democrats, on issues from busing to

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Ominous Racist Vote for KKK Duke

Volker Hinz

WV Photo

Duke in Klan robe, 1979. Partisan Defense Committee and Spartacist League sparked mobilization against Duke appearance in Boston last March.

Louisiana Elections

In the October 19 gubernatorial primary in Louisiana, the KKK/Nazi fascist David Duke came in a close second, capturing 32 percent of the vote and securing a place in the November 16 runoff election. There Republican Duke will face Democratic former governor Edwin Edwards. The incumbent governor, Buddy Roemer, a former Democrat who switched earlier this year to the Republicans and was backed by the White House, came in third in the open (non-party) primary. While George Bush will try to distance himself from Duke, there is a "gentlemen's agreement" among the candidates of the capitalist parties to play down the sinister politics of this pin-stripe fascist with a yuppie facelift. And no wonder, Duke's drawing card is that he says "out loud" what the "mainstream" racist politicians say in the back rooms.

Make no mistake about it, this KKKer in a suit is a deadly threat to blacks, labor and all those the fascists target

The bourgeois media are playing this as quirky Louisiana politics. But Hitler got his start in the reactionary backwater of Bavaria.

The vote for Duke is a reflection of the right-wing climate that has been fostered by both the Republicans and Democrats. The "former" Ku Klux Klan "grand wizard" wants to project himself and his brand of fascist electoral politics nationally, claiming to be "the first Republican candidate that actually bridges the gap between fiscal conservatives and labor." In fact, much of Duke's support comes from the middle-class white suburbs of largely black New Orleans, and from rural backwaters in the Bible Belt north of Baton Rouge.

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Stop Frame-Up of South African Union Leaders!

Jay Naidoo

Afrapix

Moses Mayekiso

Work in Progress

Sydney Mufamadi

Work in Progress

On October 15, a Johannesburg court convicted Jay Naidoo, general secretary of the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU); Sydney Mufamadi, the federation's assistant general secretary; and Moses Mayekiso, general secretary of the metal workers union and a leader of the South African Communist Party (SACP), on frame-up charges of kidnapping and assaulting an undercover cop. Sentences have not been announced but could range from probation to life imprisonment.

The outrageous charges arose when COSATU officials discovered a black plainclothes policeman lurking outside the union federation's Johannesburg offices on 28 August 1990. Fearing the police were about to launch an action against the federation, unionists detained the cop, Monge Maleka, and immediately called a news conference. Maleka admitted to the reporters that the police had sent him to the COSATU building to spy on Geraldine Fraser, a member of the African National Congress and SACP, who had an office in the same building. Five hours after he was discovered Maleka was released. At the end of the press conference, police stormed the building and arrested the three union officials.

South Africa's white-supremacist regime is seeking to shackle the powerful black unions—the Achilles' heel of apartheid capitalism. This isn't the first frame-up for Mayekiso, who spent two and a half years in prison on bogus sedition and subversion charges for his leadership role in the 1986 Alexandra township revolt. An international campaign won his freedom in April 1989. Now workers around the world must again rally to defend Mayekiso, Naidoo and Mufamadi and all victims of apartheid repression. We print below a protest sent on October 20 by the Partisan Defense Committee:

Ambassador
South African Embassy
Washington, D.C.

The arrest and conviction of trade-union officials Jay Naidoo, Moses Mayekiso and Sydney Mufamadi is an outrage. The Partisan Defense Committee demands that all charges be dropped.

Photographs of President De Klerk shaking hands with Nelson Mandela fool no one. The real face of racist apartheid is revealed in the growing mountains of corpses in the townships—victims of Inkatha terror spurred on by police provocateurs—and in the cop murder of ANC youth leader Gaborone Xinhua last Sunday.

The South African government is as dedicated as ever to preserving white supremacist rule, founded on the slave labor of black workers and enforced by police-state terror. On the outlandish charge of "kidnapping" an undercover cop who was suspiciously lurking outside their offices—i.e., for holding and questioning him before a press conference—Naidoo, Mayekiso and Mufamadi are threatened with life imprisonment! You seek to intimidate the powerful black labor movement into submission. You will not succeed.

We join with workers around the world to protest this latest outrageous attack on the South African workers. We demand that all charges be immediately dropped.

Very truly yours,
Paul Cooperstein, for the
Partisan Defense Committee

Stalinism vs. Leninism

TROTSKY

LENIN

In pushing the lie that communism is dead, the imperialists and their apologists falsely identify Stalinism with authentic Leninism, the program on which the workers of Russia seized power in the October Revolution of 1917. In fact, it was the Left Opposition of Leon Trotsky which carried forward the banner of Leninism, fighting tooth and nail against the Stalinist usurpers. To consolidate the rule of the bureaucratic caste which politically expropriated the Soviet proletariat in 1924, Stalin not only unleashed brutal repression against the Trotskyist Opposition, he went on to exterminate virtually every surviving participant in the Bolshevik leadership of 1917, finally assassinating Trotsky himself in 1940. Speaking at the time of the bloody Moscow purge trials of the late 1930s, Trotsky underscored the visceral hostility of the Stalinist bureaucracy to the ideals of October.

The October Revolution proceeded under the banner of equality. The bureaucracy is the embodiment of monstrous inequality. The revolution destroyed the nobility. The bureaucracy creates a new gentry. The revolution destroyed titles and decorations. The new aristocracy produces marshals and generals. The new aristocracy absorbs an enormous part of the national income. Its position before the people is deceitful and false. Its leaders are forced to hide the reality, to deceive the masses, to cloak themselves, calling black white. The whole policy of the new aristocracy is a frame-up. The new constitution is nothing but a frame-up....

When the Stalinists call us "traitors," there is in that accusation not only hatred but also a certain sort of sincerity. They think that we betray the interests of the holy caste of generals and marshals, the only ones capable of "constructing socialism," but who in fact compromise the very idea of socialism. For our part, we consider the Stalinists as traitors to the interests of the Soviet masses and of the world proletariat. It is absurd to explain such a furious struggle by personal motives. It is a question not only of different programs, but also of different social interests, which clash in an increasingly hostile fashion....

The fundamental acquisitions of the October Revolution, the new forms of property which permit the development of the productive forces, are not yet destroyed, but they have already come into irreconcilable conflict with the political despotism. Socialism is impossible without the independent activity of the masses and the flourishing of the human personality. Stalinism tramples on both. An open revolutionary conflict between the people and the new despotism is inevitable. Stalin's regime is doomed. Will the capitalist counterrevolution or workers' democracy replace it? History has not yet decided this question. The decision depends also upon the activity of the world proletariat.

—Leon Trotsky, "I Stake My Life!" (February 1937)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-710) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions $7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 537 **25 October 1991**

Flogged for Not Wearing the Veil, Now Denied Asylum

Stop Canada Deportation of Iranian Woman!

TORONTO—The racist Canadian government is about to deport a 40-year-old Iranian woman who fled her country after being savagely flogged by Islamic fundamentalist thugs. In June 1988, "morality police" of the Iranian "Revolutionary Guards" raided a birthday party at a private home. They dragged off "Mrs. A.," tied her hands to a table and viciously whipped her 35 times across her back and buttocks with a thick wire cable. Her "crime"? Not wearing a veil. But the Canadian government says this woman cannot have asylum.

In May 1990, a Toronto refugee tribunal declared that Iran's barbarous "dress code" does not "violate internationally accepted standards" and that Mrs. A.'s brutal whipping was "not exceedingly harsh." Her desperate appeal for asylum was flatly turned down because Iran's laws "did not deprive the claimant of an essential and inalienable human right." As the *Toronto Star* (11 October) reported:

> "The woman also lost her job, but the treatment doesn't amount to persecution because authorities were simply enforcing Islamic law, board members Anthony Sarzoni and Stephen Ng ruled.
>
> "'The fact that she could not choose the style of her dress and her amusements certainly imposed limitations, though not serious enough to find that they violate internationally accepted standards,' the board said."

Mrs. A. has been arrested in Toronto and faces imminent deportation. Her husband, a political opponent of the Iranian theocracy, and their children have gone into hiding. Like the Islamic fundamentalists who have stalked noted author Salman Rushdie, Canada's cops are hunting for them. The Trotskyist League of Canada demands immediate and unconditional asylum for Mrs. A. and her family!

This is only the latest racist and anti-immigrant atrocity perpetrated by Canada's rich white rulers. During World War II, declaring "none is too many," the government closed the borders to Jews fleeing Hitler's Holocaust and interned thousands of Japanese Canadians in concentration camps.

Five years ago all the federal parties, including the social democrats of the NDP, whipped up an anti-immigrant hysteria over the arrival of Sri Lankan Tamils and Indian Sikhs fleeing murderous terror in their homelands. Today the government plans the deportations of thousands, including Iranians, Caribbeans, Africans, Central and South Americans.

And instead of their previous policy of *drugging* those who are being deported, the government has decreed a new "humane" policy of shackling and gagging them! Only days ago, a cabinet aide called the only black member of parliament "Sambo," and another government MP labeled a female member a "slut."

In the framework of the "New World Order," especially since the imperialist war against Iraq, these racist, sexist bigots have no difficulty enforcing the reactionary anti-woman "laws" of the Islamic theocracy. The Trotskyist League says: *Stop the deportations! Full citizenship rights for foreign-born workers and their families!* ■

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

Bosses, Finks and Cops Witchhunt UAW Workers

OAKLAND, California—On September 27 narcotics cops and FBI agents swooped down on second shift workers at the New United Motor Manufacturing (NUMMI) plant in Fremont and arrested five workers on charges of sale and possession of illegal drugs. Two more were arrested three days later. The company openly engineered the dragnet—one "team leader" announced that 88 people in all would be busted. A local Fremont, California newspaper, the *Argus*, reveals the "six-month" company/police investigation included the hiring of a link from "Business Risks International" who posed as a worker, spying on union members in the plant *and on union property across the street.*

On the night of the bust, narcotics squad cops paraded throughout the plant wearing "Police Department Narcotics" T-shirts and brandishing pistols. They opened lockers, infuriating workers. One of those arrested in the parking lot was reportedly surrounded by cops, who impounded his car. They later had to let him go because they didn't have any evidence. Another worker said that one of those caught in a sting operation was taken to Labor Relations, where the *union committeeman was complicit* in getting him to sign a "voluntary" quit form.

UAW Local 2244 members must demand that charges be dropped against those arrested in this cop/fink witchhunt, and that NUMMI rescind all the suspensions and firings! A good protest walkout would give the company the message loud and clear.

The capitalists' "war on drugs" has nothing to do with safety and everything to do with policing and intimidating the workforce—blacks and Hispanics most of all. It gives the bourgeoisie someone to hang for *their* deadly factories, trains and planes. This witchhunt is the escalation of the intimidation posed by "random" drug testing to a new level—and you can bet the UAW International was in on it. It is the "war on drugs" as out-and-out union-busting—and it threatens workers in auto and everywhere.

When the NUMMI plant reopened in 1984 on the grave of the former GM plant, it was touted as a "showcase" of the "team concept" of production, a joint venture between GM and Toyota in which there would be a new level of "cooperation" (read class collaboration) between the UAW and management. Really this was just old-fashioned speedup with a new cover, as we warned at the time:

> "The present union leadership of the 'reconstituted' Local 2244 at GM/Toyota was hired *before* the plant opened so they could screen new applicants and weed out former union militants, leftists and workers with medical problems. For production workers it's work like hell.... It was the givebacks extracted by Chrysler and the UAW tops in 1979 which began a wholesale assault on industrial unionism in this country.... The UAW tops, led by Fraser, became outright *cops* for the capitalists."
> —*WV* No. 459, 12 August 1988

Since the UAW here has a history of *screening applicants for the company*, they were "in the dark" about the fink as much as Reagan was on Iran/contra. But trying to get the UAW bureaucrats to say something on the witchhunt is like trying to get Clarence Thomas' "views" on abortion. When George Nano, chairman of the local bargaining committee, finally spoke to *WV*, he claimed to have no prior knowledge of the cop finks in the plant. As for those arrested in the witchhunt, Nano said, "Our position is that they're entitled to due process" and "we've filed grievances." Thanks a lot—they'll end up like every other grievance on safety, line speed and harassment—in the trash.

The bulk of the Local 2244 leadership, including president Charlie Curry, come from the "People's Caucus," linked to New Directions, the housebroken national UAW "opposition" which postures as an alternative to the gang in Solidarity House. But from anti-Mexican and anti-Japanese protectionism to the "war on drugs," the New Directions operation is the twin of the pro-capitalist misleadership which has decimated the UAW for the auto bosses. What NUMMI workers need is a leadership dedicated to class struggle instead of bedding down with the bosses, a leadership that will tell NUMMI and their "union" stooges: cops/finks out!

Thousands of Steelworkers rally for Ravenswood strikers in Charleston, West Virginia last December.

Ravenswood Aluminum: Too Hot to Handle!

The strikers call it "Fort RAC." The West Virginia plant on the Ohio River north of Charleston, with a boarded-up administration building, surrounded by eight-foot-high fences topped with barbed wire and lit up by high-powered floodlights, is the site of an almost yearlong strike by 1,800 members of United Steelworkers Local 5668 against the Ravenswood Aluminum Corporation. The company was acquired in 1989 in a highly leveraged buyout (that is, they financed the purchase by loading up on debt) from Kaiser Aluminum. The new owners include one Marc Rich, a billionaire metals merchant and arms dealer.

When the union contract expired last November 1, the Steelworkers refused RAC's "final offer" which would have wiped out COLA and a bonus system that accounted for 10 percent of take-home pay. The company responded with a mass firing, and brought in scabs, housing them in trailers on the plant grounds.

The menacing goon squad at Fort RAC is from Vance Security—the same outfit used against the Pittston and A.T. Massey miners, which is staffed by mercenaries from the U.S. dirty contra war against the Nicaraguan workers and peasants. Of course the company, courts and cops enforce limitations on picketing, as the USWA tops wait in vain for the government's labor board to rule on "unfair labor practice" charges.

Over the last year there have been numerous solidarity rallies, where miners, auto workers and other steel workers have turned out, only to hear useless speechifying from the union bureaucrats and their friends in the Democratic Party. Instead of militant solidarity *action* by transport workers and unionists in the plants where Ravenswood aluminum is used, refusing to handle the scab aluminum, the USWA and the AFL-CIO bureaucrats beg Congress for legislation against "replacement workers" and crawl around the country with their "corporate campaign." This is the same losing strategy which sent the Hormel and Greyhound strikes down in flaming defeat.

Instead of leafletting NFL games begging fans not to buy beers in Ravenswood aluminum cans, it's time to give Rich and his thugs a taste of labor's power. Anheuser-Busch breweries from Newark to St. Louis are run by Teamsters—well, those cans are *too hot to handle!* When RAC's aluminum shows up in auto plants anywhere, it should be turned into scrap! But that means refusing to play by the bosses' rules; breaking with the Democrats, and fighting to win by using the class-struggle tactics that built the unions in the first place!

This summer, USWA International reps and local leaders of the RAC strike traveled to Zug, Switzerland to track down Rich for negotiations. Rich is on the lam with a $750,000 reward on his head, wanted by the Justice Department on over 60 counts of tax fraud. (Despite this, Rich's Clarendon Ltd. metals company was given contracts worth millions of dollars to supply nickel and copper to the U.S. Mint.)

There is a bizarre irony here: we wonder if the USWA delegation in Zug met with the canton's minister of justice and police, who happens to be a member of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat. This outfit is represented in the U.S. by Socialist Action, habitual water boys for the union bureaucracy. Apparently their "comrade cop" hasn't seen fit to deport Mr. Rich. ■

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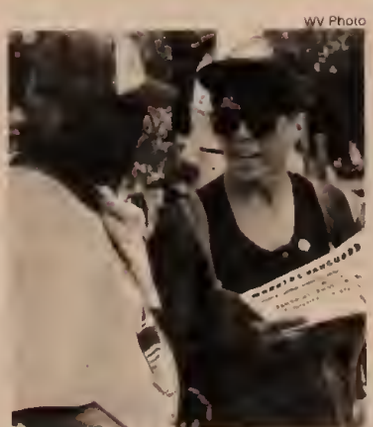

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Thomas...

(continued from page 1)

abortion to strikebreaking this capitalist party demonstrated again that it shares the basic program of racist, sexist, anti-working-class reaction with its Republican counterpart.

We're now in the third term of Reaganism, yet a solid majority of the population still strongly supports abortion rights. When there's an election centered on the issue of abortion, the "pro-choice" candidate usually wins—as the Republicans are finding out to their chagrin.

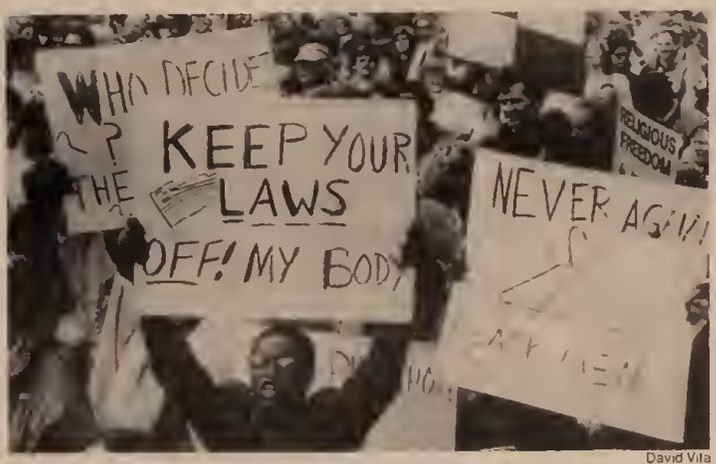
What's needed are mass mobilizations of labor, women and minorities to put a stop to the anti-abortion crusade in the streets. A workers party must be forged which will champion the cause of all the oppressed and lead a fight for "Free abortion on demand! Free quality health care for all!"

Lopez/NY Times Photos

Anita Hill is savaged by Republican hatchet man Orrin Hatch for accusing Thomas of sexual harassment.

Hearings Circus

Following Thomas' nomination, there was an initial set of hearings in September in which the White House correctly calculated the Democrats wouldn't dare give a hard time to a black candidate, no matter how conservative. Despite a paper trail documenting his view that abortion was against "natural law," Thomas brazenly stonewalled, claiming he couldn't remember anything, his previous written statements and speeches were irrelevant. And the Democrats just ate it.



David Vita

New York rally in 1989 opposes Supreme Court's onslaught against abortion rights.

They knew Clarence Thomas was an enemy of black rights. They knew his track record as head of civil rights at the Department of Education and then as chairman of the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), where his job for the Republican administration was to systematically dismantle the legal and administrative framework for any recourse against racist discrimination in the schools and on the job. The Democrats never asked about this. They hardly touched the death penalty.

But as the Senate was about to rubber-stamp him, with most of the Democrats voting "no" for form's sake, the whole process exploded over charges of sexual harassment. From the outset, it must be said that we don't know what went on between Clarence Thomas and his then-assistant, Anita Hill, now a university professor of law. Sexual harassment cases are often enormously ambiguous precisely because there are seldom witnesses, and in cases like Hill described, interpretation can depend a lot on the situation and the individuals involved.

And in any case, this was hardly the crucial issue. The most telling display of Congressional impotence is that Thomas' transparent amnesia and ultra-rightist positions didn't cause a ripple. Moreover, they had earlier circular-filed Hill's charges. And when they took up the issue, after a leak produced an outcry from the bourgeois feminists and other professional women, it soon became a mutual mudslinging contest in which the Democrats are manifestly not the equals of their Republican colleagues in slime.

After Anita Hill's detailed and graphic testimony, the Senators all duly professed shock. But Thomas, instead of his usual "can't remember," simply announced he would not answer any questions about his personal life. And when he denounced the hearing as a "high-tech lynching for uppity blacks," that was it. The Democrats clammed up. After a White House strategy session, the Republicans launched a character assassination campaign to destroy Hill's credibility. She was articulate and exuded credibility, so they sought to discredit her in the method of rape trials, explaining her cool delivery as "arrogance," questioning her mental stability, suggesting it was "a fantasy," she was a "vengeful woman" who had been "spurned," etc.

Smear jobs, sexist and racist stereotypes, revolting hypocrisy—it turned people's stomachs, even as their eyes were riveted to the spectacle on their TV screens. The spectacle of the Democrats on the Judiciary Committee sitting in judgment on somebody's moral character: when Teddy Kennedy called the Republicans' tactics "shameful," Orrin Hatch shot back, "If you believe that, I know a bridge in Massachusetts I can sell you," a reference to Chappaquiddick, where Kennedy walked away from a car accident leaving his staff aide Mary Jo Kopechne drowned. On the Republican side, Orrin Hatch, the witch-hunter from Utah, waving *The Exorcist*. And arch-segregationist Strom Thurmond, posing as a defender of blacks. Columnist Robert Reno recoiled at the sight of:

> "Strom Thurmond—who once received 39 electoral votes running for president on a platform that people the color of Clarence Thomas should not be allowed to sit in a white toilet or at the front of a bus—gallantly defending Thomas' right to sit in splendor in that great marble chamber where only one black man has sat before."
>
> —*Newsday*, 16 October

The Senate is "the last plantation." This notorious millionaires' club is also an exclusive "old boys' club." Both supporters of Anita Hill and Clarence Thomas bridled at the spectacle of this corrupt fraternity of 98 white men and two white women—whose plush quarters in the Senate Office Building are staffed by a small army of young women who slave for them around the clock—sitting in moral judgment on a black man and a black woman. But then Thomas was handpicked by the patrician George Bush, the preppie killer of tens of thousands of Iraqis, who (but for the anti-discrimination laws he's trying to overturn) certainly would never let the likes of Thomas or Hill into his country club, or for that matter the Skull and Bones Society at their mutual alma mater, Yale.

It's been noted how many of the players in this drama came out of Yale Law School—not only George Bush, Clarence Thomas and Anita Hill but also Thomas' defender Arlen Specter, Thomas' mentor John Danforth, Thomas' egomaniacal buddy John Doggett...and the Kennedy staffer who first got the story from his old classmate Hill. *Newsday*'s Reno commented that Yale seems to have been "churning out whole graduating classes full of career-obsessed twits." The hearings provided insight into the layer of "buppies" (black yuppies) who signed up with the Republicans and made it into the mid-upper strata of the Reagan/Bush apparatus, always looking out for Number One. Hill was part of this crowd, too. And as *Village Voice* columnist James Ridgeway skeptically wrote:

> "Then we have the idea that Anita Hill, a student and protégé of failed Supreme Court nominee Robert Bork and a polished graduate of Yale Law School—one of the more sophisticated educational spas in the country—is just a little ol' barefoot Baptist girl from Oklahoma who was undone by her superior's sexist comments. Can you imagine her shock: the man she had been helping to undercut sex and race discrimination rules in the workplace since she'd left the ivy walls actually harbored less than p.c. attitudes toward women!"

"Anti-Porn" Feminists Join Bible Bigots

And then we have the feminists who pander to the most reactionary prejudices of this society—pushing the same "anti-pornography" garbage as the Bible bigots who are trying to close down abortion clinics. The feminists join them in crusades to close down movie houses and ban *Playboy* or *Hustler*. NOW thought they could nail Clarence Thomas for going to X-rated movie houses as a law student! The hearings were a Moral Majority morality play, a soap opera of puritanical mores for the masses purveyed by their cynical rulers. On camera they profess outrage over the boss allegedly talking dirty to Miss Goody Two-Shoes, Gary Hart's presidential bid is sunk by his shenanigans with Donna Rice, they're "shocked" at Virginia Senator Charles Robb playing beach blanket bingo with beauty queen Tai Collins. As far as we're concerned it's not the peccadillos of the bourgeoisie that we care about, but their crimes against the working people, against women and blacks, against Vietnam and Iraq.

It says something about the end-of-the-20th-century American social climate that we Marxists are fighting to defend many tenets of the *bourgeois* revolution—the separation of church and state, rights of privacy, etc. "Womanizing," drinking, smoking (grass or tobacco), buying dirty books, gambling—*these are not crimes*. As we wrote in our 1987 *amicus curiae* brief on behalf of Indiana booksellers charged in an "obscenity" case, "Laws against gambling and various sexual practices reflect official puritanism allied to organized religion, which acts as an important ideological pillar of capitalism, convincing the masses there can be no happiness this side of the grave."

We agree with Betty Dunklee, the 62-year-old home health care worker who told the *New York Times* (14 October), "Who cares if Clarence Thomas looked at pornographic literature?" Her advice was that the next guy who gets nominated for something "ought to say, first thing: 'I get drunk. I smoke pot. And I chase women. Any other questions?'"

The question of sexual harassment is another matter, and it's a very real issue. In the wake of Hill's account of her experience, women's rights groups say their phones are ringing off the hook. Hill's dignified, articulate testimony certainly struck a nerve among women. (At the same time, anti-discrimination lawyers report that many women who have brought cases are trying to get confidential settlements, wanting to avoid the vilification that Anita Hill faced, and

STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION
(Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

1A. Title of publication: *Workers Vanguard*.
1B. Publication no.: 098770.
2. Date of filing: 1 October 1991
3. Frequency of issue: Bi-weekly (except 2nd issue in August and with 3-week interval December).
3A. No. of issues published annually: 25
3B. Annual subscription price: $7.00
4. Complete mailing address of known office of publication: 41 Warren St., New York, NY 10007.
5. Complete mailing address of the headquarters of general business offices of the publisher: 41 Warren St., New York, NY 10007.
6. Full names and complete mailing address of publisher, editor, and managing editor: Publisher—Spartacist Publishing Company, 41 Warren St., NY, NY 10007; Editor—Jan Norden, 41 Warren St., NY, NY 10007; Managing Editor—None.
7. Owner: Spartacist Publishing Company (Unincorporated Association), 41 Warren St., NY, NY 10007.
8. Known bondholders, mortgagees, and other security holders owning or holding 1 percent or more of total amount of bonds, mortgages or other securities: None
9. For completion by nonprofit organizations authorized to mail at special rates: Not applicable
10. Extent and nature of circulation: Average no. copies each issue during preceding 12 months: A. Total no. copies (Net press run): 19,000; B. Paid and/or requested circulation: (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 13,311; (2) Mail subscription: 2,524; C. Total paid and/or requested circulation (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2): 15,835; D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary, and other free copies: 324; E. Total distribution (Sum of C and D): 16,159; F. Copies not distributed: (1) Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 2,841; (2) Return from news agents: 0; G. Total (Sum of E, F1 and 2—should equal net press run shown in A): 19,000

Actual no. copies of single issue published nearest to filing date: A. Total no. copies (Net press run): 20,000; B. Paid and/or requested circulation: (1) Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales: 13,880; (2) Mail subscription: 2,197; C. Total paid and/or requested circulation (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2): 16,077; D. Free distribution by mail, carrier or other means, samples, complimentary, and other free copies: 350; E. Total distribution (Sum of C and D): 16,427; F. Copies not distributed: (1) Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing: 3,573; (2) Return from news agents: 0; G. Total (Sum of E, F1 and 2—should equal net press run shown in A): 20,000

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(Signed) Jan Norden, (Editor)

expecting a backlash as a result of Thomas' victory.) Even if all Hill said is true, her experience is a shallow reflection of the blatant sexual discrimination and sexual harassment of women at the workplace.

Very often, sexual harassment is not ambiguous at all, it is blatant and concerted—for instance, the New York Fire Department, where the first women firefighters faced a campaign of harassment intended to drive them out. And the *New York Times* (20 October) notes that when women first began working in the coal mines in the early 1970s, "like their male colleagues, they were stripped down and slathered in axle grease in a primitive hazing ritual. Unlike the men, they were spread-eagled and tied to wooden supports."

What doesn't get talked about is the situation of working women, desperately in need of a job just to make ends meet, many of them single mothers working at minimum wage in the most dangerous conditions, where the supervisor fires anyone he doesn't consider pretty enough or pliant enough. As Ridgeway pointed out, "In truth this soap opera before a live audience has actually obscured the real politics that underlie women's issues in the United States. In 1959 there were 22 million women in the labor force, accounting for 33 per cent of all working Americans. By 1991, working women numbered some 57 million, or 45.5 per cent of the labor force, accounting for three-fifths of the increase in the civilian labor force since 1979." And as American capitalism has waged war on the unions to create a more "flexible," cheaper labor force, part-time non-union women workers often fill what were once full-time unionized jobs. Moreover, as Ridgeway notes, this has broader social ramifications:

> "This trend in the changing nature of the work force has been accompanied by a reduction in social welfare programs as part of the New Right agenda of the Reagan years. As a result, welfare becomes workfare; there are cuts in child care, a weakening of the health-care system, reduced access to and increased cost of affordable housing, a worsening of public transit—on which working people depend to travel to work—an increase in the cost of energy, and constant harassment of women by the Right's ongoing intimidation of their reproductive rights."

We would only add that every one of those Reagan cuts in social programs has been voted for by a Democratic Congress.

The feminists' concerns arise from the attempt of a layer of professional women to integrate themselves into the upper layers of the American capitalist power structure. But this is a racist, sexist society. Questions of sexual harassment and treatment on the job are really questions of *power*. And they won't really change until there is a fundamental change in society itself. In a revolutionary setting, sexual harassment will get short shrift as the working class and the oppressed set out to create a society based on real equality.

America: It Always Comes Back to the Black Question

It was notable that while the Clarence Thomas hearings exploded over sex, they zeroed in on the question of race. That is the way of things in this deeply racist country, where the black question is the key to the American workers revolution. The Clarence Thomas affair served to split blacks and women, two key constituencies of the Democratic Party, and also sharply posed sex and class divisions among blacks.

Many black people were disgusted by Thomas' cynical use of the race card on behalf of George Bush. The demagogic purpose was to guilt-trip the Senate liberals, and it worked. But this is extremely dangerous territory. Many worried about the consequences of high-impact TV coverage retailing racial stereotypes about "oversexed black men." The black community was split, for instance between some black men who felt "maybe this is a sister who doesn't want to see a black man get ahead," and others saying that appeals to race are no cover for harassing women ("Blacks Say the Blood Spilled in the Thomas Case Stains All," *New York Times*, 14 October).

Predictably, black conservatives leapt to Clarence Thomas' defense. Interestingly, the swing votes were Southern white Democratic Senators (Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana) responding to post-civil rights era "moderate" blacks, the constituency that Virginia's black Democratic governor Doug Wilder, a supporter of the death penalty, bases himself on and without which white Democrats can't get elected in the South. The *Washington Post* (16 October) noted that Thomas' nomination "split core Democratic constituencies, pitting blacks against feminist groups," which will serve to further shred the Democratic Party.

The Chicago black newspaper, the *Defender* (14 October), supported Thomas with a front-page headline, "High-Tech Lynching." In contrast, the New York *Amsterdam News* (19 October) ran a stinging front-page story, "Black Skin, White Mask! Who Is the Real Clarence Thomas?", slamming the hypocrisy of this *enemy* of black rights claiming to be the victim of a racist lynching:

> "Neither Judge Thomas, who in many respects is a reprise of the Willie Horton caper, nor Professor Hill, who is being touted as the Rosa Parks of sexual harassment, is representative of mainstream Black American working men and women. They are members of the Black elite, DuBois' 'Talented Tenth,' who climbed the ladder of success from humble origins, a minority within a minority...while the vast majority of Black Americans continue to live the horrors of the American nightmare.
>
> "Though secure within their niche of the Black bourgeoisie, there are some differences between Judge Thomas and Professor Hill that go beyond sex. Judge Thomas personifies power without respectability, and Professor Hill reflects respectability without power. And you need not be reminded who will be the eventual winner in capitalist and sexist America."

The article by Don Rojas and Herb Boyd noted that "this affair has not only raised some critical issues about sexual harassment in general but has also exploded the myth of Black homogeneity and Black unity." They add: "Black America, like White America, is divided along class and gender lines, and this obviously reflects the prevailing pattern of social relations generic to American capitalism."

"Supreme Disaster for Poor Women"

In the end, the storm over Clarence Thomas and sex harassment changed very little in terms of the Senate vote. Liberals voted against him, conservatives voted for him. And since liberals are in the minority in this country, they lost. But the grotesque spectacle will have ramifications in lots of other ways. Bush and the White House gang were more triumphant than they've been since the days of Desert Storm. To the discomfort of the Supreme Court judges, they swiftly swore in Thomas on the South Lawn before the Republican inner circle and with the Marine Band. The Republicans are already gearing up for the '92 elections in which they intend to use the disaster the Democrats made out of the Thomas hearings, along with the rest of the "sleaze factor": the S&L scam, Congressional bounced checks ("Rubbergate"), etc.

Bush & Co. have a clear reactionary social agenda, and as usual they get down and dirty to win. They have taken the measure of the Democratic gutless wonders, who are perpetual losers because the liberals have no fundamental differences with their more resolute rivals in reaction. In the aftermath of their victory with Thomas, the Bush administration openly joined forces with the Operation Rescue bigots to argue before the Supreme Court that blocking abortion clinics does not violate the "KKK act" because it isn't "discriminatory"—they want to keep everyone out. In writing of the anti-abortion siege of Wichita, we warned that reliance on the capitalist courts and laws would only rebound against supporters of women's and minority rights.

While the Democrats on the Judiciary Committee didn't nail Clarence Thomas for being "pro-life," the Republicans made very sure he was pro-death. Their bloodhound Arlen Specter, a former prosecutor in Pennsylvania (where crusading black journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal sits on death row), pushed for an unequivocal statement from the nominee that he considered the death penalty constitutional. Thomas assured Specter, saying, "There is nothing that would bother me personally about upholding it in appropriate cases." This grotesque spectacle was played out at the very moment that the Supreme Court was refusing a stay of execution to Warren McCleskey, whose landmark legal battle underlined the racist character of the death penalty. McCleskey was strapped into the electric chair and murdered on September 25. Thomas complains about a "high-tech lynching," but he has no problem with racist legal lynching by the state. Nor do the Democrats.

On the day that Clarence Thomas was confirmed, *Daily News* sportswriter Mike Lupica did a good thing. He went up to Planned Parenthood in the South Bronx to talk to Dr. Irving Rust, who has been with the clinic for the past 15 years. What does this all mean for the young black women in the waiting room at 149th and Cortland Avenue? asked Lupica in his column, titled "Supreme Disaster for Poor Women." The dedicated black doctor said of George Bush and his black hatchet man:

> "They don't understand what a time bomb the abortion issue really is. They have all forgotten the way it was before Roe vs. Wade. Well, I haven't forgotten. I had just become a resident then. And all the beds that are filled with AIDS patients now were filled back then with women who had had septic abortions.
>
> "You knew this was going to be the kind of nominee Bush would come up with, you just didn't know he'd be black. Now the court will be 6-to-3 against abortion for sure. Roe vs. Wade will be gone within a year. Then they'll push the whole abortion issue back to the states. And poor women, the women in these rooms right now, will be back behind the streets, the way they were in the good old days. And Clarence Thomas will be part of that."

But it doesn't have to come to that. All defenders of women's rights must join in mobilizing a class fight against a return to the era of the coat hanger and the lynch rope. ■

WV Photo

Karas/Atlanta Journal and Constitution

April 1989 Chicago rally opposed racist death penalty. Supreme Court refused to stay legal lynching of black Georgia prisoner Warren McClesky (right).

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Young Spartacus

We Fight for the Communism of Lenin and Trotsky!

Part One of this article (see Workers Vanguard *No. 536, 11 October) discussed how the working class of Russia took power in October 1917 in the name of the world socialist revolution. But as the postwar revolutionary wave that swept across Europe was defeated, the first workers state in history was isolated and under assault. No less than 14 capitalist armies invaded the Soviet Republic to try to strangle the Russian Revolution in the cradle.*

With Trotsky at the head of the Red Army, the imperialist invaders and White Guards were defeated. But Russia

PART TWO OF TWO

emerged from the Civil War utterly decimated. Marx envisioned building socialism and expanding human freedom on the basis of material plenty, taking off from the most advanced productive levels of capitalism. Isolated and still a predominantly peasant country, Russia proved an unforgiving laboratory for the socialist experiment. Industrial production was gutted. Workers left the cities to search for food in the countryside. Yet another revolutionary upsurge in Germany in 1923 went down in defeat. The failure of the revolution to spread internationally sharply exacerbated the economic scarcity produced by seven years of imperialist war and civil war. Hunger devoured the optimism of the first workers state and a wave of despair swept the country and even the Bolshevik cadre, especially after Lenin's death in January 1924.

Under these conditions a conservative bureaucracy led by J.V. Stalin emerged and usurped political power from the proletariat. Trotsky forged the Left Opposition to fight the increasing bureaucratism and for an industrialization policy to save the country from economic ruin. A timeworn refrain from the bourgeoisie and the social democrats is that "Leninism inevitably led to Stalinism." This myth is immensely useful to the bourgeoisie to deter working people and radical youth from seeing the Russian Revolution as a model and to promote despair of social change because "degeneration is inevitable" and "power corrupts."

WV Photo

Spartacist contingent at January 26 San Francisco demonstration against Persian Gulf War. Spartacist banners include: "Defeat U.S. Imperialism! Defend Iraq!" and "For Labor Political Strikes Against the War!"

Join the Spartacus Youth Clubs!

The critical instrument for the success of the revolution was the Bolshevik Party, representing the *conscious* organization of the working class. Far from acting as the continuator of Leninism, Stalin had to *destroy* the Bolshevik Party in order to consolidate a political counterrevolution and to prevent Trotsky's Left Opposition from mobilizing the most conscious fighters to steer the revolution back to its original course. First party democracy and debate was banned, Trotsky was exiled, and eventually every single original member of the Bolshevik Central Committee was eliminated, until Stalin the executioner alone remained. You wouldn't know it from reading *The Gulag Archipelago* by the tsarist crackpot Solzhenitsyn, *but it was the Communists and Red Army officers who were rounded up by Stalin in the hundreds of thousands and thrown into prison camps across Siberia!*

To secure and defend the privileges it derived from its position atop the Soviet workers state, the bureaucracy had to suppress internal working-class opposition while seeking to appease hostile imperialism by renouncing the program of international socialist revolution. Turning Marxism on its head, in 1924 Stalin proclaimed the "theory" of "socialism in one country" and later that socialism had been achieved within the borders of the Soviet Union! "Socialism in one country" was not only a utopian impossibility but a *policy of betrayal*. In exchange for the vain hope of easing the imperialists' hostile encirclement of the Soviet Union, the bureaucracy opposed and thwarted socialist revolution everywhere else. The bureaucracy did not restore capitalism, yet it undermined the economic gains of the revolution—collectivized property and a centralized planned economy.

From the earliest days of the Revolution the Bolsheviks had made good on their promise for an expansion of human freedom in all spheres of life. Women in Soviet Russia had the right to free abortion on demand before women in the West even won the right to vote. The Bolsheviks struck down all laws against homosexuality, granted freedom to oppressed nationalities, and wiped out the anti-Semitic pogromists. Now Stalin reversed many of these gains as he consolidated his nationalist, bureaucratic regime. The old crap of anti-Semitism was revived to go after Trotsky as a Jew; Great Russian chauvinism was revived to keep the minority republics in line; the cult of the family was restored as a means of instilling authority and stifling freedoms for women and youth.

Wide World

Leon Trotsky in 1917, co-leader with Lenin of the Bolshevik Revolution.

Writing from prison in August 1917, Trotsky said: "Having thrown off the fetters of capitalist government, the revolution would become permanent—that is, continuous. It would apply the state power, not in order to consolidate the regime of capitalist exploitation, but in order to overcome it. Its final success on this road would depend upon the successes of the proletarian revolution in Europe."

The Export of Betrayal

The Communist International became a slavish transmission belt for the conservative policies of the Kremlin (and was eventually disbanded by Stalin as a gesture of good faith to the imperialist Allies in the Second World War).

Contrary to the imperialists' propaganda image of the Red Russian bear gobbling up the globe, Stalin rolled over for the bourgeoisie and became the gravedigger of revolutions. In the Chinese Revolution of 1925-27, Stalin subordinated the independent class interests of the proletariat to an alliance with the bourgeois-nationalist forces of Chiang Kai-shek, who then slaughtered the Communist workers. In Germany in the early '30s, rejecting Trotsky's urgent calls for a workers *united front* against fascism, Stalin allowed Hitler to come to power without a shot being fired. The panic-stricken Comintern then lurched to the right in 1935 with the policy of a "People's Front," the shackling of the working class to the "democratic" wing of the bourgeoisie. By the time of the Spanish Civil War of 1936-38, the Stalinists acted as outright strikebreakers in the name of the Popular Front, strangling a proletarian insurrection and paving the way to decades of Francoist dictatorship.

In the U.S., where for the first time the multiracial working class organized together in forming the big industrial unions of the CIO, the Communist Party pursued a popular-front alliance with Democrat Franklin Roosevelt. During the Second World War the CP ran point for the government against "unpatriotic" social struggle. It opposed the national march on Washington for black equality, scabherded on the brave miners strike which broke the "no-strike pledge," hailed the A-bombing of Japan, refused to protest the racist internment of Japanese Americans, and cheered the jailing of Trotskyists under the Smith Act for "sedition" (which was next used against the CP).

Contrary to the bourgeois and Stalinist myth that World War II was a "war for democracy" against fascism, it was an interimperialist war for world domination, including control of the colonies, and an imperialist drive to smash the Soviet workers state. Rebuffed by the "democratic" imperialist powers, Stalin had faith in his 1939 pact with Hitler and ignored warnings of the Nazis' impending attack. The Soviet people paid dearly for this—well over 20 million died in World War II. The heroic citizens of Leningrad (*not* "St. Petersburg"!) endured a *900-day* siege by the Nazis. In dire straits, Stalin had to bring back Red Army officers from the Siberian prison camps to fight Hitler. It was the Soviet citizens and Red Army who *despite Stalin* crushed the Nazi regime and freed Europe from the nightmare of fascism.

As for the "democratic" imperialists, they raced to Berlin only when it became clear that the Red Army might get there first. And when they arrived, the U.S. recruited every Nazi war criminal they could to work for them instead of Hitler against the "Bolshevik menace." The U.S. set up the "rat line"—an escape route for hundreds of Nazis who were given new identities and employed for NASA's rocket program or funneled into Latin America to train the secret police and *contra* scum in the techniques of Hitlerite torture.

Stalinism as a Regime of Crisis

Trotsky did not foresee the inherently unstable Stalinist bureaucracy lasting for as long as it did. The enormous wave of Soviet patriotism and smashing the Nazis gave the bureaucracy a legitimacy it had never previously held. Assassinated by a Stalinist agent in 1940, Trotsky did not and could not have predicted that. But he warned that the Soviet bureaucracy could not indefinitely continue the balancing act of resting on the workers property forms which issued from the 1917 Revolution while bowing to world imperialism. In light of the galloping counterrevolution in the Soviet Union today, Trotsky's brilliant analysis of the nature of the Soviet state in his book *The Revolution Betrayed* reads like it was written yesterday.

Yevgeni Khaldei

Despite Stalin's wrecking, the Red Army smashed Hitler's Third Raich and freed Europe from scourge of Nazism. Soviets raise red flag over Berlin's Reichstag, 1945.

Against renegades who claimed the bureaucracy was a new ruling class, Trotsky wrote that the revolution had been betrayed but not overthrown. He argued that either a revolutionary workers party would overthrow the bureaucracy, or the bourgeoisie would overthrow the Soviet ruling caste. But supposing the bureaucracy continues at the head of the state, he wrote:

> "Even under these conditions social relations will not jell. We cannot count upon the bureaucracy's peacefully and voluntarily renouncing itself on behalf of socialist equality. If at the present time, notwithstanding the too obvious inconveniences of such an operation, it has considered it possible to introduce ranks and decorations, it must inevitably in future stages seek supports for itself in property relations.... Privileges have only half their worth, if they cannot be transmitted to one's children. But the right of testament is inseparable from the right of property. It is not enough to be the director of a trust; it is necessary to be a stockholder. The victory of the bureaucracy in this decisive sphere would mean its conversion into a new possessing class."

This is exactly what is happening in the Soviet Union today. A section of the Stalinist bureaucracy has become the junior partners of Western capitalism. Privileged bureaucrats, black marketeers and Soviet "yupskies" seek to enrich themselves by selling the people's property to Wall Street—*this is the logical culmination of "socialism in one country." It is a counterrevolution from the top down*

Better Red Than Dead

Much can be learned about the difference between a socialist revolution and capitalist counterrevolution even in the symbolism of two examples. The reactionary mobs mobilized by Yeltsin pulled down statues of Feliks Dzerzhinsky and Yakov Sverdlov, two men from deeply oppressed minorities in the tsarist prison house of peoples who became Bolsheviks and led the multi-ethnic Soviet working class. Dzerzhinsky was a Pole who became the first head of the Cheka—the "sword of the revolution" whose job was to mop up the counterrevolutionaries. Sverdlov was a Jew who became the first president of the Russian Republic—leader of a land that had previously been swept by anti-Semitic pogroms. To underscore the promise of equality embodied in these examples, consider what the parallel would be in racist America: an American socialist revolution places a black communist at the head of the state and appoints a Hispanic woman as chief of police to clean out the remaining nests of KKK and Nazi scum.

Bush hails the "Russian Revolution of 1991" which smashed statues of Dzerzhinsky and Sverdlov and Lenin. Bush cheers Baltic independence as a "triumph of democracy" when a first act of "free" Lithuania was declaring a blanket amnesty for every war criminal and collaborator of the German Nazi occupiers! Scandalously, Bush is joined by ostensible "leftists" in rooting for the counterrevolution sweeping across Eastern Europe and now the Soviet Union. "State Department socialists" like the International Socialist Organization and even would-be Castroites like the Socialist Workers Party vicariously leapt to Yeltsin's barricades. Currents in the Communist Party fleeing Stalinism's *rigor mortis* have bolted to imperialism's camp. Uniquely the Spartacist League fights against illusions in any wing of the bureaucracy and for the independent mobilization of the working class to clean out the counterrevolutionary rabble—and we mean all of 'em, including their "left" pompom girls. As we wrote in "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" (*WV* No. 533, 30 August):

> "A call for workers militias to smash the counterrevolutionary Yeltsinite demonstrations was certainly in order. But if the Emergency Committee had consolidated power, it would have attempted to disband any such workers militias, which would otherwise have inevitably and rapidly escaped its political control. The last thing these degenerate Stalinists wanted to see was the independent mobilization of the working class."

We are dedicated to the task of reforging a Leninist-Trotskyist party to mobilize the Soviet working class in defense of the October Revolution. The Soviet workers have not entered the field of battle yet. But if the situation looks grave at present, it is also true that the counterrevolutionary governments are extremely weak. They can't count on the armed forces (which they're seeking to massively purge) to break strikes against capitalist austerity. Many Soviet workers believe that the country belongs to them and have a deep commitment to egalitarianism which must be rooted out for capitalism to be implanted.

Our Revolutionary Heritage

We take our stand on the authentic communist tradition of the Bolsheviks who made the Russian Revolution. Our tendency, the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist), is a link in the indispensable chain of continuity and past experience which the

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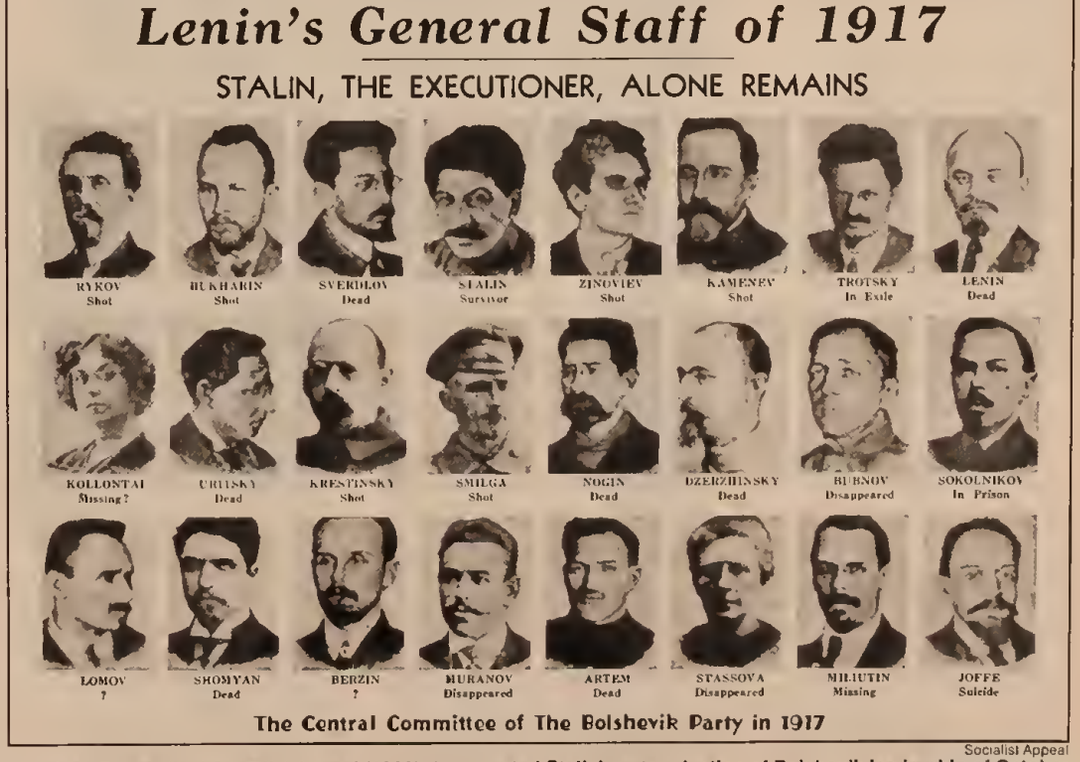

Socialist Appeal

American Trotskyists' *Socialist Appeal* (1938) documented Stalin's extermination of Bolshevik leadership of October Revolution.

Letter on "PC"

3 October 1991

On campuses across the country, an ideological witchhunt against the left is under way. "Political Correctness" is the name given to the speech codes, sensitivity training and other academic ploys which amount to covering up increasingly violent attacks against minorities. These codes are a misguided and ineffective attempt to stem the tide of violence by banning racist, sexist and homophobic epithets and "politically inflammatory speech." Right-wing demagogues and the bourgeois media have jumped on the "anti-PC" bandwagon with fervor, denouncing "left-wing McCarthyism" that has ostensibly turned the campuses into "concentration camps." Through these tactics the right seeks to encourage racist violence and to banish leftist thought from the ivy-covered sanctuaries, going after courses in black history or women's studies.

Much has been made of the zealous, often ridiculous excesses of "PC." At Hampshire College in western Mass. (where I am a student), a professor from Latin America who taught Hispanic literature was almost fired amid accusations that his curriculum was too "traditional" and he was too inaccessible to Hispanic students. While on the surface the "PC" crowd may seem to be progressive in nature, in actuality "PC" encourages and makes a virtue out of the sectoralist retreat many oppressed groups have been pushed into in these conservative times.

The administrations put on a happy face for the students, hoping to forestall—and disarm—the inevitable conflicts between increasing numbers of right-wing, even fascistic, youth and the legitimate grievances of minority groups. At elite, predominantly white institutions like Dartmouth, right-wingers from the Dartmouth *Review* ceaselessly challenge minority students' right to an education. Racist threats and physical violence on campuses nationwide have spurred enrollment at black colleges and all-black dormitories at "integrated" schools. This climate is leading to a nationalist mood which even includes extolling the virtues of segregation. The accept-the-status-quo Nation of Islam and other sundry nationalists become attractive and get a hearing like never before. But these separatist stances are more survival tactics than quirky preferences, as some of the media would have us believe.

The "PC" crowd's protective wing doubles as a leash: despite "PC" codes, racism hasn't stopped—it has grown unhindered. At UMass-Amherst (considered a "PC" haven by some) there have been racist attacks on black students, death threats against a gay student leader and increasing activity among the ultrarightist Young Americans for Freedom sect called the "Minutemen." The result? People threatened by the violence retreat to their own collectives and appeal to the administration for protection and legitimacy. It was revealed that the Minutemen had connections with the Ku Klux Klan—and yet the Spartacus Youth Club was kicked off campus by the administration (with the compliance of most of the "PC" student government) for defending our public forum against an attack by these thugs! Some protection! "PC" caters directly to impotent sectoralist politics, not militant self-defense.

The trademark of "PC" politics is exclusive, sectarian organization of blacks, feminists and gays which undercuts a united-front defense. The administration uses "PC" talk to appease both the right wing and their targets. They encourage oppressed groups to develop no-struggle, no-solution conclusions. Racists are given a "no pranks" slap on the wrist, but are allowed—even encouraged—to further develop their strategies within the established code. By reducing these issues to a "free speech" debate the liberal administrations and their "PC" cothinkers give tremendous mileage to the right.

To "balance" out the free speech debate, administrations invite racists to spew their filth, making universities a place where bona fide Klansmen and Pentagon mass murderers advocate genocide as an "opinion." As a banner at our Boston demonstration against KKKer David Duke said, "Genocide Is Not Debatable!" But in the realm of "PC," all of this is just an intellectual exercise. At UMass-Amherst the Young Americans for Freedom invited an anti-gay bigot in response to Gay Pride Week. Competing sectarianisms and lack of solidarity have taken a toll: at the University of Maryland, the Black Student Union invited anti-Semite Farrakhan, while the Jewish Student Union brought Zionist terrorist Meir Kahane (subsequently assassinated) in response.

As communists, the Spartacist League seeks to be the "tribune of the people." We offer a solution and address the special oppression which minorities, women and gays face in today's rightward-leaning society. The liberals' alternative? Group discussions of "classism" instead of an alliance with the workers movement; "consciousness-raising" sessions with racists instead of fighting racist attacks. Racism, sexism and homophobia are not a mind game; they are the ideological tools of oppression and violence. What these goody-two-shoes liberals don't realize is that behind the rose-tinted rhetoric of "Diversity" and "Tolerance" there's blood already spilled. For every "racial awareness" seminar, there are hundreds of cases of racist threats and brutality—some perpetrated by the graduates of these impotent gab fests! For all the lip service paid to every Gay Pride Week, hundreds of students are in the closet, living in fear of anti-gay violence. The right wing sneeringly characterizes the "PC" crowd as a "tyranny of the weak" and screams about "the victims' revolution." But their liberal counterpart ensures that the right's targets are exactly that: weak victims.

Comradely yours,
Craig G.

Editor's note: *We refer readers to our* Young Spartacus *article "Are You Now Or Have You Ever Been... 'PC'? Racism and Witchhunts on Campus"* (Workers Vanguard *No. 533, 30 August*).

Young Spartacus

UMass Amherst, Merch 1989: Spartacus Youth drew 200 to speakout in opposition to right-wing *Minuteman* thugs.

Communism...

(continued from page 7)

workers movement needs to guide present and future battles. As Lenin said, a revolutionary party must serve as the collective memory of the working class. With the prolonged stagnation of the socialist and labor movements, other purported socialist organizations have bowed to the pressures, abandoned defense of the Soviet Union and tailed the "liberal" wing of their own bourgeoisies. By contrast, our small forces have achieved modest but exemplary successes because we have stayed true to our political program.

In the recent Persian Gulf War, when other "leftists" pressured the Democrats (who supported the war) or even endorsed the United Nations starvation sanctions against Iraq, *we took a side* for the defeat of U.S. imperialism and the military defense of Iraq. We have protested every move by U.S. imperialism against the Latin American masses. Members of the Spartacus Youth Clubs raised thousands of dollars for defense of Sandinista Nicaragua and served on work brigades there as a concrete expression of solidarity and our call to complete, defend and extend that revolution. Our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany were the *only* party to unambiguously fight against capitalist reunification. Our comrades in the newly founded Spartacist Group of Poland were won to the program of Trotskyism in the battle against the drive for capitalist restoration led by Solidarność.

While other leftists issue futile appeals to the ruling class and its government to "fight" racism and sexism, we've actually done what they said couldn't be done: organized minorities, women and gays alongside the powerful, integrated labor movement in massive, united-front labor/black mobilizations that have spiked fascist provocations in cities across the United States, from Washington, D.C. in 1982 to Philadelphia in 1988. This is putting into action our understanding that in this deeply segregated society, the fight against racial oppression is key to the American socialist revolution.

We have gained a hearing and respect among significant strata of the most class-conscious working people, especially black workers, who consider our newspaper *their* newspaper. The disproportion between our small forces and our tasks can be resolved through international regroupments with forces who want to fight for genuine communism and through the recruitment of young fighters won to communism from our intersection with their struggles.

A little class struggle could really shake things loose in this country and open up the opportunity for revolutionary intervention. Bush's "unipolar" world stands on one shaky leg. The ruling class has bankrupted the industrial capacity of this country. The picture of runaway shops, a declining unionized workforce and the intensification of police repression in the ghetto wastelands across this country is matched by the export of American manufacturing and exploitation of workers in low-wage countries. The American ruling class is quite prepared to shore up its anemic economy through imperialist war to protect its investments abroad and elobber its more robust rivals, principally Japan.

This situation cries out for a party based on the Bolshevik program of international class struggle. If you want to do something about the racism and oppression endemic to this system, if you want to eliminate the threat of nuclear annihilation, if you want to put an end to the brutal starvation and degradation imposed on millions in this country—and billions around the world—by a tiny minority of profit-gouging capitalists, then it's time for you to check out the Spartacus Youth Clubs and join us in the fight for a socialist future—the only future for humanity. ■

Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth Clubs brought students from up and down eestern seaboard and the Midwest to unite with integrated lebor movement and stop the KKK fescists in Philadelphia, November 1988.

Duke...

(continued from page 1)

To the extent this anti-labor race-hater has won working-class votes, it is due to the treachery of the union leadership, which has shackled the workers to the union-busting Democrats/Dixiecrats.

Before all-white revival tent audiences, Duke spews out a litany of racist buzzwords, railing against affirmative action and castigating the "massive welfare underclass" as the supposed cause of "crime, tax waste and the decline of education." Founder of the sinister "National Association for the Advancement of White People," he advocates forced transfer of all Jews to Long Island and Manhattan. Cajun Catholics in the Gulf Coast parishes better be nervous about Duke, given the history of KKK anti-Catholic bigotry. Duke portrays himself as in the forefront of anti-Communist reaction, likening support to him with "what's happening in Eastern Europe," and welcomes being called "the Boris Yeltsin of American politics." Yeltsin is a pseudo-populist chauvinist demagogue who hobnobs with the Russian fascist Pamyat, and spearheads counterrevolution which would return to the days of pogroms and enslavement.

Duke sees his electoral forays as a launching pad for a national fascist movement. Recently he was applauded by white students at Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge as he promised to make LSU lily-white again. But other students carried signs denouncing him as a "Nose Job Nazi" (*Washington Post*, 15 September). In 1969, Duke was known as the "Nazi of LSU." This Hitler-lover went on to become "a media-sharp stormtrooper for racist reaction who expanded the Klan's influence from Louisiana into the rest of the South and into New York, New England and California," as the Partisan Defense Committee wrote in a leaflet mobilizing for a March 1991 demonstration in Boston which drew 1,500 to protest Duke's appearance there. Duke also organized a vigilante "Klan Border Watch" targeting immigrants from Mexico, and ran for president in 1988 on the ticket of the fascist-infested Populist Party.

The respectable bourgeois press paints Duke as a "former" KKKer and Nazi turned "populist" and "maverick" Republican. He may have exchanged his brown shirt with swastika and Klan robes for a three-piece suit, but his genocidal politics haven't changed one iota. Speaking in 1986 to a Nazi at the Institute for Historical Review (which spreads the Big Lie that the Nazi Holocaust never happened), Duke said: Jews "deserve to go into the ashbin of history.... I would suggest that you don't really talk much about National Socialism...publicly, too much" (*New York Times*, 16 October).

What Duke hammers away at publicly is the same reactionary agenda being pushed by Bush & Co., giving it a raw racist edge. His scathing attacks on affirmative action mirror the White House campaign against racial "quotas." The degeneracy of bourgeois politics today was driven home by the fact that Governor Roemer's unsuccessful veto of a virulent anti-abortion bill (which would sentence doctors to ten years of hard labor) was denounced by both Duke and Democrat Edwards. While KKKer Duke supported Clarence Thomas for the Supreme Court, James Meredith, who integrated the University of Mississippi only to become an aide to racist Senator Jesse Helms, has endorsed Duke. Duke baits Edwards as a "strong member of the NAACP," but the Democratic standard-bearer says the choice is over who can "bring stability."

Edwards, who has been the target of several federal probes, captured the pervasive corruption of Louisiana politics, boasting that the only way they'll get him is if they catch him in bed with a "live boy or dead girl." With a lock on more than 90 percent of the black vote, this man who would be kingpin will now cater even more strongly to the racist vote. Edwards has also been endorsed by the United Teachers of New Orleans, which has been fighting Roemer's attempts to gut the union through a new "teacher evaluation" system. The solidly integrated UTNO, which fought a hard strike in the fall of 1990, and the rest of the labor movement are shackled by the union bureaucrats' support to the Democratic Party. The way to fight Duke is with hard class struggle. Not the Democrats but a fighting *workers party*!

A class-struggle workers party would mobilize labor/black defense against fascist attacks, as the Spartacist League and PDC did to oppose KKK/Nazi incursions in cities from Washington, D.C. and Philadelphia to Atlanta and San Francisco. A workers party would lead the fight to organize the non-union South, appealing to workers in unions such as OCAW, Mine Workers, Teamsters and other transport unions to wage a campaign on the scale of that which organized the CIO in the 1930s. The *power* of organized labor must be mobilized to aid union organizing such as the Mississippi Delta catfish workers, to smash Klan terror and to sweep away the Dukes and the racist system for which they are the shock troops. And that requires above all a revolutionary leadership. ■

Down With Racist Monument!

Last month, the federal government threatened to cut off hundreds of thousands of dollars to the mainly black New Orleans city government for failing to meet a September 1 deadline to put back up a white-supremacist monument. The obelisk "commemorates" the 1874 defeat of a 3,000-strong black militia of freedmen at the hands of a White League led by Confederate officers. It was removed during river-front construction begun in 1989, but the black Democratic mayor agreed under pressure from federal and state officials to replace it when the work was completed.

The monument obscenely celebrates the Confederacy, chattel slavery and the victory of Jim Crow over Radical Reconstruction, as was made explicit in a 1934 inscription saying that the 1876 election "recognized white supremacy and gave us our state." While this inscription is to be removed, the federal and state governments' demand to restore the monument is a provocation recalling Reagan's salute to Nazi SS troops at Bitburg. Not surprisingly, in 1989 KKKer David Duke staged a fascist rally to "defend" the statue. This monument to racist rule has got to go!

Hospitals...

(continued from page 12)

overburdened emergency rooms, sometimes waiting 24 hours or more to see a doctor—usually a resident working up to 108 hours a week. Sometimes the patients don't live that long.

The horrific conditions at Kings County in Brooklyn, which treats over 195,000 patients a year, and at Harlem Hospital, the only hospital left in the central Harlem ghetto, have been known for years. But the latest round of budget slashing has brought the situation to the breaking point. Of the 3,500 staff members at Harlem Hospital, 150 have been laid off this year. Maybe that's why it took them nearly a week to find Clarence Pompey, the 73-year-old man who vanished from his room and was found dead in a steam shaft. Harlem Hospital now faces loss of its accreditation pending the outcome of a federal inspection.

All these investigations will most likely blame individual doctors and nurses for the negligence which led to patients' deaths, as happened in the 1984 case of Libby Zion, daughter of columnist Sidney Zion, and of Andy Warhol, both of whom died in the private New York Hospital. After that, the state issued regulations limiting residents to 80 hours a week. But an exemption was made for emergency rooms.

The real villains are the banks and financiers and capitalist politicians who've bled the city white. This year the budget-ax murderers cut more than $170 million from the municipal hospitals, laying off hundreds of hospital workers. Since the 1975 "fiscal crisis," more than 40 city hospitals have been closed, including Sydenham Hospital, the only other hospital in central Harlem.

At the same time, the AIDS epidemic, tuberculosis and other (mostly preventable) diseases have ravaged the increasingly impoverished black and Hispanic communities. As poverty and desperation have increased, so has violent crime. During the month of August, the number of stabbing and shooting victims treated at the Kings County ER showed an increase of nearly 30 percent over the previous year.

WV Photo

Harlem hospital workers protest life-threatening cutbacks.

Of course, the critical condition of medical care is a national problem as well, in a country where millions have little or no medical insurance. As private hospitals engage in the practice of "dumping" uninsured patients, more and more inner-city hospitals are closing their emergency rooms: in Los Angeles, Centinela Hospital closed down its 24-hour emergency center and opened a profit-making sports medicine center.

But nowhere is the gap between rich and poor more blatant than in New York City, where ambassadors, capitalists and foreign royalty can rent luxury suites at Columbia-Presbyterian and be waited upon by tuxedoed waiters at high tea, while a black woman in labor is denied a bed at Harlem Hospital, and is forced to deliver on a stretcher on the floor of the admissions room.

As the economy has nose-dived in the present "recession," conditions in health care, housing and education for the black and Hispanic poor of New York have worsened dramatically. Under black Democrat Dinkins, a member of the Democratic Socialists of America, the homeless are being driven out of the subways, abandoned buildings and vacant lots. Entire shantytowns, like "Dinkinsville" on the Lower East Side, have been bulldozed, the inhabitants forced onto the streets to face the cold winter.

Meanwhile, the police continue to routinely shoot down unarmed minority youth. The racist cop who murdered black grandmother Mary Mitchell last year just got off free.

New York City is the focal point of capitalist decay. As the city's bridges crumble due to maintenance cutbacks, a subway train plows into girders at Union Square for lack of automatic brakes, and last week a water main burst in midtown, creating a "Niagara Falls on 42nd Street."After $430 million and 4,300 teachers were cut from the city's already strapped school system, classes are so overcrowded that students are fighting over chairs, and some kids still don't have any textbooks!

With American capitalism facing deep economic crisis, the poor are considered simply a surplus population, and social programs including welfare are considered a waste of money. The ruling class is obviously hoping that unemployment, poverty, starvation and disease will wipe out the problem, while black and Hispanic elected officials keep the lid on social struggle. When over 6,000 city workers got the ax last June, Local 420 of AFSCME District 37 held a "prayer vigil" outside Harlem Hospital, concluding "only prayer is the answer to help save our jobs."

But the minority workers of America won't have a prayer if they don't fight back against this racist capitalist system which is carrying out organized genocide. The largely black and Hispanic hospital workers have strong union organizations (AFSCME Local 420 led by Jim Butler and Local 1199 led by Dennis Rivera). Yet Butler and Rivera are close political allies of Democrat Dinkins. So they hold their members back from fighting the cuts.

To turn ghetto hospitals into places where people are healed to live rather than being left to die means a struggle against this whole rotten system, both Democrats and Republicans, and to build a revolutionary workers party in a fight for socialist revolution. ■

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Haiti...

(continued from page 12)

and last Friday there was a powerful illustration, as over 100,000 Haitian working people demonstrated in the streets of New York against the coup. By its sheer numbers, the dense sea of laboring people that poured into the Wall Street area swept the financiers, fat cats and yuppies off the sidewalks and from the steps of the Stock Exchange.

It looked like a general strike of the city's strongly proletarian and plebeian Haitian population, except that instead of mobilizing against the class enemy, the march was overwhelmingly dominated by illusions in Aristide and his preaching of conciliation. Some signs even called for democracy in Haiti in the name of Bush's "New World Order." As if to confirm these deadly illusions, another march has been called in Washington this very afternoon to put pressure on the U.S. government and the OAS. But let me just ask you a simple question: Can anyone here possibly believe that George Bush will do anything for *you*?

Aristide had responded to the coup by making the rounds of the UN, the OAS and Bush's White House. But many in last week's demonstration were in no mood to curry favor with the imperialist jackals. One demonstrator carried a sign reading "Bush the Problem, AK-47 the Solution." Any U.S.-sponsored intervention, whether it is through diplomatic maneuvers, military invasion or the announced economic boycott, will only be aimed at further shackling the Haitian masses—as well as furthering the U.S. mobilization to roll back the gains of the Cuban Revolution.

I want to insist on the link with the question of Cuba because, as you certainly know, Bush's interest in Haiti these days has a lot to do with crushing the gains of the Cuban Revolution, wiping it out, assassinating its leaders, and extirpating its memory. Because this is U.S. imperialism's "backyard." But more than that, Bush proclaimed, after he reduced Iraq to a pile of rubble, that the "New World Order" means that Washington has a free hand. With the ascendancy in the Soviet Union of Yeltsin and those who would openly fight for the restoration of capitalism, the U.S. imperialists figure it is now open season on anyone who stands in their way.

Gentile/Newsweek

Populist priest Aristide campaigning for president last December.

Popular Front Means Workers' Blood

We have been meeting with a number of Haitian militants over the past weeks. What I want to do is deal with some of the political questions that have come up. Following Aristide's landslide victory last winter, we wrote:

> "Aristide will either play the role of groveling instrument of the Haitian bourgeoisie and the U.S. imperialist overlords or he will be swept away in a reactionary crackdown...."
>
> —*WV* No. 517, 4 January

Andrew Innerarity

Inauguration of new puppet president Joseph Nérette with bloody strongman, General Raoul Cedras (right).

In a way, both have actually happened! It is not with particular gratification that we note that our warning has proven correct. What is important is to understand why we were able to see clearly when all the others who claim to uphold Marxism were caught up in the wild enthusiasm for "Titid." In refusing to go along with what we knew was a recipe for defeat, we were basing ourselves on the struggle by Marxists—that is, Trotskyists—against the popular front.

The popular front is a reformist strategy which consists of tying the working masses to the so-called "progressive" wing of the bourgeoisie. Again and again the strategy of the popular front has led to defeat, because it demobilizes the workers, undermines their class consciousness, and sets them up for bloody repression by their class enemy. In the Chinese Revolution of 1927 the powerful proletariat was chained by Stalin's Comintern to the so-called "anti-imperialist" wing of the bourgeois Kuomintang, who then turned on the workers and slaughtered thousands. In Chile in the early '70s, Salvador Allende led the workers into an alliance with Christian Democrats, setting them up to be smashed by Pinochet's bloody coup.

Aristide's coalition is a popular front which unites workers organizations like the CATH trade union and the Committee Against Repression/*Haïti Progrès* with political representatives of the Haitian bourgeoisie in the National Front for Change and Democracy (FNCD) along with the section of the Catholic church which espouses "liberation theology" (called "Ti Legliz" in Haiti). This coalition is based on a reformist program of trying to achieve "democracy" in Haiti by channeling the just rage of the masses into parliamentary politics. The idea is to use the massive popular support for Aristide to "pressure" a wing of the military into introducing "democratic" reforms and extirpating the Tontons Macoutes (deposed dictator Duvalier's army of thugs).

Aristide even declared that he "loves" General Cedras, who presided over the coup which overthrew him! It is a cruel illusion to pretend that part of the Haitian bourgeoisie, or its sadistic killers in uniform, can be won over to the side of the masses in the drive to root out the Tontons Macoutes. Complicity in unspeakable crimes is widespread at all levels of the Haitian elite, both in the army and among the bourgeoisie. When Aristide and his leftist supporters lead the masses in search of "progressive" bourgeois and "democratic" officers, they are leading the masses into a suicidal dead end.

The program we counterpose to the popular front is inspired by the experience of the 1917 Russian Revolution. Kerensky and the Mensheviks put together a class-collaborationist coalition between the working-class parties and the bourgeoisie. Lenin insisted on a policy of absolutely no political support to Kerensky's coalition government. Against the Menshevik program of allying with the supposedly "democratic" bourgeoisie, Lenin counterposed the *independent* working-class struggle for power—"All Power to the Soviets!" (soviets are councils of workers and soldiers).

What is necessary is international working-class struggle. Since the fall of Duvalier, the working class in Haiti has repeatedly made its preponderant social weight felt through general strikes—often for political demands—which have brought the country to a standstill. However, the weakness of the working class, largely confined to public transportation, small manufacturing and state-owned industry like electrical power generation, is a reflection of Haiti's dreadful poverty.

Haiti is a largely peasant country with large numbers of unemployed poor in the cities as well. The working class will place itself at the head of the peasants and other oppressed in forming a workers and peasants government, but it centrally needs reinforcement by the proletariat internationally.

The overwhelming bulk of the Haitian working class is in the diaspora, concentrated in the working class of North America and in the Caribbean. In the neighboring Dominican Republic, Haitian workers toil under slave conditions in the *bateys* (living quarters in the cane fields). Yet the real power of Haitian workers is in North American cities like Montreal, New York and Boston, where they are integrated into the proletariat. This was underscored in the hard-fought strike last year of Haitian textile workers at Domsey in Brooklyn—and it was hammered home in last week's massive demonstration against the coup.

These workers can be a living bridge between the revolution in Haiti and revolutionary working-class struggle throughout the continent. However, this cannot be achieved through simple trade-union struggle. It requires a revolutionary internationalist *party*, modeled on Lenin's Communist International.

No to U.S. Intervention in Haiti!

As Aristide extends his hand to Bush, asking U.S. imperialism to help restore him to power, the reaction of the Haitian left has been evident disorientation. The Haitian left is so locked into support for Aristide that even a group like *Haïti Progrès*, which has taken a stand against U.S. or UN intervention in Haiti, cannot find it in themselves to criticize their hero. In fact their political support for Aristide is more like religious adulation at times.

U.S. imperialism already directly intervened in Haiti in 1915 and was responsible for setting up what Graham Greene, in his novel *The Comedians*, called "the nightmare republic." Americans can read the novel; Haitians had to live it. The U.S. military regime in Haiti was, according to one historian, "probably the bloodiest in all of the Caribbean" (Donald Schulz and Douglas Granham [eds.], *Revolution and Counterrevolution in Central America and the Caribbean* [1984]).

The occupation of Haiti by the U.S. Marines provoked a national uprising. The rebellion of the *chacos* (peasant bands), led by Charlemagne Péralte, lasted for five years before it was drowned in blood. Against Haitian peasants armed with ancient pistols, cutlasses and flintlocks, the U.S. military unleashed light tanks, machine guns and bombers loaded with incendiaries. Thousands of Haitian peasants were slaughtered; the total number of U.S. deaths was *four*.

U.S. military commanders turned the whole country into a "free-fire zone," carrying out what one marine commander described as "practically indiscriminate killing" of the population. The Marines recruited an army of desperate killers and sadists, called the *gendarmes* (later changed to the *Garde*), to replace the former Haitian army which was simply dissolved. Together the Marines and their *gendarme* lackeys marauded the countryside butchering the population. The academic histories of Haiti and the U.S. occupation don't give a real sense of the sheer horror of what the Marines inflicted on that country. So I went back to the journalism of the time to see what dispatches got through the almost total military censorship.

In particular there is a document, written by Haitian nationalists and presented to the U.S. Congress, which documents atrocities—only a minute fraction of the total—committed by the U.S. Marines (*Nation*, 25 May 1921). Going over this list of names and places, one gets a sense of the special horrors that racist U.S. imperialism reserved for the descendants of Toussaint L'Ouverture's army of liberated slaves: an entire family wiped out, an old man murdered and mutilated, a blind man's head cut off and his child's as well, an invalid murdered, a man strung up and burned alive, a man tortured with a red-hot iron, another entire family wiped out.

This document reveals that the U.S. military set up concentration camps, or transformed existing prisons into veritable death camps. These are the so-called "democratic" imperialists that Aristide is now turning to for help. And the *gendarmes* are the predecessor of the army that Aristide hopes to "democratize."

State and Revolution

Now I want to say a word about that fellow who was carrying the sign calling for AK-47s. He has certain illusions too, but they are more interesting than placing confidence in U.S. intervention. At least this is a man with a healthy respect for a tool that doesn't keep jamming. The AK-47 was the weapon of choice in guerrilla struggles from Vietnam to Central America, and it was used by the Cuban troops that drove apartheid troops out of Angola. But it is not enough to take up the gun, as the tragic defeat of Charlemagne Péralte underlines—you also have to understand the question of state power.

In his classic work *State and Revolution*, Lenin quoted Engels on the nature of the state. Engels said that the state is essentially the repressive force of the dominant class, the army, police, prison system—he used the expression "armed

bodies of men." This is why it is impossible to significantly change society through elections—these "armed bodies" remain untouched. As Lenin explained, the central task of socialist revolution is the destruction of the capitalist state and its replacement with a *workers state*.

We have been meeting a number of Haitian militants since the coup who are convinced that the key problem is the destruction of the bourgeoisie's repressive apparatus. But they invariably conclude: "So *Aristide* should have purged the officer corps, armed the masses, etc." In other words, instead of breaking with the popular front, the masses should seek to *pressure* it further to the left.

Many Haitian militants have been going back over the history of Allende's Chile—and indeed the parallels with Aristide's Haiti are striking, as we pointed out in our last issue of *Workers Vanguard*. In June 1973 Allende brought into his cabinet the "constitutionalist" general Pinochet to supposedly head off a coup attempt, just as Aristide named Cedras to head the army for the same reason. Both Allende and Aristide were victims of the so-called "democratic" officers they were courting (although unlike Aristide, Allende did not make it out alive).

What Aristide is being asked to agree to now as a condition of being put back in some semblance of power is precisely the kind of guarantees that Allende signed. And if Aristide signs that paper, he should put red blood in the pen because that's what this is all about. We have often marched in demonstrations with the sign "Popular Front Means Workers' Blood," because illusions in the popular front mean that the workers will pay with their blood.

Aristide's supporters say that his coalition was not really a class-collaborationist popular front because it did not include a major bourgeois party. But the bourgeois politicians in the FNCD, such as the rich merchant Antoine Izméry, had an importance which extended well beyond their limited support among the bourgeoisie. They were an important symbol, a guarantee to the bourgeoisie that as long as they were present in Aristide's coalition it could not be pressured into overstepping the bounds of minimum reforms. In Spain in the 1930s, where a similar small group of bourgeois lawyers and politicians was a key component of the popular front, Trotsky called them the "shadow of the bourgeoisie."

Liberation Theology

However, even without the presence of the FNCD, the chief guarantee that Aristide and Ti Legliz will not overstep the bounds of capitalism is their direct tie to the Catholic church. Aristide's leftist supporters pretend not to notice that the Catholic church has a defined class character. It is one of the bastions of the capitalist order. Those like Aristide who seek a radical democratic transformation of society while remaining within the framework of the church must inevitably run up against the fact that it is a bourgeois institution.

In a sense the "best" that could be expected from radical priests in the struggle against the bourgeoisie was seen in Nicaragua, where "liberation theology" priests participated in the armed struggle which in 1979 brought down the Somoza dictatorship. Yet from the start they exerted a constant pressure to avoid a revolutionary overturn of capitalism. Prominent Christians like Fernando Cardenal and Miguel d'Escoto, organized in the FSLN-initiated group *Los Doce* (the Twelve), were a key component of the cement which bound the Sandinista guerrillas to prominent bourgeois figures. Once in power, the petty-bourgeois Sandinista forces sought for years to steer a "middle road" and avoid expropriating the bourgeoisie, and the priests in the Sandinista regime consistently blocked with openly bourgeois forces to favor a definitive consolidation of capitalism, as finally took place last year.

WV Photos

"Smash the Coup! Workers to Power!" says Spartacist sign at UN demonstration, October 1. More than 5,000 copies of Spartacist literature have been bought in recent weeks by Haitians demonstrating against the coup.

The preaching by "liberation theology" of reconciliation and "love thine enemy" inevitably translates into class collaboration. In a situation of explosive social tensions, this religious moralism is a deadly danger for the struggling masses. Radical priests in Haiti, their vision blurred by religious conciliationism, have in the past led their followers into deadly confrontations unprepared. In the summer of 1987 hundreds of peasants organized by Ti Legliz were murdered near the town of Jean-Rabel by a private militia of Tontons Macoutes. In July of that year some 2,500 peasants organized in the cooperative Tet Ansanm were on their way to a reconciliation party. But before they got there, they were trapped and murdered. The mass grave had already been dug.

The martyrs of the "liberation theology" movement who braved torture, rape and death at the hands of the brutal U.S.-sponsored military regimes have been legion, from Camilo Torres who died in 1966 while fighting on the side of Colombian guerrillas, to the Jesuit priest Rutillo Grande who was murdered in Salvador in 1977, and even including the archconservative Archbishop Romero of San Salvador, who was gunned down in 1980 by the fascistic forces of former intelligence officer Roberto d'Aubuisson. Already in 1980 author Penny Lernoux estimated at some 200 the number of Latin American religious figures who had been tortured, killed or "disappeared."

Yet the fact that the "liberation theology" movement has had hundreds of martyrs is not unrelated to the fact that, advocating conciliationism and universal brotherhood between the classes, it goes against the laws of history. The barbaric rulers of Haiti, who soak up superprofits while paying their workers less than they spend per day on cocktails, are not going to give up their privileges out of charity. The long-suffering working people of Haiti have no need for more martyrs. They need revolutionary power and the overthrow of the vicious capitalist system. For all his good will and undeniable courage, Aristide is betraying his followers and leading them to slaughter like a Judas goat.

Pouvoir Ouvrier!

The Haitian experience underscores the fact that the struggle for social justice and the most basic democratic gains of the bourgeois revolution in countries which suffer the yoke of imperialism requires challenging the foundations of the capitalist order. This is the lesson of the Russian Revolution, where working-class power simultaneously achieved basic democratic gains and broke with capitalism to set up a planned economy—and to lead that, you need a Bolshevik party. This understanding is summarized in Trotsky's theory and program of permanent revolution.

Yet the cruel underdevelopment and violently brutal repression in Haiti have tended to blur class differentiation and undercut class struggle. This is fertile soil for the radical populism put forward by Ti Legliz. It also causes many mass upsurges to be focused on exacting just revenge against individual Duvalierist killers through "Pè LeBrun"—the burning tire "necklacing"—without directly confronting the capitalist class. Comrades, the enemy is not only the pig spy who you see every day, it's also the Michelin company who manufactures the tires!

As we wrote in our last issue of *Workers Vanguard*, under revolutionary leadership the working class would organize people's tribunals to root out the Tontons Macoutes as part of the struggle for proletarian power. In the absence of a strong working-class axis there is a real danger that, as the army launches indiscriminate massacres and the masses respond with an orgy of "necklacing," this already tortured country could be engulfed in a bloodbath without opening the road to liberation of the masses.

But above all, the way forward will not be found in the nationalist search for a "Haitian solution" propounded by Aristide and his leftist supporters. The struggle against the hideous poverty and oppression of the Haitian masses must be seen as part of an international class struggle against imperialism in which Haitian workers in the cities of North America can play a key role. Haitian nationalists are forever lamenting the fact that the Haitian diaspora exists. Comrades, it is very *good* that you have this diaspora! It internationalizes the struggle of Haitian workers, gives them social power and helps forge an international vanguard directly linked to the U.S. proletariat, which has the power to bring imperialism to its knees.

The Haitian people do not have to stand alone. But what is necessary is an internationalist perspective. The U.S. empire has attracted like a magnet its colonial slaves, who make up a significant fraction of the U.S. proletariat. In addition to the more than 300,000 Haitians in New York there are over half a million Dominicans, close to two million Puerto Ricans, plus tens of thousands of Salvadoran refugees from death squad terror. These workers from Yankee imperialism's Caribbean "backyard" can cement a link to the rest of the American proletariat, black and white.

The Haitian revolutionary masses, who in the 18th century burst the chains of slavery, were the vanguard of the Americas—and the experience of that revolution is today, two centuries later, still deeply embedded in the consciousness of the Haitian masses. That revolution had enormous international significance. Itself part of the French and American bourgeois revolutions, the Haitian Revolution served as a beacon, inspiring slave revolts throughout the Americas. The bourgeois nationalists in Haiti hold up Dessalines as their hero, precisely because he presided over the throttling of the revolution. We look to Toussaint L'Ouverture, who was an internationalist, who understood the necessity of revolution in France and elsewhere.

Haitian workers throughout the diaspora are today a vital link between revolutionary class struggle in Haiti and throughout the Caribbean, and the North American continent. Organizing the most conscious elements into an international Bolshevik party, a Trotskyist party, is the task the International Communist League sets itself in the struggle for worldwide socialist revolution, and I hope that some of them are in the audience here today.

A bas l'impérialisme! Pouvoir ouvrier en Haiti et aux Etats-Unis! ■

Spartacist Pamphlet

Contents:

- **Toussaint L'Ouverture and the Haitian Revolution**
- **Mobilize Labor/Black Power to Stop the KKK**
- **Mumia Abu-Jamal Speeks from Death Row**
- **Battle of Christiana—A Blow Against Slavery**
- **Malcolm X on Klan Terror**
- **Genocide U.S.A.**

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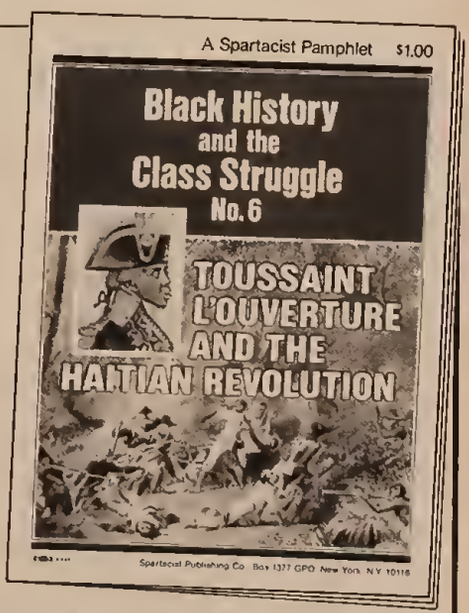

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WORKERS VANGUARD

New York: Mammoth Protest Against the Coup

Haitian Workers: Fight for Power!

WV Photo

October 11—Over 100,000 Haitian protesters tie up Wall Street, financial center of world capitalism.

We print below an edited version of a Spartacist forum by Bruce André in New York City on October 18.

The arrogant killers who threw out President Jean-Bertrand Aristide and took power in a coup last month have been glorying in their unlimited power to humiliate, abuse and murder. Prominent Aristide supporters have been arbitrarily arrested and an OAS delegation was run out of the country practically at gunpoint. But the military's real bloodlust has been turned against the helpless population, which has been gunned down in the streets by the hundreds.

Since the coup, the imperialist overlords in Washington have been acting as if the question of who rules in Haiti will be decided "at the top," by their negotiations with the Haitian military and various Latin American governments. Aristide says he's pleased because Haitian businessmen are starting to feel the squeeze from the U.S.-sponsored economic boycott of Haiti. But an article in yesterday's *New York Times* from the Haitian town of Jérémie reports that the population is preparing to hold out against army terror and has been carrying out a general strike since the coup.

The news from Jérémie points to what is needed: hard working-class struggle. In Haiti, even though the working class has homogeneity and social weight, it is extremely small. Yet the Haitian working class has strength in the cities of North America where Haitians are heavily concentrated in the proletariat. We have repeatedly insisted on this,

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WARNING: NYC Hospitals Dangerous to Your Health

Even as Mayor Dinkins had his photo op at the Kings County Hospital bedside of Yankel Rosenbaum, the Australian Hasidic student knifed by black youths in the August 19 Crown Heights riot, the injured man was bleeding to death from an untreated stab wound. An hour later, he was dead.

On October 7, as the investigation of Rosenbaum's death continued, prominent black civil rights lawyer William C. Chance, Jr., an old friend of Dinkins, bled to death from a peptic ulcer in the Harlem Hospital emergency room, after waiting 18 hours for treatment.

Chance, a former member of Harlem Hospital's community board, probably thought he'd be well taken care of there. Instead, he was told to go home because there weren't enough beds; after he refused he was then ignored until he collapsed, another victim of the hellish New York public hospitals. Hundreds of mourners attended Chance's funeral in Harlem, at which Dinkins promised a thorough inquiry into his death.

Because of these highly publicized deaths, attention has suddenly focused on the disaster of New York's public hospital system, the largest in the country. In addition to the Rosenbaum and Chance probes, four other deaths in the last two months are under investigation. In one case, the Brooklyn D.A.'s office is considering murder charges after Roger Wade, a mentally ill prison inmate (serving 25 years for selling two $5 vials of crack) was choked to death while being "restrained" by eight untrained Kings County nurse's aides.

Last week Dinkins announced a major investigation of the city's hospitals, in an attempt to "restore" public confidence in the system. Ludicrously, the mayor proclaimed at a press conference that former Manhattan Borough president Percy Sutton, who "has the capacity to go to almost any hospital he wishes," went to Harlem Hospital for tests and is now "terrific."

But the deaths of Rosenbaum and Chance are only the cases you hear of. Every day thousands of poor and uninsured New Yorkers seek help from the public hospitals, which are their only source of medical care for everything from ear infections to cancer to gunshot wounds. They fill the already

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WORKERS VANGUARD

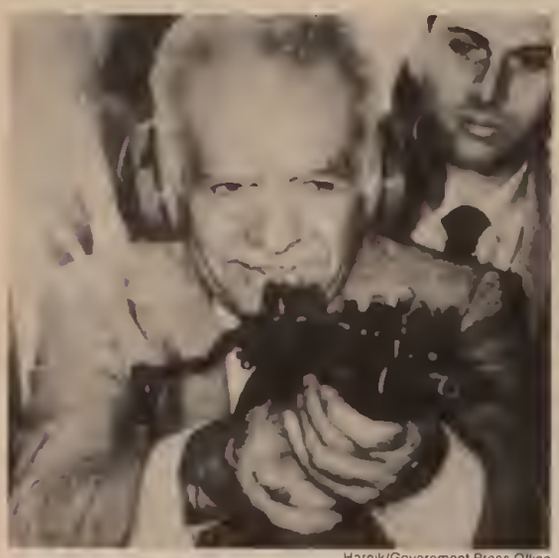
25¢

No. 538

8 November 1991

Israel Out of the Occupied Territories!

Palestinians Shafted by Phony "Peace" Talks



Harnik/Government Press Office

Bakhshandagi/Rapho

Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Shamir brandishing Uzi submachine gun. Palestinian *Intifada* mass revolt defied Zionist occupation and state terror on the West Bank and Gaza.

The heads of both the Israeli and Jordanian delegations at the Near East talks in Madrid started out their speeches with the word "peace." But whether you say it "shalom" or "salaam," there was no peace around the conference table—and there will be no peace in the region until the Zionist butchers and their bourgeois Arab counterparts, all propped up by imperialism, are swept away by socialist revolutions.

Bush and Baker are seeking to forge a Pax Americana in the Near East over the corpses of more than 100,000 Iraqis slaughtered by the U.S.-led murder machine earlier this year. They want to put an end to the interminable "squabbling" between the Zionist state and its Arab neighbors which makes this region a prime nuclear powder keg. This has been Washington's goal for decades. Now, with the Soviet Union out of the picture, they think they can forge a stable "consensus" with everyone bowing down to U.S. imperialist hegemony.

Pax Americana Means More Slaughter

The Americans' imperial ambitions far exceed their ability to enforce them on this crazy quilt of entrenched national, communal and religious antagonism. But one thing can be said with certainty: there is no place in Bush's "New World Order" for the long-oppressed Palestinian nation. Despite all the hoopla about a "historic opportunity," and the self-congratulatory crowing by petty-bourgeois Palestinian leaders that they finally have a place at the conference

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Noriega Trial: The Bush Connection

Panama: U.S. Invasion Killed Thousands

The case of *United States of America v. General Manuel Antonio Noriega* was supposed to be the legal paradigm of George Bush's "New World Order." U.S. courts indict the leader of a sovereign country on charges of violating U.S. laws which are held to apply outside U.S. territory. The Panamanian strongman becomes No. 1 on Washington's wanted list in the international "war on drugs." A full-blast propaganda campaign turns pock-marked "pineapple face" into the personification of all evil. Then U.S. cops of the world track down the culprit in his lair and bring him to "justice." But the show trial currently under way in Miami isn't exactly going according to script.

Actually, it wasn't supposed to happen at all. Used to be that CIA "assets" who had become debits were simply "terminated with extreme prejudice," as was the fate of Trujillo in Santo Domingo and Diem in Saigon. But since the assassination business was declared off-limits for the Company after Nixon's Watergate fiasco, the Reagan/Bush style has been to declare war on the malefactor's country and then target Numero Uno's home under

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AP

Bush and Noriega together at Panama City airport in 1983. These two CIA men go back a long way.

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Free Gary Tyler!

On December 4, Gary Tyler will again appear before the Louisiana Board of Pardons to seek release from the racist frame-up which has stolen 17 years of his life. He was framed on charges of killing a white student in 1974, when Tyler's school bus was attacked by a racist mob of 200 organized by the KKK outside recently desegregated Destrehan High School. When Tyler intervened to stop a deputy from harassing a black student after the shooting, he was dragged to the sheriff's department, brutally beaten, and stuck with the bogus murder rap. David Duke, then a rising star in the KKK, now Republican candidate for Louisiana governor, made a name for himself by rushing into town to organize vigilantes.

It was a classic Southern frame-up. The "murder" weapon—a .45 planted by the cops under Tyler's bus seat (and "discovered" after the bus was taken to the police garage)—disappeared after forensic tests showed that the bullet actually came from a .22. To make their case, Destrehan cops terrorized Larry Dabney into testifying against his classmate: "The deputies didn't even ask me what I saw. They told me flat out I was going to be their key witness." Dabney, who has since recanted, was told to "sign the statement they put together for me or I was going to jail for ten years."

After the hanging judge told the all-white jury it could presume Gary Tyler was guilty, he was convicted and sentenced to the electric chair. Two years later the U.S. Supreme Court declared Louisiana's death penalty statute unconstitutional and Tyler's sentence was commuted to life. Though the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in 1980 declared the trial "fundamentally unfair," Gary Tyler remains locked up in the notorious hell of Angola prison due to the legal technicality that his lawyer failed to object to the outrageous constitutional violations at trial!

Bleaux/Louisiana Weekly

Gary Tyler, victim of racist frame-up.

Last year the Board recommended a reduction of Tyler's sentence, which would have qualified him for parole in five years. But Governor Buddy Roemer, a lame duck after losing to KKKer Duke in last month's primary, denied clemency. On November 5 the Partisan Defense Committee wrote to Roemer demanding Tyler's immediate release. Send letters calling for Gary Tyler's freedom to: Governor Buddy Roemer, P.O. Box 94004, Baton Rouge, LA 70804.

* * *

Bright yellow sun beats down from aqua blue skies. Groupers and angelfish swim peacefully around potbellied snorkelers. St. Croix, Virgin Islands—tropical bliss for U.S. tourists, grinding poverty and racist oppression for the native population.

An American colony since 1917, the U.S. Virgin Islands is an exploiters' paradise of tax shelters and naked racist exploitation. For daring to organize against U.S. colonial rule, Virgin Islander Haniff Shabazz-Bey has spent nearly half his life in the Marion, Illinois prison "Control Unit," the victim of a notorious racist frame-up.

Following the brutal murders of eight tourists at the plush Rockefeller-owned Fountain Valley golf course on 6 September 1972, the U.S. government sent in a 300-man invasion force and placed the island under virtual martial law. The FBI, U.S. Army helicopter crews and Navy command units from Puerto Rico armed with nerve gas and machine guns conducted house-to-house searches, hunting down all known opponents of U.S. colonialism. Roadblocks were set up, blacks dragged from their cars, searched and hauled off for interrogation. Community organizer Haniff Shabazz-Bey, recently returned from Vietnam with an undesirable discharge for expressing his black nationalist views to his racist officers, was among five charged with the golf course killings.

The feds used an unfailing prosecutorial strategy—to force Shabazz-Bey to

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TROTSKY

LENIN

October 1917 and the World Revolution

The workers of Russia rose to power under the leadership of Lenin and Trotsky's Bolshevik Party on 7 November 1917 (October 25 in the old Russian calendar) based on the perspective of world socialist revolution. The Stalinist bureaucracy which subsequently usurped political power from the Soviet proletariat destroyed its Bolshevik vanguard and repudiated the internationalist program of Bolshevism. Undermined by decades of Stalinist sabotage, the Soviet Union is now in the grip of a capitalist-restorationist drive. Writing on the fifteenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, Leon Trotsky emphasized that an international revolutionary perspective was key to defending the gains of October. That is what guides the International Communist League in struggling to defeat the forces of counterrevolution.

The leaders and the masses saw in the October upheaval only the first stage of the world revolution. The thought of an independent development of socialism in isolated Russia was, in the year 1917, neither defended nor supported nor formulated by anybody. In the following years as well the whole party without exception viewed the economic construction as the substructure of the material base for the dictatorship of the proletariat, as the preservation of the economic alliance between city and country, and finally as the creation of points of support for the future socialist society which could be developed only on an international basis.

The road to the world revolution has proved to be much longer and more tortuous than we had hoped and expected fifteen years ago. To the external difficulties, of which the historic role of reformism showed itself to be the most important, were added the internal ones, above all, the policies of the epigones of Bolshevism, false to their core and fatal in their consequence. The bureaucracy of the first workers' state—unconsciously, but that is no excuse—does everything decisive to prevent the birth of a second workers' state. The knots tied by the bureaucracy must be untied or cut in order to proceed on the road to the revolution....

The economic successes of the Soviet Union are very great but, as we celebrate its fifteenth anniversary, its contradictions and difficulties have taken on threatening proportions. Lags, interruptions, and disproportions bear witness in the first place to wrong leadership. But that is not the whole of it. They reveal that the construction of a harmonious society is possible only through an uninterrupted experience extending over decades and only on an international basis. The technical and cultural obstacles—the gulf between city and country, the difficulties of import and export trade—prove that the October Revolution demands continuation on an international scale. Internationalism is not a convention ritual but a matter of life and death.

—Leon Trotsky, "Fifteen Years!" (October 1932)

Remember the Greensboro Martyrs

Twelve years have passed since the Greensboro Massacre. In broad daylight, the KKK/Nazi death squad drove up to a black housing project in Greensboro, North Carolina, where an anti-Klan rally was gathering. With cool deliberation, the killers took their weapons out of the trunk, aimed, fired, and drove off. Five leftists, civil rights activists and union organizers lay dying in pools of blood, others were wounded or maimed for life. These were the opening shots, carried out under the Democratic Carter administration, of the Reagan years' war on labor and blacks.

Greensboro was a conspiracy of the fascists and their patrons in the capitalist state. From the outset, the KKK and Nazis were aided and abetted by the government, from the G-man who helped train the killers and plot the assassinations to the "former" FBI informer who rode shotgun in the motorcade of death and the Greensboro cop who brought up the rear. Two successive all-white juries acquitted the killers of all charges, affirming once again the meaning of "justice" in this racist capitalist state.

"Greensboro"—the name cries out for justice, for vengeance. When the liberals claim it was a "shootout" and say to ignore the fascists, when the lynchers say they want to parade in their white sheets in our neighborhoods, we remember Greensboro by mobilizing to stop them. Immediately after the massacre, when the fascists sought to march in black Detroit, we organized a labor/black mobilization to stop them, as we have done from Washington and Philadelphia to Chicago and San Francisco.

Greensboro Daily News

Nelson Johnson, a survivor of the Greensboro Massacre, kneels by slain comrade.

In Boston last March, the Partisan Defense Committee initiated a united-front protest against another deadly dangerous KKK/Nazi, David Duke, the "Klan in a suit." Today Duke is in the runoff election for governor of Louisiana as the bourgeois parties, and even some on the left, maintain a conspiracy of silence on his fascist past...and present (see "SWP Soft-Pedals Fascist Duke," page four).

We honor the Greensboro martyrs—Cesar Cauce, Michael Nathan, Bill Sampson, Sandi Smith, James Waller—and rededicate ourselves to the fight against fascist terror. The working class in power, the third American revolution, will ensure there shall be *No More Greensboros!*

3 November 1979

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co 41 Warren Street, New York NY 10007 Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial) (212) 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO New York, NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions $7.00/24 issues Second-class postage paid at New York NY POSTMASTER Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard* Box 1377 GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 538 **8 November 1991**

For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

Polish Elections: Protest Against Walesa "Shock Treatment"

Szulecki/NY Times

On eve of Polish elections, miners protest in Warsaw against Solidarność government's attacks on workers.

WARSAW—The October 27 parliamentary elections registered a sharp protest against the capitalist "shock treatment" being meted out by the government of president Lech Walesa and his economics czar Leszek Balcerowicz.

Balcerowicz's Liberal-Democratic Congress and Walesa's Center Alliance got a bare 7 percent each. They were both swamped by the Democratic Left Alliance dominated by the ex-Stalinist Social Democrats (SdRP), which came in a close second to the Democratic Union of former Solidarność prime minister Tadeusz Mazowiecki, who was forced out by Walesa, with some 12 percent each. The official peasant party under the former Stalinist regime also beat out the government parties. The degree of popular cynicism with the current regime was shown by the near 60 percent abstention rate and was punctuated by the strong showing for the Beer Lovers Party (PPPP), founded a couple of months ago by some actors, more as a joke than a political group.

But the election campaign was no joke. Frustration and despair over widespread immiseration was also channeled into significant votes for openly clericalist and anti-Semitic parties to the right of the Solidarność mainstream, like Catholic Electoral Action and the "Christian nationalist" Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN).

What was touted as Poland's "first free parliamentary election" in the postwar era was marked by an ominous wave of anti-Semitism and anti-Communism. "Phantoms of last year's presidential election campaign revived," wrote the ex-Stalinist newspaper *Trybuna*, describing how Stars of David with gallows and the word "Jew" had been sprayed over election posters. The anti-Semitic National Party ran TV broadcasts screaming that the "Judeo-Kommuna [Communism] and Judeo-Solidarność control all political life." A day after one televised tirade by these right-wingers, anti-Semitic thugs carried out an unsuccessful attack at the entrance to Warsaw's only synagogue.

Meanwhile Walesa, who pushed "Who are the Jews?" racist demagogy in his successful presidential bid last year, issued statements accusing "the people of the Communist system" of being responsible for the bad economic situation and for anti-government demonstrations. Walesa's threats to "lead the streets" against "Communism" were accompanied by former Carter adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski, who proclaimed in a national television broadcast that the former "people's republic" had been run by "traitors, criminals and thieves." Though electioneering was officially forbidden the day before the vote, state television carried an inflammatory hour-long program on "Communist crimes," demanding that former Stalinists be arraigned as "gangsters" and "offenders."

The Catholic hierarchy, stung by its failure last spring to push a blanket ban on abortion through the Sejm (parliament), took back its earlier promise not to endorse candidates and issued a public appeal from the pulpits to vote only for "Christian" lists in order to combat the "disciplined electorate of the former Communist party." *Trybuna* reported that in some churches campaign leaflets were being distributed on election day. One bishop stated outright that Catholics should vote for Catholics, Jews for Jews, and Communists for Communists. These pogromist appeals come in a country where only several thousand Jews remain.

In the aftermath of the elections, with various parties scrambling to form some sort of tenuous coalition government, Walesa seized the opportunity to put forward his bid to play the role of bonaparte, "offering" to take over as prime minister as well as president. Walesa has long wanted to follow in the footsteps of his idol, Marshal Jozef Pilsudski, the fascistic dictator of interwar Poland. But his increasingly despised capitalist regime has neither Pilsudski's authority nor his power, and his "offer" was instantly rebuffed.

Gamma

Solidarność leader Lech Walesa and his friends: anti-Communist, anti-Semitic, anti-working-class.

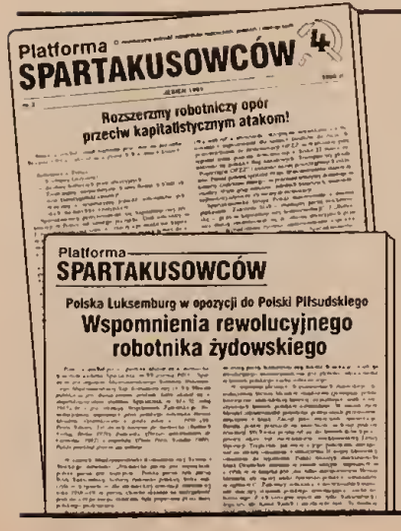
The ex-Stalinists, whose OPZZ trade-union federation is several times larger than the Solidarność "union," are seen as the only ones organizing mass protest against the "Balcerowicz plan" of IMF-dictated austerity. But their opposition remains carefully within the bounds of transition to a full-fledged capitalist economy. Demonstrations, like the recent "silent marches" by the teachers union, are tightly controlled, with workers from the factories discouraged from attending. As a result, a demonstration by old-age pensioners in September was taken over by vocal anti-Semites. In the days before the vote, SdRP leader Cimoszewicz condemned any demonstrations at all, for fear of upsetting their electoral prospects. Yet a thousand OPZZ miners, their number deliberately kept low by the bureaucrats, staged a protest against the attacks on their pensions on the eve of the election.

In the election campaign, the SdRP-led left alliance did not so much as mention the word socialism, calling only for a social safety net, defense of free education and higher wages under the capitalist state. With unemployment around 10 percent and millions more barely surviving on poverty wages, the Social Democrats do not demand jobs for all but offer only mealy-mouthed opposition to "mass, structural" unemployment. Instead of attacking rising anti-Semitism and anti-Roma (Gypsy) pogroms head-on, they preach "tolerance." Instead of forthrightly fighting clerical attacks on abortion, they call for a "referendum" on the question. In the face of redbaiting attacks following the August coup in the Soviet Union, the SdRP broadcast its opposition to the coup and support to the "democratic" forces behind Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary countercoup.

What passed for Trotskyists in Poland until recently were in fact social-democratic denizens of the Solidarność swamp. *Dalej*, the newspaper of self-styled "Trotskyist" supporters of Ernest Mandel's United Secretariat, called for a vote to candidates representing "workers' interests," like a Nowa Huta steelworks leader of Solidarność '80, run by the virulently anti-Communist and anti-Semitic Marian Jurczyk. And Mandel favorite Jozef Pinior's supporters not only ran on the platform of Labor Solidarity, but organized its campaign out of their office.

In contrast, the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski refused to call for a vote to any candidate in the current elections, and sought instead to intervene with a Trotskyist program in workers' protests against capitalist attacks. At the Warsaw teachers demonstration, we were the only ones distributing literature. The SGP is the only organization in Poland which forthrightly opposes the counterrevolutionary tide sweeping East Europe and the Soviet Union, fighting to revive the revolutionary unity of the Soviet, Polish and German workers. Against the clericalist onslaught, we struggle openly against all manifestations of anti-Semitism and fight to defend and restore the full right to free abortion on demand.

In our paper *Platforma Spartakusowców* and in demonstrations we called to "Extend workers resistance to capitalist attacks!" and "Build a Leninist-Trotskyist party" capable of leading to victory the struggle against Solidarność counterrevolution. We used our very limited forces to establish a Leninist pole of attraction and we continue in this vital task. ■



Platforma Spartakusowców

Newspaper of the Spartakusowska Grupa Polski

No. 2, Fall 1991 (US $ 50)

Contents include:

- **Extend Workers Resistance Against Capitalist Attacks!**
- **Internationalist Polish Trotskyists Fought Against Hitler's Invasion—From the Warsaw Ghetto: Defend the Soviet Union!**
- **1981—Sperteciste Said: Stop Solidernosc Counterrevolution!**
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Crown Heights: FIT Panders to Pogromists

In the aftermath of the death of a seven-year-old black child, Gavin Cato, on the streets of Crown Heights, Brooklyn in August there was an explosion of deadly violence between blacks and Jews of the Hasidic Lubavitcher sect. Cato was struck down by a reckless driver who was part of a speeding motorcade carrying the chief rabbi of the Lubavitcher sect. The same night a Hasidic scholar, Yankel Rosenbaum, was murdered in revenge, knifed by a gang of young blacks.

For three days the Crown Heights area exploded, as blacks and Hassidim stoned each other and black youth battled the cops. Black nationalist demagogues like Sonny Carson and FBI fink Al Sharpton fed intercommunal violence, organizing a march on the Lubavitcher synagogue and diverting the anger of black youth away from the capitalist rulers who are behind the grinding poverty and cop terror in the ghetto. In a grotesque and deadly example of the politics of nationalist despair, the most oppressed victims of racist, capitalist America chanted "Heil Hitler!" and carried signs reading "Hitler didn't finish the job."

New York has been poised at a fever pitch of racial tensions, especially between blacks and Jews. There are poisonous demagogues on both sides, the Farrakhans, Sharptons and Carsons versus the Kochs, Kahanes and Sulzbergers—with the latter having a lot more clout in New York City. In a speech last summer on "multicultural education" Leonard Jeffries, head of the African-American Studies Department at City College, threw his anti-Semitic ravings into this cauldron, adding his voice to those who would see New York ripped by race war. In our article "Death in Crown Heights" (*WV* No. 533, 30 August), we denounced how "Cops, Nationalists, Zionists Fan Flames in Brooklyn."

As communists we seek to provide the revolutionary answer to the program of nationalist despair and all-sided race-hate that only serves the Wall Street rulers, who, you better understand, are rich WASPs. But fake-left organizations in New York responded to the Crown Heights events by simply disappearing any anti-Semitism (Communist Party) or *joining* with their banners in the nationalists' provocative march on the Lubavitcher synagogue (Workers World Party). And in the wake of this explosion of deadly hate, the supposedly socialist Fourth Internationalist Tendency (FIT) explicitly *applauded* "attacks against individual Jews" in Crown Heights.

An article on "New Crisis in 'Black-Jewish Relations'" by Steve Bloom in the October issue of the FIT's *Bulletin in Defense of Marxism* states:

> "It is reasonable to say that the role of the Lubavitchers in collaborating with the police and otherwise promoting the oppression of Blacks within Crown Heights is, on a small scale, analogous to the collaboration of Israel with the imperialist governments around the world in the oppression of Arabs and others....
>
> "If this is true then a rebellion which directs itself against that oppression—whether it be rock and bottle throwing and even attacks against individual Jews in Crown Heights, or the Intifada in the occupied territories—has to be seen as a normal and positive response on the part of the oppressed people concerned—regardless of whether the specific tactics used are effective, and regardless of whether an anti-Semitic ideology may play a role."

So for *BIDOM* editor Steve Bloom the *murder* of Yankel Rosenbaum was a "positive response"! This is the Nazi/Zionist policy of "collective guilt" and a recipe for race war.

Slandering the *Intifada*

The "theoretical" parallel that Bloom and the FIT offer for their vicarious pogromism is a *lie*. It is not only an opportunist capitulation to the nationalist demagogues, it is a gross slander of the more than 1,000 martyrs of the *Intifada* who were gunned down by Israeli occupation forces and fascistic settlers. The Palestinian organization that shares Bloom's appetite for communalism and attacks on individual Jews is the Islamic fundamentalist Hamas. With a shady history of support by the Zionist authorities, Hamas has also sought to impose the *hijab* (headscarf) on Palestinian women—showering with stones those who refused to bow to this reactionary fundamentalism. Of course, it is the racist Zionist rulers who are the supreme practitioners of communalist bloodletting.

Like the black nationalists and Democratic Party hustlers they opportunistically pander to, the FIT is selling anti-Semitism, the "socialism of fools." For the most part the FIT is an irrelevant leftover from the Socialist Workers Party, gazing resolutely backwards to the SWP's salad days when bourgeois politicians graced the platforms of their pop-front antiwar coalition. But the FIT's mentor, the late George Breitman, was the author of the SWP's infatuation with black nationalism, which led them in 1968 to side with the capitalist Ford Foundation and liberal mayor John Lindsay's campaign to break the power of the teachers union by setting minorities against the UFT.

Paraskevas/Newsday

Yankel Rosenbaum lies bleeding in Crown Heights.

Here the FIT is on even more dangerous territory as it discovers that "consistent nationalism" leads to...*pogroms*! After a nod to opposing "any resurgence of anti-Semitic sentiment," Bloom launches into a defense of the anti-Semitic crackpot theories of CUNY professor Leonard Jeffries, reprinting lengthy excerpts from Jeffries' speech and merely politely suggesting that he "adapted unacceptably to anti-Semitic sentiments prevalent in the Black community." Bloom advises Jeffries to clean up his act when he rants about a "Jewish conspiracy" against blacks. By changing "the word 'conspiracy' to something else, in every case a valid thought remains," he claims. The "thought" that remains is: anti-Semitism. The FIT's position on New York City is not different from that of its International which hails as "freedom fighters" the Baltic fascists who helped annihilate the entire remaining Jewish population of Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania while working for the Nazis.

For in every case nationalists, who place "their" nations above others, have at least a fascist wing. While national self-determination is a democratic right, *nationalism*, which is false consciousness, is a fraud. National appeals are always a way for the rulers, present or would-be, to tie the masses of workers and other poor strata to the masters of the nation. Hitler, an almost perfect nationalist, fought against *anything* he saw as transnational: Judaism, communism, the Catholic church, the Masons. Of course, the nationalism of the oppressed contains a kernel of truth. From Ireland to the *Intifada*, you find not only a fascist wing but also sections that come pretty close to the communists.

Blacks in New York City are not the same as post-World War I Germans, but they do have something in common: they are peoples in despair. They have completely different reasons for the despair. In the Germans' case, they lost an imperialist war. Blacks in America moved heavily into the industrial proletariat in World War II, but in subsequent economic contractions, as a chronic reserve army of the unemployed they were confined in ghettos, and, particularly over the last decade and a half, a whole generation of youth has been increasingly thoroughly lumpenized. So today, struggling in the exotic conditions of Brooklyn, they have fallen into the old Russian tradition of "kick the Yid." And the Hasidic Jews are preconditioned to expect exactly that from their experience in the old country.

In this situation, the FIT position is an abomination. If there is anyone left in the FIT who wants to make a revolution, who wants to destroy the stranglehold of the Democratic Party *and* its black front men who exploit black misery by playing the anti-Semitic card, we suggest they look long and hard at where their organization has come down on Crown Heights.

A dozen years ago, during another bloody, fratricidal confrontation in Crown Heights, the Spartacist League fought the SWP and other reformists who jumped on the nationalists' anti-Semitic bandwagon as they sought to make Jews the scapegoats for capitalism's war on the black masses. As the Spartacist candidate for NY state assembly said then in denouncing the SWP: "*There's nothing in any kind of communist program that calls for marching on a synagogue*," ■

SWP Soft-Pedals Fascist Duke

The oddball reformists of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) have hit a new low. For years the eclectic Castroites of the SWP have ludicrously attempted to portray American farmers as akin to oppressed Latin American *campesinos*. That's made for some pretty strange bedfellows. As we wrote some years ago in "Strange Sprouts in Barnes' Yard" (*WV* No. 326, 25 March 1983):

> "The SWP's main competitor in this milieu is the fascistic anti-Semitic organization of Lyndon LaRouche.... Perhaps the next *Militant* will tell us, 'Where the Klan goes wrong on democratic rights'."

Seems like Jack Barnes' outfit decided to confirm our prediction, or perhaps all those years spent down on the farm have left the SWP with mashed turnips for brains. An election leaflet by SWP candidates in New York purporting to tell "The Truth About the Vote for David Duke" prettifies this fascist with a face-lift, with yet more cosmetic surgery—never once does it mention the words *Klan*, *Nazi* or *fascist*!

Like the capitalist politicians who play down Duke's KKK past *and present* as a mortal danger to blacks, labor and all those the fascists target, the SWP describes Duke only as an "outspoken racist" whose "radical right-wing appeal is designed to tap into deep frustration felt by middle-class layers and a layer of working-class whites"—evidently the same electorate the SWP wants to "tap into." (In San Francisco, the SWP is running for sheriff and district attorney.)

The thoroughly reformist SWP, these would-be "cop socialists," can no longer even recognize fascism much less organize to crush it. The Spartacist League, in contrast, has responded to the ominous rise of American fascism by organizing massive labor/black mobilizations to stop these killers when and where they've reared their heads in major urban centers across the country.

In fact, the SWP provides these lynchers and cross-burners a platform to incite racist genocide by meeting them in TV studios for oh-so-respectable "candidates' debates," as they did with California's Grand Dragon Tom Metzger! The SWP also emerged as the "socialist" defenders of Nazi war criminals Klaus Barbie (the "Butcher of Lyon") and Karl Linnas, whose extradition to the Soviet Union they opposed, protesting that "Linnas, Barbie, and other war criminals like them are scapegoats" (*Militant*, 12 June 1987).

Ever since the Greensboro Massacre of 1979, we repeatedly emphasized that the growth of KKK and Nazi terror at home was the domestic reflection of U.S. imperialism's drive for capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. And today, while David Duke crows that he is "the Boris Yeltsin of American politics," the SWP vicariously climbs atop the barricades outside Yeltsin's "White House," crowing "Soviet Workers Win Giant Victory by Defeating Coup" (*Militant*, 6 September). Which just goes to show that, while the SWP loves Cuba, and they love reformism, when the two come into conflict, they love reformism more.

So internationally these fake-socialists cheer the counterrevolutionary Yeltsin, who boasts of having dealings with the Pamyat fascists for years, as he seeks to immiserate the Soviet working people by smashing the remaining gains of the Bolshevik Revolution of October 1917. Back on the farm, the SWP seeks to woo Duke's voting base by soft-pedaling this deadly dangerous fascist.

To find out the truth about Duke, see the Partisan Defense Committee leaflet, "Stop KKK Hitler-Lover David Duke!" (*WV* No. 523, 29 March), which launched a 1,500-strong mobilization against his appearance in Boston. A class-struggle workers party must be built to sweep away the Dukes and the racist system for which they are the shock troops. As for the "left" apologists for fascism and counterrevolution: heads up, SWP, here comes the broom. ■

AP Interviews CPers and Spartacist on Collapse of Stalinism

Following the botched Moscow coup last August and the counterrevolutionary countercoup, the Western media have trumpeted ever louder the supposed "death of Communism." As a result there has been an unusual spate of coverage of self-proclaimed communists in the U.S. On October 14, the Associated Press released a feature by AP reporter Rayner Pike focusing on lifelong members of the Communist Party. Hearing of the Spartacist League's September 13 "Defend Cuba" demonstration in New York, Pike also interviewed SL Central Committee member Joseph Seymour presenting the views of Trotskyism. We reprint below the AP story, edited for space.

"Old Reds: Fall of Communism Not Discouraging"

By Rayner Pike, Associated Press

Old Reds who have stuck with the American Communist party through decades of ideological wind shifts say they are taking the fall of communism in the Soviet Union in stride.

Events in the former citadel of world communism and its Eastern bloc are not a demoralizing cataclysm but only a glitch in the scientifically inevitable triumph of Marxism, say these true believers.

"How can a person like me get demoralized? I remember standing at Temple University in the height of McCarthyism with a petition for the Bill of Rights and couldn't get one student to sign it, and that did not demoralize me," says Frances Gabow of Philadelphia, a party member for 52 years.

Mrs. Gabow, 71, and other longtime Communists, in recent interviews, largely echoed the line laid down by Gus Hall, the 81-year-old party chairman.

Hall, who went to jail for eight years in the 1950s for being a Communist, has said communism would return to power in the Soviet Union. He also asserted that the crisis has spurred party growth in the United States among people with socialist leanings who see the future endangered.

Mrs. Gabow, a Communist since 1939, said she followed her father, a garment worker, into the party in the Depression era because "we were fighting for relief, to free the Scottsboro Boys, against war and fascism, for the defense of Spain."

In the red-hunting McCarthy years, the 1950s, she nearly went to jail and she and her children became ostracized in their community and were targets of vigilantes.

"My children were trailed by the FBI to and from school," she said. "I had crews of FBI agents sitting outside my door. They were trailing me to see who I was seeing. It stopped people from speaking to me, from associating with me.... My family was intimidated and terrorized."

Now a member of the party's district committee for eastern Pennsylvania, Mrs. Gabow declared: "As long as I have a brain and hands, I will be active."

Victor Perlo, a major Red bogeyman during the postwar anti-Communist frenzies and now a principal party voice on economic matters, said developments in the Soviet Union were no surprise.

"I've seen it coming for a couple of years. Gorbachev and the group around him were leading the country down the garden path," Perlo said.

"It's disturbing because it creates a very dangerous power situation in the world, but it doesn't end communism."

Perlo, 79, held low- and middle-level federal government jobs from 1933 to 1947 in such agencies as the National Recovery Administration, War Production Board and Treasury. Then in 1948 he and others, including Alger Hiss, were fingered as spies for the Soviet Union by a witness at a congressional hearing.

He takes wry satisfaction that three of his chief tormentors—J. Parnell Thomas, Roy Cohn and Richard Nixon—eventually suffered greater loss of reputation than he.

Thomas, chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, went to jail for payroll padding. Cohn, who as a young federal prosecutor tried to get Perlo indicted, was disbarred for dishonesty and fraud. Nixon, a HUAC member, was the first U.S. president in history to resign, leaving office in disgrace during the Watergate scandal.

"If I were starting out today, I'd be looking for something like the Communist Party, for an organization that had a record of being tested in all kinds of battles for the people," said Herb Kransdorf of Chicago. "Never mind those pygmies who stand on the sidelines and throw stones at us."

Kransdorf, born in New York 74 years ago, is labor secretary of the Illinois party. He has been a Communist since 1936, when as a young merchant seaman he fought to democratize his union.

"It was a struggle in which the Communists played a major role in breaking away from a very corrupt union, under which seamen had to get their jobs through kickbacks," Kransdorf said. "We changed all that. We set up a democratic union hiring hall and did away with Jim Crow."

What about events that disillusioned or revolted many American Communists and drove them from the party, such as Stalin's alliance with Hitler and Khrushchev's revelations of Stalin's tyranny?

"I felt that things like Khrushchev's report showed that the people and the party were taking the lead to bring those things out and see that they didn't happen again," Kransdorf said.

He also said he thought at the time that "the negative things were either fabricated or exaggerated," and besides, outside pressures from capitalist countries forced the Soviet Union "to take certain measures to assure their continued existence."

One branch of communism, the Trotskyist Spartacist League, holds that the Soviet Union and its American followers have been wrong since Stalin won out over Leon Trotsky to succeed Lenin in the 1920s.

"(Trotsky) predicted a long time ago that unless the Stalinist bureaucracy was overthrown by the working class, then one way or another it would lead to a capitalist counterrevolution," said Joseph Seymour of Alameda, Calif., a member of the league's central committee and the editorial board of its newspaper.

Seymour, 47, said he was no more surprised than Trotsky would have been by the fall of Soviet communism, but Trotsky "would have been surprised that it took so long to happen."

Although their faction and the Soviet and American Communist parties have been historically and bitterly at odds, Spartacists have no cause for gloating, he said.

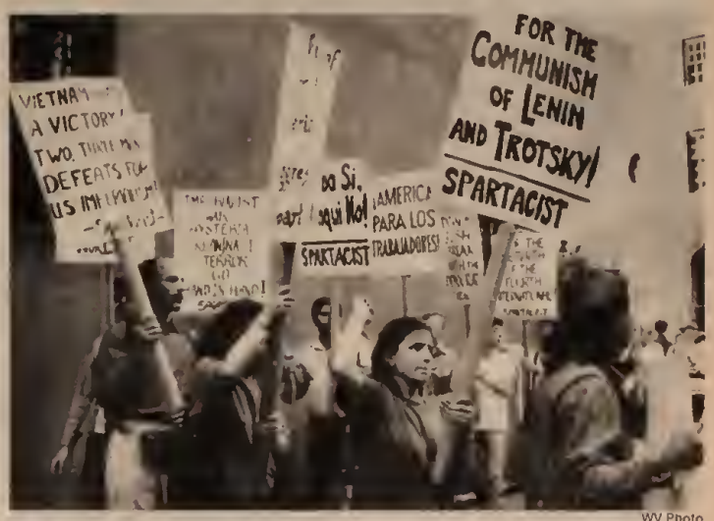
"We consider it a massive historic defeat for the working class, because Trotsky oriented toward a proletarian overthrow of the Stalinist bureaucracy, not their overthrow by capitalist forces," Seymour said.

"Obviously the sight of people pulling down the statues of leading Bolsheviks is not something we want to see, but neither is it something we did not anticipate. Nor did we have the same kind of illusions that the Soviet Union was a bastion of socialism."

Major war might grow out of socialism's being toppled in the Soviet Union, Seymour said.

"Certainly one of the things that prevented conflicts between the United States and Japan and Germany from reaching the critical peak of World Wars I and II was their common hostility to the Soviet Union. With Soviet power broken, at least temporarily, one can expect an intensification of conflicts between the major capitalist powers."

Such a turn, he suggested, might open the door to socialist revolution in capitalism's strongholds, just as the chaos of World War I paved the way for the Bolshevik Revolution. ■



WV Photo

September 13: Spartacists demonstrate in defense of Cuba against U.S. imperialism after Gorbachev announced Soviet pullout.

PDC Notes...

(continued from page 2)

"confess" they beat him, hung him by his feet from trees and shocked him with cattle prods. Then they wrapped his head in a plastic bag and forced water down his nose. Just to be safe, they got a judge, Warren Young, who "happened" to be a former Rockefeller attorney and legal counsel for the golf course. After nine days the jury declared themselves "hopelessly deadlocked," but Young refused to dismiss them, forcing the jurors to keep at it until they reached a guilty verdict. Nine jurors subsequently testified to being threatened with FBI investigations during the deliberations. Four signed statements that they had been forced by the judge, police and FBI to enter a guilty verdict.

For 19 years Shabazz-Bey has maintained his innocence of this horrible crime. The victim of repeated beatings by guards, one of which left his hearing impaired, and subjected to sensory deprivation in the high-tech torture chamber of Marion prison, Shabazz-Bey remains unbroken and politically outspoken. His supporters have recently stepped up their activities to publicize these brutal conditions and win support for his fight for freedom. The PDC was invited to a gathering for him in Santa Barbara, California on September 25, and sent a spokesman to express our solidarity.

The hideously exploited black workers of the Virgin Islands showed their militancy in fighting the 1984 lockout by Amerada Hess Oil, the main employer on the island of St. Croix. It is this social force, the black proletariat, linked to its class brothers in the mainland U.S., that has the power to smash colonial rule and win freedom for all imprisoned victims of U.S. imperialism. Free Haniff Shahazz-Bey!

* * *

We encourage *WV* readers to continue to support and build the PDC. Become a monthly sustaining contributor. Send a donation of $5 or more and receive a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes*. For a single copy send $1 to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal St. Sta., New York, NY 10013. ■

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BOSTON

AP

U.S. soldiers "detain suspects" during bloody imperialist invasion of Panama, December 1989.

Noriega Trial...

(continued from page 1)

the Pentagon's "decapitation" strategy. This was supposed to be the fate of Muammar Qaddafi, Saddam Hussein and Manuel Noriega, but the top guns of the USAF missed their mark. In the latter case, the U.S.' 1989 Panama invasion succeeded, but Noriega survived. And ex-CIA chief Bush is worried that his former flunkey could sing.

For more than a decade and a half, Noriega was Washington's man in Panama. He received juicy payoffs (the government says $320,000, he says over $10 million) in return for supplying the U.S. with intelligence on Cuba and Central America, aid in arms trafficking plus other favors. But in 1985-86, as the Reagan administration sought to turn the contra war into a full-scale invasion of Sandinista Nicaragua, Noriega got cold feet and fell afoul of his imperialist masters. Suddenly the U.S. "discovered" that "El MAN" (a nickname from Noriega's initials) was deep into drug trafficking, or at least money laundering for the Medellin cartel. No matter that the U.S. had known this at least since 1974.

After one Reagan administration faction first tried to force him out, a ten-count indictment against Noriega was handed down by a Miami grand jury in 1988 accusing him of taking $4.6 million in payoffs from the Colombian drug lords for services rendered (mainly doing nothing), permitting the cartel to transship hundreds of kilos of cocaine to the U.S. through a network of clandestine landing strips, permitting cocaine labs in Panama, providing a safe haven for wanted traffickers and permitting the deposit of hundreds of millions of narcodollars in Panamanian banks. Part of the aim was to go after Cuba's Fidel Castro, whom the feds claim was mediating a dispute between Noriega and the Medellín big boys.

Tortilla Flour and Hired Testimony

When Bush launched "Operation Just Cause," brutally attacking Panama on 20 December 1989, one of his pretexts was to bring in Noriega, who had just been formally named head of state. U.S. planes launched "smart bombs" at the Comandancia, HQ of the Panama Defense Forces, and managed to reduce the surrounding poor neighborhood of El Chorrillo to rubble. But Noriega survived and eventually sought refuge in the Papal Nunciature. After the Americans spent days trying to blast him out using high-decibel heavy metal rock music, the general surrendered and was flown to Miami in handcuffs. After initial legal sparring, the Justice Department agreed to treat him as a prisoner of war.

Meanwhile, the U.S. occupying army combed through Noriega's headquarters looking for any conceivable "evidence" to nail him. A Pentagon report said they had found "a desk stuffed with pornography, a closet containing a portrait of Adolf Hitler, voodoo paraphernalia and 100 lbs. of cocaine." This turned out to be Spanish-language copies of *Playboy*, a Time-Life photo history of World War II, some Indian carvings by Panama's San Blas tribe...and the "coke" was nothing but tortilla flour stockpiled for a siege! But even though the Pentagon seized thousands of pages of documents, and has directly controlled the country for almost two years now, they came up with no "smoking gun."

Oh yes, they found that Mrs. Noriega and many of her husband's cronies had secret accounts in the Bank of Credit and Commerce International. But since the BCCI turns out to have been a full-service bank for the CIA *and* the drug cartel, it's not clear whether the large sums flowing into Noriega's numbered account were the alleged $4 million from Medellín, Colombia or the $10 million from Langley, Virginia. As for the money laundering, the Justice Department faces the problem that some of the leading banks involved were pillars of corporate America like Citibank, and prosecuting them could be problematical. So the feds decided to rely instead on a rogues' gallery of bought-and-paid-for witnesses.

In exchange for squealing on their former *patrón*, these stool pigeons cut themselves some pretty deals. A total of $1.5 million has been reportedly paid out to loosen their tongues (see "Nice Work If You Can Get It" on page seven), and that's not counting $600,000 already paid to the family of drug kingpin Max Mermelstein in the Justice Department's "witness protection program." Former Colonel Del Cid, who described himself as "General Noriega's errand boy," had a 70-year sentence reduced to 30 months, making him eligible for release by early 1992. Between what Noriega's lawyer Frank Rubino calls "get-out-of-jail cards," narcobucks and testi-money, this bunch will make out like bandits.

For all this largesse, the government's witnesses haven't delivered much on the stand. Del Cid reports carrying payoff money in envelopes, but didn't actually see it. He said he could tell it was cash because he "felt" the contents. Yet the man who says he handed it over to him for delivery to Noriega, drug runner Floyd Carlton, said it was delivered in hard cardboard boxes wrapped in plastic. Carlton, in turn, reported that Noriega was initially "exceedingly upset" at his attempts to set up a deal with the drug traffickers, and that the general didn't know about each of his flights. The problem with the cocaine lab is that Noriega took U.S. Drug Enforcement Administration officials along to *shut it down*.

Next on the government's star witness list is Carlos Lehder, who stands out among the sleazy Colombian drug lords for being an ostentatious fascist, with a "movement" that brandished Hitler portraits and gave the stiff-arm salute. As for transshipment of drugs bound for the U.S.—which is vital to the prosecution, since without it there isn't any basis for action by American courts—Rubino got Carlton to admit he never saw what happened to his cargos after they were offloaded. But when Noriega's lawyer tried to question the drug-running pilot about his involvement in Oliver North's drugs-for-guns operation supporting the Nicaraguan contras, the judge ruled this out of order.

Contras and CIA

Judge Hoeveler wants to keep the trial away from George Bush at all costs. While pursuing the supposed "Castro connection," concerning a 1984 meeting with the Cuban leader in Havana, Hoeveler has ruled that classified records of Noriega's 1983 conversations with then vice president Bush in Panama City are "irrelevant" and inadmissible. In a court order, he declared that the defense will be "precluded" from raising anything concerning the "contra pipeline" defense. And more broadly, he has ruled that he will not allow "politics" to intrude on what the prosecution is portraying as "just another drug case." This is key for the government. As *New York Times* reporter Larry Rohter wrote:

> "If ever there were a case that Federal prosecutors cannot afford to lose, this is it. Having invaded Panama, spent large amounts of taxpayer dollars preparing the case, and cut deals with the unsavory collection of renegade pilots, drug smugglers and corrupt businessmen indicted with General Noriega on cocaine trafficking, money laundering and racketeering charges, the United States Government has elevated the stakes. If the general walks, the Bush administration risks ridicule at home and abroad and perhaps further examination of its methods in dealing with dictators."
>
> —*New York Times*, 29 September

Exactly that is the subject of a detailed 105-page submission by Noriega's attorneys trying to force the government to release classified documentation, in particular concerning "Noriega's assistance to the United States...in the arming and training of the Contras," and "the CIA's knowledge that pilots flying weapons to the Contras were also transporting drugs to the United States." Much of the heavily censored document is a superficial and slipshod account of CIA destabilization and disruption campaigns in Latin America, Southeast Asia and elsewhere around the globe. But when it comes to Noriega and Panama it gets specific.

"General Noriega's relationship with the United States began in 1958 while he was a cadet at the Peruvian Military Academy," it states, referring to his spying on fellow cadets. When Noriega returned to Panama and joined the National Guard, his commander was then-major Omar Torrijos. At that time "the CIA wanted Torrijos, who was on their payroll, to monitor communist influence among banana growers" working on United Fruit Company plantations.

> "In 1964 and 1965, officers from the [U.S.] 470th Military Intelligence Brigade helped Torrijos establish an intelligence capability.... Torrijos picked Noriega to oversee the modest intelligence-gathering operation."

The document notes Noriega's training in intelligence operations at Fort Gulick (Canal Zone), Fort Bragg (North Carolina), Israel, Taiwan and at the U.S. Army's School of the Americas, infamous in Latin America as the "School for Dictators," since virtually every military strongman on the continent was trained there.

Torrijos took power in an October 1968 coup, reportedly with U.S. backing, but soon Washington was worried that he was moving too far left. When the 470th Mil Int Group tried to pull off a coup, Noriega remained loyal to the general, for which he was rewarded by being named to head Panama's military intelligence, or G-2. The defense lawyers' submission continues:

> "Now he had an official institutional link that included access to large sums of CIA contingency funds.... It was officially justified as support for 'institutional cooperation,' but in fact it was a slush fund turned over to the head of the 'cooperating' intelligence agency to do with as he desired.... Over the years, the CIA gave Noriega over $11 million from this fund.... Noriega became the CIA's man in Panama, an alternative to the man con-

Robinson/Observer

"Free market democracy" at bayonet point: U.S. soldier "protects" supermarket from starving population during U.S. invasion.

Panama Canal Review

U.S. battleship *New Jersey* in Panama Canal. For Yankee imperialism, the canal and 13 American military bases alongside it are linchpin for domination of Latin America.

Radio Havana on Bribed Testimony in Noriega Trial

"Nice Work If You Can Get It"

The following item was broadcast by Radio Havana Cuba on October 9.

This is "Dateline Havana," I'm Mike Haines.

The daily newspaper *Granma* today turns its attention to what promises to be one of the longest-running circuses in Miami's history, and possibly the most expensive as well. Yes, what else but the show trial of the man who has been declared guilty a thousand times over by the U.S. media, former Panamanian general Manuel Antonio Noriega.

Four weeks into the hearing on a variety of drug-related offenses, the long procession of prosecution witnesses continues. And, *Granma* journalist Orlando Oramas León points out, many of them are being paid to testify with U.S. taxpayers' money, or else, to put it bluntly, have been bought with promises of reduced sentences, pensions and other little tidbits.

Noriega's defense attorney Frank Rubino is quoted as saying: "The bribes that are being paid out to get people to testify are incredible, and the amounts amazing. Well, if I offered my witnesses [the same thing], it would be 'obstructing the course of justice'."

Rubino said that the prosecution, which is a polite way of saying the U.S. government, has paid out up to $1.5 million to secure anti-Noriega testimony. Several of the lucky recipients are themselves drug smugglers, if not worse. According to Rubino, Tony Aizprua, a Panamanian witness, has received $510,921. Max Mermelstein, a U.S. citizen, has been given a quarter of a million. Boris Olarte, $199,000, José Blandón, $169,000. And two other witnesses have received $278,000 and $102,000. They, however, prefer to remain anonymous. Well, wouldn't you?

Another character guaranteed to melt the hearts of the sternest jury is former Panamanian officer Luis Del Cid, who has been persuaded to spill the beans, whether real or invented, on his ex-commander in chief in return for a reduction in his own sentence, residence in the United States, guaranteed personal protection and an undisclosed amount of financial assistance for an indefinite period. Nice work, if you can get it.

Key witness Del Cid, when cross-examined by Rubino on Noriega's behalf, confessed to having trouble with dates, contradicted himself, and ended up taking back most of what he had said in court the previous day. It's not only presidents and aspiring CIA chiefs who have little lapses of memory, it seems.

Amnesia and problems with dates, not to mention facts, are assuming epidemic proportions at the Noriega trial. But while ex-pilot Floyd Carlton testified himself into a tight, seething knot of contradictions, he was however lucid enough to recall that he received a monthly check for $1,200 from the U.S. taxpayers in recognition of...something or other. Let's hope he remembers to cash it.

Today's *Granma* article points out that while many observers of U.S. justice are uneasy at the number of prosecution witnesses who have come to cozy arrangements with the Bush administration over their own murky past in return for declarations against Noriega, the judge, William Hoeveler, insists that this is in no way a political trial.

The latest upset, says Oramas León, is over the fact that the prosecution, in flagrant violation of U.S. legal practice, has obtained a secret list of intended defense witnesses. It seems the federal marshals responsible for citing defense witnesses to appear handed over a full list of who they were to a former U.S. ambassador, who in turn gave it to the State Department, who sent it to the Department of Justice, who are, of course, the prosecution.

To add to the embarrassment, the ex-ambassador turns out to be none other than Lewis Tambs, who was U.S. ambassador to Costa Rica at a time when the CIA was supplying weapons to the Nicaraguan contras in aircraft which regularly made the return trip loaded with cocaine.

The more you dip into the larger-than-life details of this trial, the more obvious it becomes that this is a show that will run and run. The bizarre legal precedents are endless. How to explain, for example, that the star of the show, I mean the chief defendant, is not only a de facto prisoner of war, but at the time of his arrest was also the armed forces commander in chief of a country with which Washington maintained formal diplomatic relations?

Today's article in *Granma* adds that Judge Hoeveler has refused to accept as evidence a photo of General Noriega with a certain Mr. George Bush, taken at a time when they were still the best of friends, not to say business partners, in a manner of speaking. Maybe this is just the judge's way of showing he has the chief defendant's best interests at heart. After all, if somebody's willing to have his picture taken in such dubious company, who can say what crimes he might be guilty of. ■

William Genule

Noriega with attorney Frank Rubino. U.S. show trial judge has barred evidence of Noriega/CIA collusion and Contragate links.

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sidered a dangerous leftist by American intelligence. Omar Torrijos."

Torrijos called Noriega "my gangster," but the American description of him as "rent-a-colonel" was more accurate.

Former Director of Central Intelligence Stansfield Turner reported that at one point Noriega was making $223,000 a year from the CIA alone, more than any federal official including the president. In addition to supplying his U.S. patrons with information on leftist regimes and guerrilla movements, Noriega also did dirty work for the Company. This included offering Panama as staging point for the CIA's sabotaging of Nicaragua's oil depot and port of Corinto. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* (31 May) reports that he provided the U.S. with sensitive information on "the negotiating posture of the Panamanian government during the Panama canal negotiations." And there are suspicions that he was behind the 1981 death of Torrijos in an unexplained helicopter accident.

Noriega's ties to the U.S. in general and the Reagan administration in particular are notorious. We have published letters to Noriega from the head of the DEA expressing the agency's "deep appreciation for the vigorous anti-drug trafficking policy that you have adopted" (May 1986) and saying that the "DEA has long welcomed our close association and we stand ready to proceed jointly against international drug traffickers" (May 1987). It is interesting that two recent books, one by Kevin Buckley (*Panama: The Whole Story*), who lauds right-wing Republican Senator Jesse Helms, and another by John Dinges (*Our Man in Panama*), who praises liberal Democratic Senator John Kerry, take an almost identical line on excoriating the U.S. for its long association with this notorious thug.

But while liberals and conservatives join hands with the Bush administration in pushing the prosecution of Noriega, some retailing tales of his ties to Castro, others emphasizing his aid to the contras, what neither say is how Washington is trying to use the Noriega case to bolster U.S. imperialist domination of Latin America. In the first instance this involves control of the Panama Canal. Helms was the leading opponent of the Canal treaties, and in the 1976 presidential election Reagan made a big issue of the negotiations, declaring that "when it comes to the Canal, we bought it, we paid for it, it's ours, and we should tell Torrijos and company that we are going to keep it."

In the aftermath of the U.S. invasion, U.S. control of the Canal has been reinforced. (While the Canal Zone formally disappeared as a result of the Carter-Torrijos treaties, the Canal Company which runs the operation is a U.S. government corporation.) There is now talk in Washington of "privatizing" the Canal rather than turning it over to the Panamanian government in the year 2000. And meanwhile the U.S. military dominates the isthmus with 13 military bases in the "former" Zone. If Puerto Rico serves the U.S. as a giant aircraft carrier and naval base to control the Caribbean, Panama is the linchpin for U.S. military operations throughout Latin America.

Made in USA

From its inception in 1903 to today, Panama has always been a de facto American colony. Its "independence" from Colombia was declared under the protective guns of the USS *Dixie* and USS *Nashville*, and the document which certified its birth, the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty of 1903, is notorious as "the treaty that no Panamanian ever signed." U.S. secretary of state John Hay declared that the terms of the treaty were "very satisfactory, vastly advantageous to the US and we must confess...not so advantageous to Panama" (quoted in John Weeks and Phil Gunson, *Panama: Made in the USA* [1991]). Rather than issuing its own currency, the country has simply used the U.S. dollar as legal tender, calling the almighty greenback the "Balboa" for form's sake.

So it's not out of character that the current president Endara was sworn in on a U.S. air force base, nor that American "advisers" control every department of the Panamanian government. When former officials of the Panama Defense Force (now called the Public Force) tried to stage a coup last December, they were put down by the Americans. Meanwhile, drug money laundering continues apace, as the roly-poly corporate lawyer Endara sits on the board of the biggest money laundering bank in Panama City. When partial elections were held in January 1991, Noriega's party (the PRD) won all the seats. And now there are rumblings of a general strike by Panama's unions against the Yankee-imposed regime.

The Noriega "trial" is not only a farce and a legal travesty, it's a façade for U.S. imperial overlordship. The American invasion which set the stage for it killed several thousand Panamanians and led the way for Bush's "Desert Slaughter" of over 100,000 Iraqis. Liberals and many leftists give credence to Bush's phony "war on drugs," the pretext on which Noriega is being tried. Even Cuba's Fidel Castro got into the act with his Stalinist show trial in 1989 of General Arnaldo Ochoa on charges of complicity with the Medellín cartel. Those leftists who buy Washington's "drug war" are only aiding Yankee imperialism's "New World Order."

The "trial" of Manuel Noriega is nothing but the arrogant assertion that the U.S. empire rules the world. World socialist revolution will bring that empire down. ■

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Palestinians...

(continued from page 1)

table, these sham "peace" negotiations are *a set-up to yet again knife the Palestinian people.*

War Talk at "Peace" Talks

As a precondition for even participating in the Madrid farce, Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Shamir and his right-wing government insisted that they have a veto over the composition of the Palestinian delegation, which could only appear as part of a Jordanian delegation, that the Palestine Liberation Organization would be out of the picture, and that Israel would entertain no concessions over the Occupied Territories and Palestinian "statehood"—no matter how token. Yet for all the diplomatic double talk, it was lost on no one that the Palestinian delegation was a PLO delegation in all but name, including open supporters of the Palestinian Communist Party and other components of the PLO.

In Madrid, Shamir got the "peace" talk going by launching into a tirade about the historic and biblical "right" of the "Jewish people" to lord it over the Near East. This was followed by a demagogic denunciation of Syria as a "terrorist state." The Syrian delegate deftly replied by exhibiting a 1947 wanted poster of Shamir for various terrorist attacks against British and United Nations diplomats. What the Syrians did not expose was Shamir's *Nazi connection* and the attempt by his Stern Gang to hire themselves out as enforcers of Hitler's Third Reich in the Near East.

It was a disgusting spectacle from start to finish. War criminal Bush kicked off the talks with an appeal for "peace, real peace." Meanwhile Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev, whose job was to second whatever Bush said, made it clear that his main concern was "cash, real cash" from the West to finance the counterrevolutionary "great transformation" of the USSR into a "market economy as part of the world economy." As a *New York Times* (30 October) headline put it snottily, the Soviets were there to be "Waiters at the Table." And the Palestinians were meant to pick up the crumbs. One Palestinian delegate fawningly referred to Bush as "president of the world."

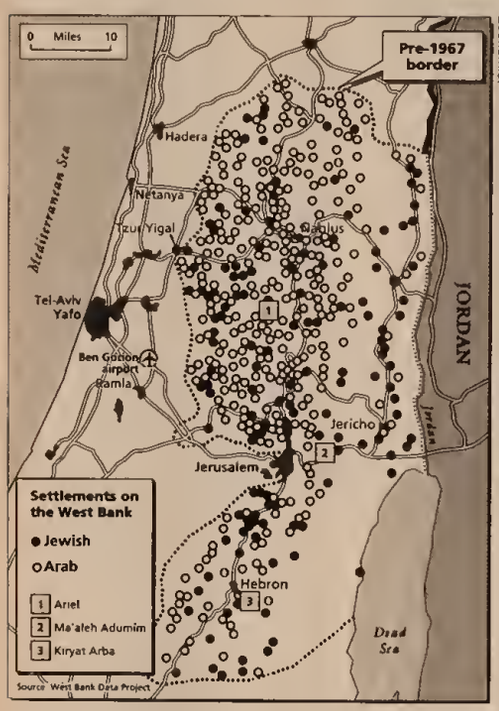
Even so, merely by addressing the dramatic oppression and desperate struggles of their people, the Palestinian delegation came off sounding the most articulate and eloquent amid all the squalor and cynicism. Palestinian spokesman Haidar Abdel-Shafi declared:

> "We come to you from a tortured land and a proud, though captive, people, having been asked to negotiate with our occupiers, but leaving behind the children of the intifada and the people under occupation and under curfew, who enjoined us not to surrender or forget. As we speak, thousands of our brothers and sisters are languishing in Israeli prisons and detention camps, most detained without evidence, charge or trial, many cruelly mistreated and tortured in interrogation, guilty only of seeking freedom or daring to defy the occupation. We speak in their name, and we say, 'Set them free'."

Yet these petty-bourgeois nationalists who claim to speak in the name of the Palestinian people are intent on nothing but surrender. Even the much ballyhooed talk of some form of Palestinian "self-rule" or "autonomy" in the Occupied Territories means little more than, as one Palestinian delegate noted, "that we may be allowed to supervise garbage collection and the distribution of mail." Asked if such a minimal concession would be acceptable, Sari Nusseibeh, a prominent West Bank intellectual and member of the Palestinian "advisory" delegation in Madrid, replied: "That's what's available in the diplomatic market."

Heikes/U S News & World Report

"New World Order": U.S. president Bush presides over sham "peace" talks in Madrid while Israel steps up bombing of Lebanon.



Zionist settlements aid in military control of the Occupied Territories, ultimately aiming at expulsion of Palestinians from the West Bank.

For years, Yasir Arafat's PLO has exploited the sacrifice and heroism of Palestinian fighters with the aim of pressuring one or another regional or imperialist power to wrest from Israel some form of independence, however truncated. Since 1974, the PLO's horizons have explicitly been limited to the creation of a bantustan "ministate" in the West Bank and Gaza. Since 1982, when Arafat called upon the U.S. to rescue besieged PLO fighters in Beirut, his entire strategy has been focused on pressuring U.S. imperialism to pressure Israel.

Now, abandoned by its erstwhile financial backers in the oil-rich Gulf states and with former "rejectionists" like Syria enlisting in Bush's "New World Order," the PLO is prepared to accept even the most humiliating terms to get a place at the table. Camille Mansour, another Palestinian adviser in Madrid, crowed: "You can be skeptical all you want, but I saw the United States President sitting around the same table with our people" (*New York Times*, 1 November). But the Palestinian people are not sitting at that table, they are languishing in the concentration camps of Gaza and the living hell of the West Bank.

Israel Lobby Meets Texas Oil

That the Israelis even deigned to appear in Madrid was the result of considerable arm-twisting by their American patrons. For years the bankrupt Zionist garrison-state has kept its head above water only because of hefty U.S. funding—some $77 billion since the 1967 war. In carving out a niche as American imperialism's surrogate against Soviet "client states" in the Near East (and as dogs of war against leftist insurgencies in Latin America) and organizing a powerful lobby in Washington, the Israeli rulers came to see hard cash from the American "goyim" as their birthright.

But, as Thomas Friedman noted in the *New York Times* (30 October), "With the end of the cold war, the Israelis can no longer argue that they are a strategic asset for the United States in the East-West global competition." That much was clear when Shamir tried to do an end run against Bush after he asked Israel to hold off on a request for *$10 billion* in loan guarantees to finance housing for the influx of Soviet Jews—and, implicitly, the expansion of West Bank settlements. Bush decided to challenge the AIPAC Israel lobby, which has financed many a Congressional electoral victory, head-on. And for the first time in a long time the Israel lobby and its powerful supporters had to back off.

Against vicarious Palestinian nationalists of the New Left, we have insisted that Israel is not an outpost of U.S. imperialism, but a highly dependent ally. For the moment, Washington seeks only to pressure its Israeli client to fall into line and accept American dictates in the Near East. But, as we noted several years ago, "American Zionists would do well to recall that Texas oil millionaires are not exactly the most consistent friends of the Jewish people" ("Palestinian Uprising—A Year of Defiance," *WV* No. 486, 2 December 1988).

For the moment the Israelis have capitulated to Washington. But while the thoroughly bourgeois "Labor" Party and its "Peace Now" left fringe are ardent advocates of the U.S.-dictated "peace" process, the Zionist rulers are far from wedded to the American connection. A cabinet member from the fascistic Molodet party, which calls for the forcible "transfer" into Jordan of all Palestinians, railed that Bush was an anti-Semite. And Shamir himself has long considered Bush Israel's worst enemy. The Israelis have for a while been on the lookout for alternative imperialist patrons. Currently, the German Fourth Reich (Israel's second biggest donor) is at the top of the list.

Zionists "Create Facts," Palestinians Die

The Zionist rulers are intent on "creating facts" on the ground, eliminating any prospect of a separate Palestinian entity, let alone an independent state, by eliminating all Palestinians from "Greater Israel." More than 100,000 Israeli "settlers" are already living in the West Bank, and Shamir's fascistic "housing" minister, Ariel Sharon, intends to nearly double that number by the end of next year. The Israelis have already "expropriated" half of all Arab land in the Gaza Strip and 60 percent in the West Bank.

Even more ominous is the "seven stars" program, aimed at creating a series of settlements along the western edge of the West Bank. These will extend into Israeli communities in occupied land and thus *obliterate* any boundary between the Zionist state and the Occupied Territories. A month before the conference, Shamir presided over the inauguration of the first of these, Tzur Yigal, just inside the "Green Line," Israel's pre-1967 border. He declared ominously, "We are saying that we must settle and settle, and that the dream will always be that all the territories are ours, and the areas where construction is going on will

Gamma

Palestinian youth cheer Iraqi scud attacks against Israel.

From Chicago to the West Bank

CHICAGO—"Operation Clean Sweep." Dawn raids. Door-to-door searches for arms and "contraband." Daily harassment and violence—sometimes outright murder—hy uniformed "security" personnel. Eviction of critics and protesters. No jobs, no educatinn, no future. Sounds like Palestinian life in the Israeli-occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip, but it's black American life in the Chicago Housing Authority (CHA). Like the Palestinians, CHA residents face a powerful racist government dctermined to drive them from their homes.

So it took a hell of a lot of *chutzpah* last month for CHA chairman Vincent Lane to take 30 tenants on an educational junket to, of all places, an Israeli kibbutz! "African-Americans must see that we, too, can make the arid deserts of inner-city neighhorhoods bloom," he lectured. "Our people rely too much on the government" (*Chicago Tribune*, 23 October).

The idea was to learn from the kibbutzniks about "self-reliance," "economic empowerment" and "community and solidarity." Lane hoped the CHA tenants would return to Chicago ready to take the plunge into self-sufficiency with projects like selling homemade handicrafts or raising veggies in a (nonexistent) greenhouse ("Cabrini Green Grocers, Inc.," for instance?).

Lane's pull-yourself-up-by-the-bootstraps propaganda stunt ironically took place in one of the most financially dependent institutions on this planet. The kibhutzim are in fact heavily subsidized by the Israeli government for political reasons: they have historically been key in spawning the shock troops of Zionist expansionism and in the seizure of Arab-tilled land.

Israel itself is the world's biggest *schnorrer* (moocher) state, a government that survives on handouts from its "richer relations"—primarily the United States, which valued Israel's military backing against the Soviet degenerated workers state and its former Near East allies.

Kagan/NY Times

West Bank comes to Chicago: dawn raids, door-to-door searches, no jobs, no schools.

The CHA tourists witnessed the effect not of grit and determination but of lots and lots of U.S. greenbacks. Yet it has been the anti-Soviet war drive and the multitrillion-dollar Pentagon buildup that have strangled public housing and other social services in America.

Chicago's housing projects were built in the years following World War II, when an acute housing shortage was centered on the South Side ghetto, where some 375,000 blacks were jammed into dilapidated housing designed for 110,000. Racist city planners sought to preserve Segregation City's color lines by building giant high-rises within the existing ghetto.

Still, in the desperate conditions of the time, people tried like hell to get into the projects. "At least they could have a bathroom inside the apartment," said a member of the Labor Black Struggle League, who grew up in the Ida B. Wells Homes. As late as 1986 the CHA had a waiting list of 20,000 families.

But the malign neglect of the Boss Daley years gave way in the 1980s to a policy of public housing depopulation, as Democratic mayors across the country shoved Reagan's war budget down the throats of the urhan poor. In 1986 Harold Washington, Chicago's first black mayor, ominously commented, "It may be impossihle to manage a public housing authority today, given the shortage of federal dollars.... We're dealing with a monster here" (*Chicago Tribune*, 12 December 1986).

Business groups are calling for the razing of CHA high-rises, and at Cabrini Green, which is coveted by Gold Coast yuppies pushing westward, the towers have been quietly emptied down to the eleventh floor. When residents of one project, Lakefront Properties, who had been "temporarily" relocated during renovation, found themselves excluded this summer from their former homes as "potential troublemakers," CHA chief Lane cruelly remarked: "There are some residents who should be in jail or sleeping under a railroad" (*Chicago Defender*, 15 July)!

Decent housing is a right! Chicago's integrated labor unions must take action to defend the homeless as well as the victims of CHA neglect. Millions of square feet of (HUD-financed) luxury apartments and Loop office space lies unoccupied. Seize them and house the homeless! Fight for a program of massive public works—employing the unemployed at union-scale wages—to build clean and comfortable housing for all!

It is this rapacious profit system—now extending its tentacles of unemployment, homelessness and racism into East Europe and the Soviet Union—that must be destroyed. Only a workers government led by a multiracial revolutionary party and administering a centralized planned economy will provide housing, jobs and a decent standard of living for all. ■

Jon Jones

U.S. troops man "Patriot" anti-missile system in Israel during Gulf War. Zionist rulers considered Washington-imposed "restraints" a humiliation.

be populated right up to the horizon." To make matters perfectly clear, Shamir added, "As far as I'm concerned, the 'green line' no longer exists" (*News From Within*, 2 October).

At the same time the Zionists have been driving to "de-Arabize" and "Judaize" the Galilee and the "triangle" in north central Israel, which have always had Palestinian majorities. Some 120 Arab villages inside Israel are targeted for extinction to make way for Jewish settlement.

The new Zionist push has been aided not only by the Gulf War but also by the collapse of the Soviet Union, which now provides a flood of Soviet Jews who are fleeing economic chaos and rising anti-Semitism. Shlomo Goren, longtime chief rabbi for the Israeli army, cynically made it clear that the Soviet Jews will he used as cannon fodder in the Zionists' "final solution":

> "There was a demographic problem because people said if you annex Judea, Samaria and Gaza, you will become a minority after 50 years because of the high Arab and low Jewish hirth rate. "What did Heaven do? In order to rescue us from that danger, the largest empire in the world, the U.S.S.R., was destroyed, and millions of Jews from the Soviet Union are streaming here...and they will solve the demographic problem. It was all done hy Heaven."
>
> —*New York Times*, 29 October

In case you think this is merely the rantings of an old religious nut, here's what Mattityahu Drohles of the World Zionist Organization's settlement department told the *Village Voice* (24 September):

> "Judea and Samaria are part of the Land of Israel .. According to the Bible I have the right to the East Bank of Jordan too. For my generation the West Bank is enough. As for the next generation, the East Bank is their problem."

The "East Bank" is currently known as Jordan. Beyond that "horizon" lie Syria and Iraq—"from the Nile to the Euphrates," as the old Zionist adage goes. And these messianic crazies have atomic weapons—*hundreds of them!* Washington would like its relation to Israel to he that which pertained during the Gulf War, when the U.S. called the shots while "guaranteeing" Israeli security. Israel's rulers considered this a humiliation which they would like to erase, as Israeli civil libertarian Israel Shahak documents in an article in the Octoher *Washington Report on Middle East Affairs* titled "Israel Uses Increased US Aid to Prepare 1992 Attack on Syria."

Nationalist Dead End

Whatever Washington's hopes, the intractable nationalist antagonisms in the Near East will not be resolved by U.S. *diktat*. Even as Arafat's people were hobnobbing with Bush and their Zionist tormentors in Madrid, thousands of Arabs demonstrated in the Near East against the PLO's capitulation. George Habash's Popular Front and Nayef Hawatmeh's Democratic Front, guerrillaist factions of the PLO, co-signed a statement with the sinister Islamic fundamentalist Hamas rejecting "the American liquidation project." Habash also resigned from the PLO executive committee, vowing: "We will attack military installations and we will do our hest to spare civilian targets. But let us he clear: we do not consider the Jewish settlements in the occupied territories to he civilian targets" (*Independent* [London], 1 November).

When we call for Israel out of the Occupied Territories, that means not only the Zionist army but also the "settlements," which are little more than armed outposts of the Israeli military manned by Uzi-toting fascistic fanatics. But Habash, no less than Arafat, looks to the Arab bourgeoisies of the region, who neither can nor want to come to the aid of the Palestinian masses, and indeed have proven time and again their hostility, from Jordanian king Hussein's Black September massacre in 1970 to the current Syrian drive to eradicate a Palestinian presence in Lebanon. Nor are the Palestinian Arab people in any way a military match to the nuclear-armed Zionist state.

Yet, particularly as a result of their forced diaspora from their homeland, Palestinian Arabs have become the most cosmopolitan layer in the Near East. Under a revolutionary leadership, socialist-minded Palestinian militants can play a vanguard role in the struggle for proletarian revolution throughout the region, reaching out to the Hebrew-speaking working people to sweep away all the exploiters and oppressors. This is the only road to guarantee the national rights of *all* the myriad peoples of the region. As we wrote last year:

> "A proletarian vanguard must be forged that can break the cycle of bloody wars of nationalist expansion and revenge, leading the Arab and Hebrew-speaking working people in *class* struggle against their own rulers. Defend the Palestinians! Israel out of the Occupied Territories! For a socialist federation in which all peoples of the Near East can live in peace."
>
> —"Zionist Terror on the Rampage," *WV* No. 503, 1 June 1990 ■

France...

(continued from page 12)

crisis for several months. We must all take advantage of this opening to make them cry uncle."

With the collapse of Stalinism in East Europe and the Soviet Union, the bourgeoisie thinks it can celebrate the "death of Communism" and bury the class struggle. Indeed, the Kremlin bureaucrats have always pretended that class struggle and socialist revolution in the West are a utopian dream. However, the wave of strikes by French workers against the social-democratic government of French capitalism recalls what was graphically demonstrated by the general strike of May 1968—the proletariat in the advanced capitalist countries has the power to bring down bourgeois rule and open the road to socialism.

Paris-Normandie

Strikers at Renault-Cléon throw up barricades at plant entrances to stop trucks.

Popular Front Against the Workers

Since being elected to power in 1981, Mitterrand's Union of the Left has underlined the grievous consequences of the popular front for the working class. By compromising the independence of the working class, this alliance between the reformist workers parties—the Socialists and (in an informal "corridor coalition") the French Communist Party (PCF)—and part of the bourgeoisie was able to impose on the working class the wage-gouging plans demanded by the bosses. The working-class leaderships, bound by the straitjacket of class collaboration to the Mitterrand government, repeatedly led strikes to defeat, demoralizing the workers. After a decade of popular-front government, the number of strikes fell last year to the lowest level since 1946.

Far from being a "step forward" for the working class as its "leftist" supporters imagined, Mitterrand's popular front has, in the words of Socialist ex-prime minister Fabius, done the bourgeoisie's "dirty work." After a decade of "socialist" austerity, the wages of French workers are the ninth-lowest in the Common Market, just above Greece, Portugal and Spain. Unemployment has leaped to a record three million. And a special target of Mitterrand's popular front has been "immigrants," who have been subject to massive expulsions and racist police terror in the ghettos. This term is grotesquely applied even to people born in France, children of foreign-born workers who have lived in France for decades!

Yet despite layoffs and expulsions, "immigrant" workers are heavily integrated in French industry, especially in auto. Largely North African workers at the Renault plant in Flins were among the first to strike against the Mitterrand popular front in the early '80s. (The government responded by launching a racist campaign, accusing them of being manipulated by "ayatollahs.") During the Gulf War, while Mitterrand sent French troops to participate in Bush's neocolonial aggression against Iraq, "immigrant" workers at Flins, united in struggle with their French coworkers, led several dozen work stoppages against repressive measures and intolerable working conditions.

After a decade of anti-working-class attacks, Mitterrand's popular front is deeply discredited. Edith Cresson is the most despised prime minister since de Gaulle's "constitutional" coup d'état established the Fifth Republic in 1958. The popular front in office has meant that any serious labor struggle quickly posed a challenge to the reformist misleaders and their bourgeois allies in the government. Yet virtually the entire French "far left" (including the LCR, LO and PCI, as well as various smaller groups who also falsely claim to be Trotskyist) has supported Mitterrand, however "critically," and their tailist politics render them *incapable* of leading sharp class battles. The Ligue Trotskyste, which uniquely called for working-class opposition to the popular front, is fighting to build a Bolshevik leadership in the struggle to sweep away the bureaucratic labor lieutenants of capital.

Le Bolchévik

Renault worker Gilles Cazin leads protest against fascist attack on North Africans near Rouen during 1988 campaign as Ligue Trotskyste candidate for French parliament.

The Strike at Renault-Cléon

The stronghold of the strikes in Renault has been the plant in Cléon, which produces motors and gearboxes for the entire state-owned company. The bosses have taken over from the Japanese the "just in time" production scheme, which keeps stocks to a minimum in order to cut costs. However, this only works in the absence of strikes, and to the consternation of the bosses it has given this plant a pivotal role. Because of the determined strike at Cléon, other plants have been forced to shut down for lack of parts, at times bringing the entire Renault chain to a grinding halt.

The Cléon strikers have been highly combative, reflecting the wellspring of discontent which goes far beyond the strikers' wage demands. Renault president, the hated Raymond Lévy, denounced them as "terrorists." The strikers quickly set up barricades at the plant gates, blocking all trucks so that not a single motor or gearbox could leave the plant. Tents have been set up with TVs and their own electrical supply, a union safety team has been set up and fires are kept going round the clock. Defying a court injunction, the workers maintained their pickets—at times numbering over a thousand and still going strong. The determined strikers even turned back a bulldozer sent to break through the barricades. When the plant manager showed up at the head of 300 scabs (mainly management personnel) he was sent packing under a barrage of rotten eggs.

Initially, although the pickets blocked the movement of trucks, they allowed scabs to slither in and out of the plant. This "tactic" of leaky pickets was pushed by the union tops to show the bourgeoisie that they respect the "right to work"—a "right" which the bosses "respect" with mass layoffs. (Lévy has announced his intention to slash 28,000 of Renault's 68,000 jobs.) By last week the strikers were throwing up solid picket lines, facing down the squads of scabs mobilized by the bosses to break through the lines. Delegations (some 500-strong) were showing up in buses and cars from other Renault plants, the peasant federation has been bringing food supplies and set up a farmers market at cost. On weekends the struck plant has been the site of a popular fête as families gather on the picket line.

From the first days of the strike, Renault management sought to break it by repression. Dozens of union officials and individual strike militants were sanctioned with 5-10 days off work without pay and threatened with firing. But according to law, the company must first inform the individual affected in a formal interview. So each worker affected would show up accompanied by as many as 200-300 concerned coworkers! "An injury to one is an injury to all" is a well-known maxim for united labor struggle, and this impulse has been reflected at Cléon. One union official said that everyone knows that in the CGT there are members of the PCF, LCR, LTF, but we're all united for the strike. In Renault, as is typical in French industry, there are several unions, the largest being the CGT and CFDT. Over the last decade, union membership has fallen as the result of the do-nothing attitude of the union bureaucracies in the face of employer and government attacks. However, the Cléon strike has been marked by repeated general assemblies of the striking workers, including those in the different unions as well as the unorganized. This unity in struggle must be organized in an elected committee responsible for the running of the strike and negotiations.

To win this strike it is key first of all to make it solid and spread it. Gilles Cazin, an LTF militant who has worked at Renault-Cléon for almost 20 years, has fought for real picket lines to keep out the scabs, for an elected strike committee and for workers' delegations to *extend the strike* throughout the auto industry. In 1988, Cazin was the candidate of the Ligue Trotskyste for parliamentary deputy, running against former premier Fabius. The LTF has a decade-long history of communist work at the Cléon plant and in nearby Rouen where it has fought to smash racist terror and defend North African "immigrants." As *Le Bolchévik* has been sold to strike picketers and the supplement distributed, this has produced animated debates on Mitterrand, the PCF's role in the popular front, and the need for a workers government.

Appeals for class-struggle action have found resonance among the strikers. A leaflet voted by the strikers on the picket lines and subsequently signed by the local CGT cited the "victims of the austerity policy of the Mitterrand government" in calling on the workers of the region to strike on October 24 "and to converge on Renault-Cléon to join the pickets." On the 24th over a dozen delegations from factories on strike were in front of Renault-Cléon. Among the speakers was an LTF militant who concluded her remarks to much applause by calling on the wives of the strikers to participate actively in support of the strike. A women's committee has since been set up.

A delegation from Renault-Flins was also present and declared their support to the idea of extending the strike to Flins. The link with Flins (where 40 percent of the workforce is "immigrants") is important for the success of the strike in auto. This underlines the importance for French workers to take up the demand of "Full citizenship rights for 'immigrants'!"

With the Cléon plant shut down, Renault has only been able to keep other plants sporadically operating by importing parts from plants in Mexico, Spain and Chile. Renault workers must appeal for international solidarity from fellow workers in Renault branches in other countries. Yet the nationalist line of the PCF and the CGT is an obstacle to this. To their traditional "Produce French" chauvinism has now been added vile anti-Japanese racism. *L'Humanité* (2 November) called for French auto companies "to jointly wage a battle on the European front against the Japanese," and criticized Renault's alliance with Volvo, "a veritable Trojan horse for Japanese penetration in Europe"!

This echoes the anti-Japanese hysteria fanned by Cresson, who also responded to a racist campaign by the Gaullist mayor of Paris, Jacques Chirac, by calling for "charter" airliners to deport North Africans. Now at a meeting in Berlin, representatives of the Common Market countries joined with the German government in declaring war on immigration. Anti-foreigner racism has also raised its ugly head in this strike. A CGT representative at Cléon even declared:

"We don't have slanted eyes.... It's not part of our culture." It is the duty of every class-conscious worker to stamp out this kind of racist filth: it plays into the hands of the company, undercuts the vital struggle for international solidarity and reinforces the racist climate which Le Pen's fascist movement feeds on as murderous attacks mount against "immigrant" workers and youth.

The Crisis of Revolutionary Leadership

Since the combative strike of railroad workers five years ago, strikes in France have often seen the formation of strike coordinating committees, as is the case in the present nurses strike. These have served to bridge the several unions, and have frequently escaped from the iron control of Stalinist CGT and social-democratic CFDT bureaucrats. French workers are justifiably distrustful of the reformist union leaderships which led them into support for Mitterrand. However, as Lenin explained in his classic work *What Is To Be Done?* the spontaneous organization of workers cannot alone resolve the problem of leadership.

In the microcosm of this key strike, it is being shown with crystal clarity how Stalinism and social democracy sabotage the most elementary workers struggles. While Cléon strikers at a November 1 general assembly chanted "*tenir, tenir, tenir!*" (hold on) at every mention of going back, *L'Humanité* claimed the workers were "ready to take down the picket lines if Renault management would guarantee that negotiations would begin on proposals for a minimal specified wage increase and no reprisals"! Meanwhile, the regional CFDT called for "all 5,000 Cléon workers" (i.e., including the scabs) to meet in front of the factory to "vote" on the strike.

With the strikers holding firm, the hardline Renault management and many in the media, including *Le Monde*, are pushing the Mitterrand/Cresson government to send in the police. But in the present climate of social tension, particularly after the police charge against striking nurses, this could easily backfire.

May 1968 French general strike: PCF/CGT Stalinist misleaders saved bourgeoisie by liquidating strike rather than fight for power.

Above all: Cléon must not stand alone!

Many Renault-Cléon strikers recall with pride that their plant was among the first to mobilize during the general strike of May 1968. But they must also draw the lessons of May '68, which was stabbed in the back by the national leadership of the PCF and the union tops who hoped to bring in a "left" government of the capitalist state. What that powerful general strike lacked was a leadership with the program and determination to lead the mobilization forward to workers revolution. And now ten years of "left" government has demonstrated the bankruptcy of the popular front as it relentlessly drives down the living standards of the working people and persecutes North African "immigrants."

The Ligue Trotskyste banner at the Paris demonstration during the one-day general strike of October 24 declared: "Break with Mitterrand! For a May '68 that goes all the way!" As its 19 October supplement to *Le Bolchévik* declared:

> "The Mitterrand government is in desperate straits but defends the interests of capitalism with hammer and tongs. Every thoroughgoing workers struggle becomes a political struggle which calls out for a class-struggle leadership. To win, working-class militants must therefore get rid of the bureaucrats who have been completely corrupted through class collaboration, in order to construct a revolutionary workers party. Such a party will fight for a workers government to expropriate capitalism and put an end once and for all to this social system which transforms into misery the enormous riches produced by the workers." ■

L.A. "Rolling Strikes"...

(continued from page 12)

inner sanctum of the school board. Garment unions have been organizing undocumented foreign-born workers. In the L.A. area, long known as an open-shop, low-wage haven, with a huge influx of Latino and Asian immigrants, events have been building toward a showdown over unionization. Despite the SEIU tops' capitulation, with teachers being told to eat a *$1,800 pay cut*, the battle is still pending.

The walkouts began October 28 when union members among the 4,500 nurses in L.A. county hospitals set up picket lines on the night shift. At the Harbor-UCLA Medical Center they wore T-shirts reading "Nurses Survive to Keep Patients Alive." In a medical system with six major hospitals and 47 clinics there are *over 1,000* nursing staff vacancies. The strikers are fighting not only for themselves, but for decent medical care for tens of thousands of poor and working people. As the capitalist courts quickly stepped in with an anti-strike injunction, other units in Local 660 began a series of one-day strikes which included lab technicians, clerical and custodial workers at the hospitals, flood control, sewer and street repair workers, county warehouse workers and truck drivers, and on Monday 5,100 social service workers.

County officials, whose salaries top out at $163,000 per year, are demanding Local 660 members get no pay increase this year and 3 percent in 1992—in effect a cut, as increased medical benefits and outrageous parking fees would take a huge bite out of workers' paychecks. Only the nurses, grossly underpaid and desperately needed, are being offered a small raise this year. In ordering the nurses back to work, the judge arrogantly denounced their walkout as "an imminent threat to health and safety." Bull! Ask Rodney King or thousands of other L.A. workers and minorities who have felt the clubs of the LAPD—they'll tell you who the "threat to health and safety" is! The members of Local 660—one-third black, 20 percent Latino, over half women—know this from bitter personal experience.

The SEIU leaders' strategy of one-day, rotating strikes was just a pressure tactic to push negotiations to wheedle a few crumbs out of the Board. Meanwhile, it served to divide the union and dissipate the workers' strength, as has working without a contract for over a month. (Moreover, *WV* registered a protest with the union over the name of the campaign, "Rolling Thunder," the code name for LBJ's bombing raids over North Vietnam, beginning in 1965, which escalated the war and killed tens of thousands of Vietnamese peasants and workers.) A real strike would win wide popular backing and mobilize active support from union workers, from aerospace in Long Beach and the docks in San Pedro to the sweatshops of the garment district.

The struggle of low-wage and public workers to organize has been energized by the presence of Central American immigrants who are no strangers to class struggle. It is crucial that the labor movement use its power to fight for full citizenship rights for *anyone* who has made it into this country: down with the racist immigration laws! These union battles have also come up against the police, the armed fist of the capitalist state, making it all the more important to demand: cops out of the unions!

The quiescence in recent years of the historic outposts of industrial unionism in longshore and aerospace is due to the straitjacket imposed by a union bureaucracy bound hand and foot to the Democratic Party and loyal to the capitalist system, which is producing the devastating budget cuts in education, hospitals and services for the poor. What's needed is a class-struggle leadership that will fuse these battles into a struggle for a revolutionary workers party that can lead the fight to sweep away the racist capitalist system. ■

Striking Los Angeles County nurses, October 29.

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Strikes Rock Mitterrand's France

Thousand-strong mass pickets have shut down key Renault-Cléon auto plant, leading to shutdowns of the entire chain.

Trovel/l'Humanité

NOVEMBER 4—After a decade of cruel austerity imposed by the "socialist" president François Mitterrand, the anger of French workers has begun to explode. Over the past month, a wave of strikes by Renault auto workers almost brought the company to a standstill. Striking nurses demonstrating in the streets of Paris stood up to water cannons, tear gas and police charges. Peasants made their anger felt as they repeatedly sacked tax collectors' offices as well as meetings and banquets by government ministers (who were then ordered not to venture into the provinces). On October 24 a one-day general strike shut down the ports, heavily disrupted public transportation in some cities and reduced the production of electrical power, as tens of thousands of striking workers marched through the streets of Paris and numerous other cities.

UPDATE

As we go to press we have received the following report from France:

NOVEMBER 5—At 3:30 this morning, almost 500 CRS (riot police) took over the Cléon plant and opened up the gates. No violence. The CGT union tops made sure there was no resistance from the 100 or so pickets. The decision was taken by the prime minister. The strike goes on. Only hardened scabs and management personnel went in through a passage formed by strikers on one side and cops on the other. Negotiations with Renault management have begun and are still going on.

Mitterrand tried to head off the upsurge of class struggle by mixing threats, false promises and police attacks. Yet the strikes continued in the hospitals, and walkouts swept Renault auto plants in Cléon, Le Mans, Sandouville and Flins. The bastion of the strikes has been at the Renault plant in Cléon (Normandy), where hundreds of militant pickets have kept the plant shut down since October 17. Despite management attempts to mobilize scabs, the strike has grown increasingly solid and outside support has grown (more than 90,000 francs collected in solidarity donations). Giving an idea of the size of the pickets, every 24 hours 750 liters of coffee are consumed, 2,200 snacks distributed and 1,200 hot meals served. This morning Renault-Le Mans went on strike as well, locking up the plant manager for several hours and now barricading the entrance to the factory "just like at Cléon."

The Cléon strikers are demanding a 1,500-franc ($260) monthly wage boost—hardly enough to compensate for the severe erosion of purchasing power. In reality the struggle goes well beyond the question of wages, as our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France (LTF) pointed out in a special strike supplement of *Le Bolchévik*:

> "To break the resistance of this government ready to do anything to defend capitalist profits (and all the more brutal since they know they're near the end of their rope and are vulnerable), much more than 'ordinary' wage struggles are necessary.... Today the ingredients for the necessary generalized counter-offensive by the workers are accumulating. The Mitterrand government is largely discredited and has been in agonizing

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Los Angeles "Rolling Strikes"

SEIU Tops Scuttle Strike

Thousands of Teachers Protest Pay Cuts

LOS ANGELES, November 5—On the eve of a first-ever strike by 41,000 employees of Los Angeles County, union leaders called off the action, saying they had reached a "conceptual agreement" with the Board of Supervisors. The Board's "conception" has been to screw the workers, making them pay for health benefits and even parking space. After walkouts in the last week by nurses and other hospital workers, public works and welfare department employees, momentum was building for a countywide strike. But after 10,000 teachers rallied yesterday against a drastic pay cut, Service Employees International Union (SEIU) Local 660 general manager Gilbert Cedillo put a lid on the county workers' protests, caving in an hour and a half before the pickets were supposed to go up.

While strikes have been falling in the rest of the country, labor struggle has been mounting over the last couple years in Los Angeles. In 1989, a strike by the United Teachers of Los Angeles (UTLA) got 8 percent annual raises. Hotel workers fought the giant Hyatt chain. Last year, janitors organized by the SEIU faced off LAPD assaults and won union recognition. Striking teachers' assistants (also SEIU) invaded the

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WV Photo

Thousands of L.A. teachers rally against budget cuts in May.

WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 539 | 22 November 1991

Moscow

Mass Protest Against Yeltsin Counterrevolution

Spartacist

Moscow, November 7—Tens of thousands march to Red Square celebrating the October Revolution and denouncing capitalist-restorationists led by the traitors Yeltsin and Gorbachev.

MOSCOW—The imperialist media and the now anti-Communist Soviet television sought to portray Revolution Day, November 7, as the wake after the "death of Communism." They even brought back the Romanov pretender to the tsarist throne. The new "rulers" tried to ban all celebration of the anniversary of the Bolsheviks taking power. The *New York Times* admitted that "more than 10,000 Communist loyalists" marched, but in fact as many as 90,000 came out in Moscow in an angry protest against the counterrevolution headed by Yeltsin and Gorbachev. In Leningrad, Kiev and elsewhere thousands more took to the streets.

Gathering before the Lenin statue in October Square, there were hundreds of red flags snapping in the stiff winter wind. In contrast to the regimented formal parades of previous years, this was an outpouring, heavily proletarian in composition, of people who wanted to take a stand for socialism. They chanted "Lenin! Lenin!" and "Down with the bourgeois dictatorship!" They carried hand-painted signs with such slogans as "Privatization: A Dream for Millionaires, for the Workers a

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Down With "Free Market" Starvation! For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

Louisiana Election Catapulted Fascist Demagogue

KKK Duke Rides Racist Backlash

NOVEMBER 18—The national spotlight was on the Louisiana governor's election where fascist David Duke, running as a Republican, was pitted against former Democratic governor Edwin Edwards, who is widely viewed as a crook. Although Edwards won, with 60 percent of the total due to a massive turnout of blacks at the polls, Duke got 55 percent of the white vote and even more among lower-income whites.

The political establishment in this country, especially the Bush Republicans, heaved a sigh of relief that an American state would not be governed by an "ex"-Klansman and Nazi. But black people rightly fear that the rise of David Duke will mean an increase in racist attacks, from further cutbacks in welfare to KKK terror. Indeed, on the eve of the election the home of a black parish coordinator for Edwards, Johnny Cox, was burned down; a charred cross was found in the front yard.

Duke crowed that even though he lost this election, "the message goes out loud and clear across the country." Both during the campaign and after, he has appeared on virtually every major national TV talk show, from *Good Morning America* to *Nightline*. The candidacy of KKKer Duke represents another step in the backlash against even paying lip service to racial equality, as covert racism is increasingly replaced by the overt variety that is historically the norm in America. A *New York Times* (18 Novemher) editorial stated the obvious, that "Duke's rapid rise in politics makes clear that racism has a large constituency."

This is by no means limited to Louisiana or the South. Duke would be a force in New York's Howard Beach or the Chicago suburb of Cicero. Almost half his campaign funds came from out of state. And in Dubuque, Iowa, black families have been victimized by cross-burnings and racist epithets by fascist punks affiliated with the sinister "National Association for the Advancement of White People," which was founded by Duke a decade ago.

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Young Spartacus

Gerald/Morning Advocate

Taking off his sheets doesn't change Klansman David Duke's fascist program. 1,500 demonstrated against the KKK führer last March in Boston.

Unemployment Up, Bush's Ratings Down

It's Libya-Bashing Time Again

As George Bush's standing in the opinion polls continued to drop this fall with the U.S. economy in the doldrums, we've been wondering what foreign bogeyman he would go after to make up for his vulnerability on the domestic front. Noriega's on trial in Miami, so that leaves him out. Air strikes against Iraqi "nuclear sites"? Thinkable, but it could stir up the Near East hornet's nest right when Washington was pushing its "peace" talks. Cuba is already targeted, and the North Korea "A-bomb threat" is just getting going. But that's serious business for later.

That left the old standby, Libya's Qaddafi, considered the no-risk target of choice. So after a three-year "investigation" into the bombing of Pan Am Flight 103 over Lockerbie, Scotland, which killed 270 people in December 1988, the U.S. suddenly indicted two alleged "Libyan intelligence agents." White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater issued the usual script about "Libyan-inspired terrorism" which typically precedes a bombing run on Tripoli. Asked about military action, Ole Fizzwater refused to "rule out any options."

For a while the media big guns will soften up the target, Pat Buchanan will accuse Bush of being a wimp. And then, probably at prime-time dinner hour when the family is gathered in front of the TV and after Dad and/or Mom cashed their first unemployment benefits extension check, the imperial president will flash on the screen to announce that fighter planes from a U.S. aircraft carrier on "routine exercises" in the Med had "struck back" in "retaliation" after coming "under attack."

The Democrats will snap to attention for their commander in chief, Americans will briefly glow with renewed "pride" as they did in the Gulf War even as their stomachs growl, and Bush's ratings will shoot back up in the polls. The Romans used to call it "bread and circuses," to keep the plebes quiet. But in capitalist America today, millions of jobless and homeless and hundreds of thousands thrown off the welfare rolls could be asking, "Where's the bread?"

The Pan Am bombing has always had mystery surrounding it, first of all because no one with credibility claimed responsibility for it. U.S. Congressman James Traficant claimed the bomb "was placed on board with the connivance of CIA agents who believed it contained heroin" (London *Guardian*, 4 November 1989) as part of a complicated plot involving Syria and U.S. hostages in Lebanon. The London *Guardian* (23 December 1988) among others has also suggested that "the remaining candidate for the atrocity from the Middle East could, the PLO fear, be Mossad," the Israeli intelligence agency, seeking to discredit Palestinians.

Given the tangle of intrigue, it's possible to find a "link" to whomever the imperialists want to "get" this month. This time, even the lickspittle purveyors of administration disinformation at the *New York Times* (15 November) felt compelled to note that "For more than a year investigators had pursued a theory that the bombing was ordered by Iran and carried out by a Syrian-based terrorist group." But now that those two countries are being courted for Bush's "New World Order," a "timing device" was discovered that supposedly linked it to Libya even though it was made by a Swiss company.

Many of the relatives of those who died on Pan Am Flight 103 aren't buying. Bonnie O'Conner of Long Island, whose brother was killed, said angrily: "Indicting Libyans is only a convenience for George Bush's Mideast peace policy. Does George Bush take us for fools?" (London *Independent*, 15 November). But the bourgeois politicians, Republican and Democrat alike, indeed take the electorate for fools, and the prospect is that more innocent Libyan civilians will tragically pay with their lives in order to boost Bush's electoral chances in 1992. ■

Reuters

Rubble from U.S. terror bombing of Libya in 1986 in failed attempt to murder Qaddafi.

Fascism and Capitalist Decay

TROTSKY

LENIN

The striking showing of Klan leader David Duke in the Louisiana elections comes after a decade of unrelenting attacks on the labor movement, blacks and other oppressed minorities across America. Fascism is a product of capitalist decay, as racist demagogues exploit the growing economic desperation of the middle classes. Writing in the early 1950s, American Trotskyist leader James P. Cannon maintained that only a revolutionary-led workers movement can defeat fascism once and for all.

American capitalism is not in love with democracy. It's no principle of American capitalism that we must maintain all the democratic forms—free speech, free press, free rights to organize, and all the rest. The only principle the American capitalists have is the exploitation of labor, the extraction of profits, and the enrichment of themselves at the expense of the workers. That's their principle. If they can do it in any easy and smooth and quiet and peaceful way under political democracy, OK. That's the cheapest way. But when that doesn't work any longer, our wonderful, democratic capitalists will turn, with the savage fury of the German and Italian capitalists, to the bloody violence of fascism. They will finance and equip a fascist movement, and check it straight up to the labor movement: "What are you going to do about it? There are going to be no more debates with you, it's going to be fight."

It will be a fight to a finish, and it will be fought on all fronts, from election campaigns to strikes and fights with fascist gangsters in the streets.... The irrepressible conflict will lead inexorably to a showdown in the United States of America, which will bear the name: The Struggle for Power.

—James P. Cannon, *America's Road to Socialism* (1953)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly except 2nd issue August and with 3 week interval December by the Spartacist Publishing Co 41 Warren Street, New York NY 10007 Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377 GPO, New York NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions $7.00/24 issues Second-class postage paid at New York NY POSTMASTER Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 539 **22 November 1991**

Heroic Soviet Spies

Honor Richard Sorge and Ozaki Hotsumi

TOKYO—A memorial was held in Tokyo to honor Richard Sorge and Ozaki Hotsumi, who were arrested 50 years ago for spying for the Soviet Union. They were deliberately executed by the Japanese imperial government on 7 November 1944, the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution.

This year's commemoration, attended by some 500 people, was organized by the Ozaki family and attracted older veteran radicals as well as youth. Representatives of the Spartacist Group Japan came to honor the memory of these heroic fighters and martyrs for international communism.

Among those present was Hanako Ishii, who befriended and cared for Sorge in the last period before his arrest. She herself was persecuted by the Japanese authorities, not only because her lover was a spy for the Soviet Union and a Communist but also because he was a foreigner. After the war she arranged to move his body from the prison cemetery to Tama Cemetery.

In 1941 Sorge, Ozaki and their comrades warned the Soviet government in detail of the impending Nazi German attack. Yet Stalin deliberately disregarded this and similar warnings from other sources, desperately clinging to his non-aggression pact with Hitler.

As a by-product of glasnost, Soviet sources are now revealing the truth about this period. For example, an article in *Soviet Life* (June 1991) reports that the "superstar of Soviet military intelligence, Richard Sorge, radioed from Tokyo the strategic, operational and tactical plans of the German command" three weeks before Hitler's Operation Barbarossa was launched.

In Japan Ozaki and Sorge are the personification of communist idealism in the defense of the Soviet Union. In 1986 representatives of our international tendency and the founders of the Spartacist Group Japan placed a wreath on the graves with the inscription, in Japanese and English: "In honor of Richard Sorge, hero of the Soviet Union, and Ozaki Hotsumi, who died fighting for the cause of the international proletariat." ■

Photos Ozaki Hotsuki

Richard Sorge at Hakone, Japan in 1938; Ozaki Hotsumi and his daughter in Shanghai, 1932.

Fascist Duke...

(continued from page 1)

David Duke is *not* a "former" or "ex" Klansman/Nazi. In the 1960s he was known as the Nazi of Louisiana State University, and in the '70s he was a "grand wizard" in the Klan. Media-hip Duke took off his robes for a three-piece suit, but this in no way changed his fascist politics. When in 1986 Duke visited the Nazis' Mauthausen concentration camp in Austria, he said: "This wasn't really a gas chamber, it was just to de-lice people"! Until two years ago, he was selling the Nazi tract "Did Six Million Really Die?" out of his "legislative" office.

But many of the fascists' intended victims clearly saw through the media cloud around Duke. Black Louisianan Albert Joseph remarked: "It is easy for white people to forgive David Duke for being in the...Klan, they were never hung from trees. We cannot forget or forgive.... But it is not just blacks who will suffer. Remember he was a Nazi." In New Orleans Jewish survivors of Nazi Germany were reminded of Hitler's early days by the sea of "mesmerized" white faces at frenzied rallies.

Just as Hitler's rise to power in Germany was fueled by the Great Depression which ravaged the capitalist world in the early 1930s, so Duke's rise to prominence is linked to the depressed state of American capitalism. And no state in the U.S. is as depressed as Louisiana, whose economy was devastated by the collapse of the oil boom a decade ago. In the early '80s oil accounted for 40 percent of the state's revenues; today it is down to 15 percent. Louisiana ranks 49th in per capita income with the largest gap between rich and poor. Life for many black people is pervasive crushing poverty akin to the Caribbean.

The majority of whites are also hurting. Here is the root source of Duke's appeal as he uses blacks as scapegoats for American capitalism's decay. "Welfare parasites should have all the illegitimate children they want," he tells frenzied crowds of supporters. "I just don't think you should have to pay for them." In the absence of a working-class socialist opposition, Duke's racist demagogy finds a ready constituency. He did best among white families earning between $15,000 and $30,000, while only a third of white families earning more than $75,000 voted for him.

Boston, March 28: Partisan Defense Committee initiated united front that mobilized youth and labor in militant, integrated anti-Duke protest. Down with twin parties of racist American capitalism!

Edwards' campaign appeal to whites was pitched to yuppies with the message that Duke is "bad for business." Investors would shun the state, and Louisiana would become an international pariah "redlined" or "X-rated." One Edwards ad depicted a neighboring Texan gleeful at the economic benefits to his state if Duke won. New Orleans was warned it could lose the Super Bowl and numerous conventions.

In its own way, the Democrat Edwards' campaign reinforced Duke's demagogic claim to speak for the white "little man" whose interests are disregarded by the ruling political establishment. Edwards' advisers insisted that Duke supporters were "immovable." Supposedly nothing could convince them to abandon the racist demagogue. Certainly, Edwards has nothing to offer them except to continue things as they are, which are intolerable.

Only integrated working-class struggle against capitalist exploitation can cut through the racist false consciousness of Duke's present supporters, isolating and smashing the hard core of fascists. Unionization of the "open shop" South would impel white and black workers to fight together against scab-herding cracker sheriffs, company goons and Klansmen. While Duke & Co. aim to victimize black women on welfare, a workers party would go after the ruling-class criminals, both Republicans and Democrats, who have swindled hundreds of billions of taxpayers' dollars: the S&L con artists, Wall Street operators and Pentagon arms contractors.

But the only "alternative" to Duke that various liberals and leftists had to offer was veiled calls for votes to the Democrats. A Louisiana Coalition Against Racism and Nazism advertisement in the New Orleans *Times-Picayune* made an implicit pitch for Edwards' "good ole boy politics" as opposed to Duke's genocide. A Workers World leaflet called for "people to stop Duke at the polls," while adding that "Duke and fascists like him cannot be stopped by elections." The ex-Maoists of the Revolutionary Political Organization, via their African American Liberation League, were part of a "Get Out the Vote Coalition," a bloc of black elected officials, the NAACP and the Urban League which explicitly backed Edwards.

The main obstacle to the kind of working-class struggle that can defeat Duke is the sellout labor bureaucracy and its ties to the politically bankrupt Democratic Party. While the Democrats are now trying to use Duke's membership in the GOP to embarrass the Republicans, in point of fact, in the past Duke (as well as fellow Klansman Tom Metzger) ran as Democrats. Moreover, one of Edwards' main cronies is Jefferson Parish sheriff Harry Lee, the Chinese "good ole boy" who a few years back ordered his deputies to stop and interrogate blacks who entered the heavily white parish. And nationally the Democrats are trying to slough off their "image" as a party of black rights, women's rights, labor and other "special interests."

The Democrats are no friends of labor, women or blacks, but the phony "lesser evil" party of American capitalism. The Republicans worry that Duke may make it harder for Bush to run for re-election on the program of "crime, quotas and Kuwait." Yet both the capitalist parties are running on "respectable" versions of this racist platform, and have been for years. This has been accompanied by the rise of racist attacks on the streets, from anti-busing mobs to cop terror. The Spartacist League has taken the lead in mobilizing labor/black defense against KKK/Nazi provocations, including against appearances by "Klan in a Suit" Duke.

To put a stop to Duke and his ilk requires the building of a revolutionary workers party which would mobilize the social power of labor in the interests of the black poor and all the oppressed and exploited in a struggle against increasingly vicious, decaying American capitalism. ■

Partisan Defense Committee Benefits

Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners

Come to a Fundraising Party!

"All through history those who have fought against oppression have constantly been faced with the dungeons of a ruling class. The greater the cause has been, and the deeper it has been rooted in the needs and sufferings of the masses, the more it has been menaced by the tortures of prison cells."

—James P. Cannon, "The Cause That Passes Through a Prison," September 1926

We must not forget the class-war prisoners of today—those in prison for standing up to racist capitalist oppression—whose freedom is in the interests of the working class and all the oppressed. In 1986, the Partisan Defense Committee revived an International Labor Defense tradition of sending monthly stipends to class-war prisoners and extra gifts for them and their families during the holidays. This year is our sixth holiday appeal to raise funds for the stipend program. We now send stipends to 19 prisoners—former Black Panther Party leader Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), death row political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal, Ramona Africa and 12 other members and supporters of MOVE, Panther supporters Ed Poindexter and Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa (David Rice), prison activist Hugo Pinell and Irish Republican Socialist Party supporter Eddie McClelland. Support to these prisoners is not an act of charity but of solidarity by those on the outside with those inside prison walls.

Add your support to the class-war prisoners. Their fight is our fight.

Music • Dancing • Food

Saturday, Dec. 7, 10 p.m.
Please call for information
(404) 659-0251
ATLANTA

Sunday, Dec. 8, 5-10 p.m.
179 Varick St
For information (212) 406-4252
NEW YORK

Sunday, Dec. 8, 1-4 p.m.
The Firehouse, Fort Mason Ctr
Marina at Laguna
For information (510) 839-0852
SAN FRANCISCO

Sunday, Dec. 8, 3-7 p.m.
UE Hall
37 S Ashland Ave
For information (312) 663-0719
CHICAGO

Tickets: $5 advance, $8 at door, $10 contributing
(A $10 ticket includes a subscription to *Class-Struggle Defense Notes* for one year)

"The Samson Option" and Mordechai Vanunu

After trying out and discarding numerous "reasons" for the U.S.' mass slaughter in Iraq last year, George Bush's speech writers finally hit upon the bogeyman of "madman" Hussein armed with nuclear weapons. Of course, this was a brazen lie—Iraq was years away from nuclear capability. That is in fact what the "UN investigation" last summer showed—despite all the manufactured crisis atmosphere, with U.S.-controlled "investigators" swiping Iraqi personnel files—though it hasn't stopped Bush from using this as an excuse to threaten renewed military action against Baghdad and to continue to starve the Iraqi people.

But there *is* a gang of certifiable madmen in the Middle East today who are armed with hundreds of nukes: ballistic missile warheads, weapons systems for long-distance fighters, tactical nuclear weapons, neutron bombs, nuclear land mines, miniaturized warheads small enough to fit in a suitcase, and more! It has been known for years that the war-crazed Zionist rulers of Israel had the bomb. This was confirmed in great detail five years ago by courageous Israeli nuclear technician Mordechai Vanunu, who also for the first time revealed the extent of the Zionist nuclear arsenal, at least 200 warheads. For this service to humanity, Vanunu is being held incommunicado in an Israeli prison, sentenced to 18 years for "treason."

A new book, *The Samson Option*—which is not the latest spy thriller from Robert Ludlum, but a history of Israel's nuclear stockpile—has been receiving a lot of attention. The title is a term coined by the author, *New York Times* man Seymour Hersh, to describe the mindset of this group of lunatics hell-bent on their expansionist project of a Greater Israel, who, if they don't get their way, are prepared to blow up the world. It is a reference to the story of the biblical strong man Samson, who lost his hair—and his strength—after screwing around with the *shiksa* Delilah, was captured and blinded by the Philistines, and chained to the pillars of a temple. After praying for one last burst of strength, Samson pulled apart the pillars, collapsing the temple on top of himself and crushing his enemies in the process. Get it?

As right-wing Zionist Norman Podhoretz put it in a 1976 essay (quoted by Hersh), "It used to be said that the Israelis had a Masada complex...but if the Israelis are to be understood in terms of a 'complex' involving suicide rather than surrender and rooted in a relevant precedent of Jewish history, the example of Samson, whose suicide brought about the destruction of his enemies, would be more appropriate than Masada, where in committing suicide the Zealots killed only themselves and took no Romans with them." Sort of reminds you of Wagner's *Götterdämmerung* (twilight of the gods), so beloved of Hitler...and familiar to Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Shamir, whose fascist-terrorist Stern Gang appealed to the Nazi leader in the middle of the Holocaust to get the Third Reich franchise for a "Jewish state" in Palestine in exchange for a "*judenrein*" Europe!

Vanunu's bombshell in 5 October 1986 London *Sunday Times* revealed extent of Israeli nuclear arsenal. The courageous nuclear technician flashed message to reporters from police van of his abduction by the Mossad.

Target: Moscow

The "bombshell" of Hersh's book is underlined in the final paragraph of his first chapter—*the target of the Israeli nuclear arsenal was the Soviet Union*:

> "Indeed, there were not many, even in the American intelligence community, who understood in 1981 why Israel had collected satellite imagery of the Soviet Union and why Sharon was so insistent on continued access to that intelligence: Israel was itself a nuclear power that was targeting the Soviet Union with its warheads and missiles."

Well, actually, in a 1981 article headlined "Israeli Nuclear Terrorists," we wrote, "Israel has never signed the U.S.-backed Non-Proliferation Treaty—they've got the bomb; they're not going to give it up and certainly are not about to allow international observers to go snooping in the Negev." We added, "the Zionist rulers are not only willing to destroy their own people in a nuclear Masada, but to spark a global holocaust as well" (*WV* No. 283, 19 June 1981).

And in 1986, following the Vanunu revelations, we headlined our article "What Are They Doing with 200 A-Bombs? Zionist Madmen Target Russia" (*WV* No. 416, 21 November 1986). Noting that "A dozen or so A-bombs could nuke every Arab capital and make Hitler's Holocaust look like child's play," we asked: "*What's going on here?*" And we answered:

> "But 200 nukes would mean the warmongers in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem have a much bigger target in mind: *Russia*. Is this a joint operation with Washington in preparation for nuking the Soviets? (They're already in league with the White House in secretly supplying the Iranian ayatollahs with American arms.) Or are the Israelis preparing to go solo? The Zionist madmen could very easily—and perhaps deliberately—trip over the trip wire for World War III."

Hersh notes that Israel not only has the bombs, but also the capacity to deliver them. Back in 1986, we checked out what information was available about Israeli delivery systems, and published a map showing that the Lavi fighter-bomber could reach Moscow.

So "Vanunu knew," as the British *Economist* commented on Hersh's book, but you read it first in *Workers Vanguard*. And we don't just report Vanunu's spectacular revelations, *we defend him*. The Spartacist League and Partisan Defense Committee have waged an international campaign calling for Vanunu's freedom. All of humanity owes a debt of gratitude to this heroic man!

"Cap'n Bob"—Dead in the Water

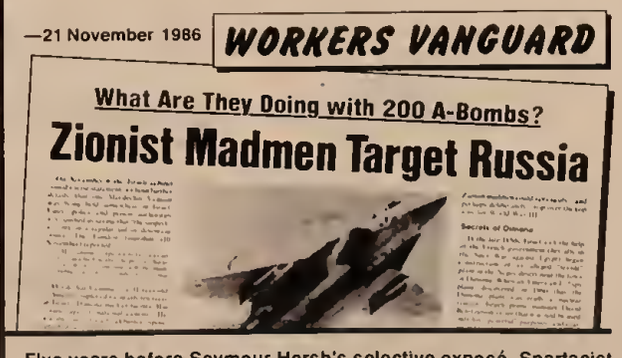
The Samson Option confirms in every respect the information about Israel's top-secret Dimona nuclear reactor and plutonium reprocessing center (known as "the Tunnel") revealed by Mordechai Vanunu. Born a Moroccan Jew, he worked at Dimona from 1977 to 1985, and risked his life to expose the danger of the Israeli nuclear time bomb. His story was printed in the London *Sunday Times* (5 October 1986), in which he detailed the workings of "the Tunnel," whose two innocuous floors above ground serve to hide a six-level concrete underground bunker. He also gave the *Sunday Times* more than 50 photographs, several of which show full-sized models of Israeli nuclear weapons.

Hersh's book also details how the Mossad—the Israeli CIA—was tipped off to Vanunu's whereabouts in London by none other than the late Robert Maxwell—owner of the New York *Daily News*, capitalist darling of the British Labour Party and publisher of the London tabloid *Daily Mirror*—and by the *Mirror*'s foreign editor Nicholas Davies. (The *Mirror* is a redbaiting rag which served as right-wing Labour leader Neil Kinnock's hatchet men in smearing the British coal miners during their year-long strike in 1984-85.) The *Mirror* denounced Vanunu's revelations as "a hoax, or even something more sinister—a plot to discredit Israel." Hersh reveals Maxwell and Davies' close ties to the Israeli Mossad, as well as Davies' not-so-secret life as an international arms dealer. With the help of these scum, the Mossad lured Vanunu to Rome only days after his interview, then drugged him and spirited him back to Israel.

The publication of *The Samson Option* in Britain caused a sensation. After Hersh's accusations against Maxwell and Davies were raised in the House of Commons, these two Mossad finks filed libel actions against Hersh, denying all. With the exception of the iconoclastic *Private Eye*, which regularly lampoons the despicable "Cap'n Bob" Maxwell, the British press was loath to publish any of the arms-dealing allegations, while the *Mirror* (24 October) ran a hysterical denial under the headline "Forgery...the document used to smear our man." Four days later, the *Daily Mirror* announced that Davies had been fired.

Meanwhile, Maxwell sought an injunction to stop distribution of the book (too late—it had already sold out),

continued on page 7



Five years before Seymour Hersh's selective exposé, Spartacist League revealed Zionists' primary target—the Soviet Union.

Social Democrats Knife Workers Mobilization in Halle

Fourth Reich Guards Nazi Provocation

100,000 in Anti-Fascist Vigils on Kristallnacht Anniversary

Financial Times

400 Nazis, screaming threats against foreign-born workers, march with police protection in Halle, Germany.

November 9 is the anniversary of the fall of the Berlin Wall and of the grisly 1938 *Kristallnacht*, the night when the Nazis staged their first state pogrom against the Jewish population, the point at which the Third Reich unleashed their drive to the Holocaust. Today, after the capitalist reunification of Germany, resurgent Nazis want to turn this day into a show of anti-communist nationalist terror. And to carry out their bloodthirsty provocation, the fascists could count on the protection of the police forces of the Fourth Reich, while the parliamentary parties prepared the way by launching a racist campaign against "foreigners."

Over the past year, attacks on foreigners have escalated, from 26 reported last January to *over 900* in October. A number of these assaults have been fatal. They reached a crescendo with a week-long pogrom against hostels for immigrant workers and asylum seekers in the mining town of Hoyerswerda, near the Polish border, in late September. The police responded by removing the foreigners and repressing leftists protesting against the racist assault. This only further encouraged the violent rightist skinheads and Nazis, who announced a national mobilization to "celebrate" *Kristallnacht* in the East German industrial city of Halle.

Many Germans were horrified by this hideous spectacle, and to dispel the image of the "ugly German," more than 100,000 people demonstrated on the 9th, from Munich to Berlin, waving balloons and calling for solidarity with the fascists' victims. Yet these vigils were organized by the racist popular front which had prepared the ground for the fascists: the Christian Democrats (CDU) calling to revise the constitutional right to asylum, Social Democrats (SPD) calling for "collection" camps, Greens calling for "quotas" of immigrants, and the PDS (successor to the former Stalinist ruling party of the East German deformed workers state) calling for more cops.

On the same day, a Mozambican worker in Weimar was critically injured by Nazi gunfire, and 400 Nazi thugs marched through the streets of Halle shouting "Sieg Heil!" It was the urgent duty of the workers movement, and anyone who seriously means it when they say "never again fascism," to *stop* this monstrous provocation. Outraged workers from throughout the region responded positively to the proposal of the Committee for Social Defense (KfsV), linked to the Spartakist Workers Party (SpAD), for a union-organized mass mobilization to stop the Nazis at the very place they wanted to start their provocation.

After a consultation with several unions, on November 7 the KfsV proposal was taken up by the DGB trade-union federation in Halle, which called for a demonstration right next to the Nazis' announced assembly point. The anti-fascist demo was announced in a DGB press release and publicized by the radio and newspapers. Metal and rail unionists took a strong stand for this urgently needed step. There was the possibility of a genuine, powerful workers united front which could stop Nazi terror. And it was just this spectre of the organized power of the working class which caused the DGB bureaucrats and the SPD tops to recoil in horror and demobilize their members. Thus they in fact made the Nazi mobilization possible.

Spartakist

Banner of Spartakist Workers Party of Germany at Halle anti-fascist demonstration reads "Workers/Immigrants: Stop the Nazis, Now!"

At all costs, said the union misleaders, a clash with the fascists must be avoided, throwing up as a smokescreen that they feared a "takeover by left-sectarian parties or groups." And so, instead of organized union contingents, only 2,000-3,000 people came out instead to a popular-front march to the Halle Market, some distance from the Nazis' assembly point, where they stood around helpless as the fascists strutted through the streets under police protection. More than 1,600 police were mobilized along with several units of the federal border police riot cops, who put up roadblocks and militarily occupied the town, sealing off the marketplace. That evening as more Nazis arrived in town there were clashes with leftists, who were bottled up by the cops, and more than 200 arrests.

What happened in Halle was the logical consequence of the capitalist annexation of East Germany (DDR) by the Fourth Reich of German imperialism. The Spartakists warned that capitalist reunification would bring mass unemployment, poverty, racist persecution of foreigners and Jews, anti-Communist witchhunting, oppression of women and a wave of fascist terror. The Nazis have been recruiting out of the mass unemployment, appealing to lumpenized youth. Our comrades also warned that the SPD was acting as the Trojan horse of *Anschluss* (annexation) of the DDR by the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz.

Today, just as they throttle any workers' resistance against the devastating consequences of reunification, the SPD/DGB social democrats also have knifed countermobilization by the opponents of the Nazis. The Spartakists fought to make a workers' anti-fascist mobilization a reality, distributing thousands of leaflets calling to "Stop the Nazis, Now!" at big plants in the area. And in spite of the treacherous demobilization by the union misleaders, on the anniversary of the Nazi *Kristallnacht* pogrom a hundred trade unionists, students and leftists marched in a contingent with the KfsV and SpAD against the fascist provocation.

In the 1930s, Trotsky called repeatedly for a workers united front to stop the Nazi march to power, but this was sabotaged both by the Social Democrats and Stalinists. As Trotsky wrote in the 1938 Transitional Program: "The German proletariat was not smashed by the enemy in battle. It was crushed by the cowardice, baseness, perfidy of its own parties." Today the capitalists don't need the fascists, but they hold them in reserve for hard times.

In a leaflet to workers in the Halle region, the Spartakist Workers Party drew the lessons of November 9, explaining the treachery of the SPD/DGB and pointing to the need for a revolutionary party that joins the struggle against the Nazis to the struggle against the capitalists' massive attacks on their livelihoods; that fights for full citizenship rights for immigrants, for jobs for all at no loss in pay, and for a transitional program leading from the present demands and partial struggles of the workers and oppressed to the necessary working-class fight for power. ■

Rivera...

(continued from page 16)

the killers of his close friend, and about the kind of man Rivera was:

> "In the past two weeks, I've listened to the defense witnesses and statements from the accused of the total violence committed against Julio Rivera. The sheer hatred demonstrated here is more than a normal member of society is expected to hear. Julio was a kind, sweet, reasonable and generous man. He had an artistic bent which included abstract watercolor, acrylic and oil painting. He also enjoyed music and theater."

Rafael Ruiz-Ayala, of the Latino Gay Men of New York City, says that one thing the Rivera case has done is "put a brown face to gayness in the city of New York. This has created a new awareness."

The murder of Julio Rivera has underlined the enormous increase in gay-bashing in the city in recent years. Matt Foreman, executive director of the New York City Gay and Lesbian Anti-Violence Project, reported that there have been 869 crimes against gays reported to the group so far this year, and 425 last year (*Newsday*, 6 November).

The murder comes in the context of mounting racist violence and bigotry in New York City, from the Bensonhurst lynch mob killers of Yusuf Hawkins to the stabbing death of Hasidic Jewish scholar Yankel Rosenbaum this fall. And the lynch mob punks take their cue from the men in blue: Federico Pereira, Mary Mitchell, David Cotto, Michael Stewart, Tomás Vizueta, Maximino Cintrón—these are only a few of the victims of the killer cops.

There is a crying need in New York for mobilization of labor/black/Hispanic defense in the face of the murderous racists and bigots. A revolutionary workers party must champion the cause of all the oppressed in the fight for socialist revolution, which will sweep away the hired state killers and their fascist fringe on the streets. ■

Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth Club: "Picket Lines Mean Don't Cross!"

Columbia Clerical Workers Strike Scuttled

Amid widespread anger among union members, a strike of clericals organized by District 65 of the United Auto Workers at Columbia University was deep-sixed by the union bureaucrats only days after it began. About 300-350 strikers packed the November 18 union meeting where, disgruntled workers later said, they were subjected to three hours of "brainwashing" by the bureaucrats which finally led to a vote to work without a contract until January. "They're not the union, we're the union," said one clerical leaving the meeting. Another said: "The members want to stay on strike, the negotiating committee wants to go back to work."

The predominantly female, mostly minority 1,100-member local staged two one-day strikes after their contract expired on October 10. They went out again on Thursday, November 14, when the university, sitting pretty on a $1.5 billion endowment, offered a paltry 3.7 percent pay increase and demanded givebacks in health care benefits. At a spirited noontime strike rally that day, Local 1199 workers and District 65ers raised the chant "On strike, shut it down!" On Friday, 1199 walked off the job in solidarity with the strike. Professors supporting the strike also moved 400 classes off campus, to Barnard and to West End bars and churches.

Columbia is a chief think tank for the U.S. ruling class, a training ground for the bourgeoisie's future war criminals and strikebreakers, and a notorious racist slumlord, routinely evicting black and Hispanic tenants in Morningside Heights. The same class and race prejudices permeate Columbia's relations with its employees—the average salary of minority workers in District 65 is $1,100 lower than their white coworkers, even though minority workers average more seniority!

Young Spartacus

Spartacus Youth Club joins 500-strong picket line of striking Columbia clerical workers, November 14.

The union is seeking greater equity in pay and benefits with other campus workers organized by Local 1199 and TWU Local 241. District 65 also demands guarantees on job reclassification and seniority rights to protect workers from racist discrimination in promotions, layoffs and pay.

Columbia waged a decades-long dirty war against union organizing drives and now wants to break the wage pattern established by the unions. To defend the interests of the entire workforce at Columbia, there ought to be *one campuswide union*, including lower-level faculty, to break the pattern of setting one sector of the workforce against another with separate contracts and pay scales. Campus cops—whose job is to protect Columbia's property, harass the surrounding Harlem community, police student protest and escort scabs through the pickets—should be *booted out* of TWU Local 241.

Unlike past years where at least a core of students took a side with labor and walked picket lines at Columbia, there has been virtually zero student participation at District 65's rallies and on their lines. In part this reflects the class prejudice of Columbia's well-heeled student population who seek to be the future capitalist managers and bosses, and partly it's due to the fact that the union leaders have only sporadically set up picket lines, and even then have let the scabs go through.

Spartacus Youth Club members were well received for our help in manning the picket lines. At rallies SYCers chanted "Victory to 65!" "Shut down Columbia!" and "Picket lines mean don't cross!" SYCers pointed out that students and faculty should, instead of moving their classes away from picket lines, *cancel* classes and walk the lines. After a sharp fight waged by the SYC at a strike support committee meeting on November 6 to win students to honor the lines, the committee issued a leaflet saying "Picket lines: DON'T CROSS—JOIN THEM!"

In opposition, fake "leftists" like the International Socialist Organization and Solidarity actually *defended students' crossing of picket lines!* These scabby socialists cross the class line internationally, cheering Yeltsin's drive to restore capitalism in the USSR, and cross workers' picket lines at home (of course with strike support buttons gleaming).

The SYC fights to defend the gains of the Russian Revolution, and seeks to win students and youth to the struggle for workers revolution here. Join us! ■

Run-In with Farrakhanites in Louisiana

14 November 1991

To the editor:

The ominous rise of David ("Klan in a Suit") Duke to national prominence sends a sharp warning to all his intended victims. Nowhere should this be clearer than in Duke's backyard in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, where my comrade and I recently visited Southern University as part of the *Workers Vanguard* subscription drive. Our visit began promisingly with a steady stream of students stopping at our literature table. We soon ran into trouble, however, with followers of Louis Farrakhan.

A Farrakhan supporter bought a collection of *WV* articles which exposed this sinister minister as bad news for black people [see "The Sinister Farrakhan," *Workers Vanguard* No. 355, 25 May 1984]. He left quietly but came back an hour later with reinforcements to stage a bigoted provocation and to threaten physical violence. Just days earlier across town at LSU, Louisiana's would-be *Führer* David Duke held a campaign rally to steamroll his racist drive to the governor's mansion. Yet even in the face of this deadly menace, Farrakhan supporters had a very different idea of the real enemy. At Southern they mobilized to fight two communists—myself (an Indian immigrant) and a black woman comrade!

Seven Farrakhanites surrounded us, hollering that "socialism never did anything for black people" and pushing faith in the capitalist system with arguments to "serve the community by building black businesses," which is nothing but a scheme for a few black hustlers to make a buck for themselves by exploiting black workers and the ghetto masses. We counterposed the strategy of black workers leading the whole class *against* this capitalist system which is based on systematic racial oppression.

With Malcolm X gear the height of fashion with black youth, the nationalists are trying hard to cash in on a big lie of identifying Farrakhan with Malcolm. And they really went nuts when we pointed out that Farrakhan set the stage for the murder of Malcolm X by repeatedly calling for the death of this militant fighter for black rights. (See Farrakhan's death threat against Malcolm in *Mohammed Speaks*, 4 December 1964.)

I was told to "get back on the boat," that I could have "nothing to say to black people," while another threatened, "I'm gonna knock your head off." When my comrade stepped to my defense, any pretense to "respect the black woman" fell away as they screamed at her to "shut up" and called her a "traitor" for "taking sides against the black man."

There is a logic to the nationalists' passivity toward Duke and aggression against communists. Farrakhan shares the Klan's program for the total segregation of America—California Kluxer Tom Metzger applauded a talk by Farrakhan there. The rabid anti-Semite Farrakhan hails the ultimate genocidal racist Adolf Hitler as "a great man," but the Hitlerites seek to exterminate every black person along with every Jew!

The hearing black nationalism is getting today is a symptom of the despair of a whole layer of black youth who have never seen successful social struggle. This pessimism has grown in direct proportion to the rise of Duke and his ilk out of the cesspool of the last decade and a half of social reaction and government rollback of rights won through hard struggle. The Farrakhanites turn justified anger into a program of retreat, pushing the deadly fantasy that black liberation *requires* segregation, "black capitalism," and poisonous bigotry against Koreans, Jews and other minorities.

Against the do-nothing pessimists who aid the bosses' game of divide and rule, we have pointed the way forward and chalked up some real victories by building mass, integrated, labor-centered mobilizations that have *stopped* the Ku Klux Klan and the Nazis in cities around the country. These actions electrified the youth and working people and set an example that *class* struggle is the road to black freedom. *Black liberation through socialist revolution!*

Comradely,
Mohan Nair

Scab "Socialists" Boycott Union Label

Scab "socialists" should have tried out their arguments against the union print shop on *Daily News* strike pickets last winter.

This fall, a young East German comrade of the International Communist League was visiting Chicago where he could see American capitalism up close. He also studied the press of various self-proclaimed socialist organizations in the U.S., and wrote to different groups asking why they had no union label. Why would an organization which claims to fight for the working class print their newspaper in a non-union shop? Using union labor ought to be, and used to be, ABC for any professed socialist.

The responses (or lack thereof) revealed a lot about the principles and politics of the U.S. "left." Of a dozen different groups that our comrade contacted, only three answered why they used a non-union printer. Of the rest, the Fourth Internationalist Tendency and the Socialist Workers Party sent form letters extolling their papers while ignoring the comrade's question. The Workers League, the Marxist-Leninist Party and the Revolutionary Communist Party, among others, didn't respond (no surprise in the case of the WL, which raked in millions of petrodollars from bourgeois Arab regimes to fund their Potemkin-village "daily newspaper").

We print below excerpts from the letters of Spark, Progressive Labor Party and the Marxist International Movement "explaining" why they use non-union labor.

Spark begins by referring to the fine print in their "who we are" box—about the only place you'll ever find the word "socialism" in this paper. And they certainly have nothing to do with the Russian Revolution. These super workerists, for whom the pinnacle of class struggle is the fight for better vending machines in factory lunchrooms, will junk union labor at the drop of a dime. But if some labor faker is selling out a strike with appeals for an impotent consumer boycott, Spark "supports" this diversion from the battle to *shut down production*.

The Maoist International Movement and Progressive Labor Party simply wash their hands of the labor movement—since unions are led by sellouts they must be hopelessly reactionary. But what MIM and PL reveal is their own incapacity to politically *fight* the pro-capitalist trade-union bureaucracy, as well as a deep, anti-Marxist pessimism about the possibilities for class struggle in the United States.

In the imperialist epoch, the age of decaying capitalism, successful "business unionism" or reformism is impossible. The labor bureaucrats from the AFL-CIO's Kirkland to the miserable UAW Solidarity House gang who sit on company boards of directors serve as the "labor lieutenants of capital." They line up workers for imperialist slaughter, as in the Persian Gulf, and strangle key strikes at home like the PATCO air controllers and Hormel meatpackers.

PL's talk of organizing drives by its InCAR front is eyewash—when they treat the unions as a "joke" and talk of "fascist union misleadership," what's meant is they don't defend the only mass organizations of the working class against the bosses. These "communists" often can't tell the difference between David Duke and a sellout bureaucrat—no wonder they've called the Soviet Union capitalist for decades.

MIM simply writes off the entire labor movement as a white labor aristocracy, natural allies of imperialism. Not only do they equate white workers with the imperialist-bribed labor bureaucracy, the MIM is willfully blind to the fact that blacks and Hispanics are represented in disproportionately high numbers in unions in this country; in fact they are the backbone of countless unions and strike struggles—precisely because they're under the heaviest attack by the racist bosses.

The Spartacist tendency has always printed in union shops as an expression of our commitment to forging a revolutionary party *of the working class*, whose gains we defend, from the trade unions to the Soviet Union, despite and against the sellout leaders who undermine them and the fake-lefts who spit on them.

Yes, Virginia, union shops *are* more expensive. And there's a reason why.

* * *

Challenge, Progressive Labor Party

"We no longer print the paper at a union shop because the shop that used to print our material, which was union, closed as a union shop. And as is the case all over, the right-wing nature of the union leadership makes the union movement a cruel joke.

"We are not opposed to unions—in fact, INCAR has several union organizing drives on at this moment. The traditional right lead [sic] unions deserve no allegiance."

Spark

"As you can tell from the box on page 2, we are a revolutionary communist organization.... Obviously we don't think socialism or communism are dead, since neither socialism or communism were established in the Soviet Union.

"The reason we don't have a union bug is where it is printed there is no union shop nearby that can print it at a price we can afford. We don't think individual boycotts, say of non-union companies, provide a solution for workers. During a real struggle, say the Chicago Tribune strike here, or the New York Daily News, we of course support the boycott as a part of the struggle."

MIM Notes, Maoist International Movement

"To address your question about the labor movement and the union label. MIM does not support the labor movement in the United States because it believes that the white working class in this country primarily constitutes a labor aristocracy (as was first defined by Lenin).

"Their economic position is such that they do not have an interest in seeing changes made to the Amerikan imperialist system beyond those reforms that afford them a higher salery [sic]. This is demonstrated through study of their material status and the history of the labor movement." ■

The Samson Option...

(continued from page 4)

and the Labour Party called on Maxwell to "appoint an independent tribunal" to investigate himself! Yet on November 5, Maxwell's naked body was found floating in the ocean off the Canary Islands. His family says it's murder—and the Mossad's not talking. But they gave him a "hero's funeral" in Jerusalem. Meanwhile, Hersh promises to reveal more about the press baron's murky past.

Nuclear Nuts in Tel Aviv... and Washington

Hersh's book, which mostly consists of interviews with "intelligence officials" and "Israeli government sources," fills in a lot of the blanks about Dimona and the Israeli nuclear capability. Of course, from the very beginning the U.S. "intelligence community" knew what the Israelis were up to. When digging began for the reactor in 1958, U.S. satellite reconnaissance revealed what could only be a nuclear installation. By 1962, Dimona had "gone critical"—sustained a nuclear chain reaction—but the secretive Israeli government maintained to their U.S. paymasters that the huge 70 megawatt reactor was only a little research reactor, and even built a fake control room for U.S. inspections.

Not that the Americans were interested in making a fuss about the Israeli bomb. Nor did they complain when France secretly flew in four tons of heavy water in 1960, or when Israel hijacked 24 tons of uranium aboard the *Sheersburg A* in 1968, or even when over 200 pounds of enriched uranium disappeared from the Pennsylvania NUMEC nuclear-fuel processing plant the same year. Interestingly, Hersh devotes a whole chapter of his book to "debunking" this widely acknowledged diversion of weapons-grade uranium to Israel. Hersh comes to the defense of NUMEC founder Zalman Shapiro, who he claims was "hounded" for "his Jewishness and the fact that one of the major investors in NUMEC shared his support for Israel." Several pages later, however, we read that Shapiro was "especially devoted to Ernst David Bergmann, who was head of Israel's Atomic Energy Commission."

Andrew and Leslie Cockburn, who documented this incident extensively in their book *Dangerous Liaisons*, published earlier this year, describe the Israeli-U.S. military axis in depth, including the Zionist state's role in training death squads throughout Latin America and Africa, and the deep ties between the Israeli and South African military establishments. In the racist apartheid state, Israel found a natural ally, and one with a wealth of useful mineral resources. In the 1960s, South Africa began providing Israel with huge "yellow-cake" uranium shipments. There followed various joint projects including the Jericho medium-range missile, Shavit rocket and Ofek spy satellite. In 1979 the two countries conducted joint neutron bomb tests in the south Indian Ocean.

Liberal journalist Hersh's stock in trade is "exposés" which are in the interests of at least a section of the U.S. ruling class, like *The Target Is Destroyed* (1986) on the shootdown of the KAL 007 spy plane, which abounds in detailed information from unnamed American intelligence sources (see "Seymour Hersh Joins Reagan's Cover-Up—The Spectre of KAL 007," *WV* No. 415, 7 November 1986). In *The Samson Option*, Hersh flaunts his high-placed sources in both U.S. and Israeli intelligence "communities," who seem to share a concern that Shamir, or even worse, Sharon, having his finger on the nuclear trigger could derail the U.S.-Israeli relationship.

Hersh is tuning in to an undercurrent of resentment within the U.S. ruling class toward its hellicose ally in the Middle East. This resentment was exacerbated by the 1985 Jonathan Pollard spy scandal. For decades the U.S. has shelled out billions to fund and arm the Israelis, and the Zionists responded by planting their own spies in the Pentagon! (Not that the CIA doesn't do this regularly to American allies.) With the Soviet Union crumbling, Washington has less need for Israel as a regional gendarme and a spearhead of anti-Sovietism, and is worried about its nuclear-armed Israeli "allies" slipping the leash.

For their part, the Israelis are not averse to having it known that they are nuclear-armed bullies, and that their bombs are not intended for parades. During the 1973 Yom Kippur War, when Egypt and Syria were destroying the Israeli army, Israel went on nuclear alert twice, threatening the "Samson Option" to blackmail the U.S. into sending massive amounts of conventional weapons, which they did. And during the Persian Gulf War, when Iraq landed Scud missiles on Israel in desperate retaliation for the U.S. assault, the Zionists again went on nuclear alert, until the U.S. rushed in Patriot missiles.

As we noted at the time of Vanunu's spectacular revelations, "The Zionists are dangerous madmen who are fully capable of pushing the button. But their big brothers in Washington are also war-crazy." Israel may have over 200 nuclear weapons, but it's an open secret that the decaying U.S. empire has over 25,000! It will take world proletarian revolution to disarm these nuclear nuts and sweep them all into the dustbin of history. ■

Revolution Day Moscow 1991

Spartacist Photos

International Communist League raises the red banner of Trotsky's Fourth International in Moscow Revolution Day demonstration. Long live Red October!

Defeat Yeltsin-Gorbachev-Bush Counterrevolution!

Lenin-Trotsky Fund Needs Your Support!

The resources of the International Communist League are sparse, our current tasks mammoth. We have recently printed 70,000 copies of the Russian translation of "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" We have reprinted the first Russian-language *Biulleten Spartakovtsev*, "What Is Trotskyism" (pictured at left), of which 25,000 have already been sold throughout the Soviet Union. As sales of thousands of copies of the special supplement and the Spartacist bulletin on Revolution Day show, pro-socialist Soviet workers are thirsting for Trotskyist literature. But economic realities dictate that we must heavily subsidize our publications to keep them affordable. Printing costs, travel and other expenses mean that an internationalist intervention in the Soviet Union costs money. Help forge the Trotskyist nucleus needed to lead the Soviet working people in struggle against counterrevolution.

Make donations payable to: Spartacist, Box 1377 GPO, New York, New York 10116. Earmark: "Lenin-Trotsky Fund" (or simply "L-T Fund").

New York

Lenin-Trotsky Fund
Comrades,

I was proud to have contributed to the Lenin-Luxemburg-Liebknecht Fund and cannot imagine a more important cause at this moment than the work of our comrades in the home of the great October Revolution. Please accept this enclosed check as a first installment.

Forward to the victory of the Fourth International,
Peter F.

Moscow...

(continued from page 1)

Graveyard," "Yeltsin: Russians Will Never Be Slaves—Your Rapacious Reforms Will Not Work," and "Down with the CIA's Perestroika!" They repeatedly sang the *Internationale* and other revolutionary songs from the early days of the Soviet Republic under Lenin and Trotsky.

As tens of thousands marched to Red Square, they voiced a deep working-class hatred toward the agents of Wall Street and Frankfurt who have come to the fore following the botched Kremlin coup in August. The older generation of CPers intermingled with the youth. The mood was angry and sharply contrasted with last year's November 7 parade, presided over by Gorbachev, where the main slogan was "The Success of Perestroika Lies in Civil Concord." Among the signs this year was one showing the double-headed tsarist eagle with one head being Yeltsin and the other Gorbachev. Another wrote under Gorbachev's portrait, "You ruined the country, hell waits for you."

Initially, Moscow mayor Gavriil Popov —a leading figure in the capitalist counterrevolution—announced a ban on any Revolution Day demonstration within the city's ring road, which includes Red Square. But when it became clear that the protests would take place in defiance of his authority, Popov rescinded the ban the night before. This is symptomatic of how politically weak are the forces pushing for capitalist restoration. In our first statement after the August coup and countercoup, we noted: "But while Yeltsin & Co. now see a clear field to push through a forced-draft reintroduction of capitalism, *the outcome is not yet definitively decided*" (*WV* No. 533, 30 August). We added that the Soviet proletariat "has not been heard from." But on November 7, it began to raise its voice.

Spartacist

Trotskyists protest Moscow mayor Popov's threats to close Lenin Museum. ICL sign (left) reads: "Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky. Defend the Lenin Museum!"

Der Spiegel

Russian counterrevolutionaries bring back the (would-be) tsar: Romanov pretender to the throne, Grand Duke Vladimir, and Orthodox Patriarch Aleksy II in ceremony to rename Leningrad "St. Petersburg."

The numbers pouring into the streets far exceeded the organizers' expectations. Revolution Day tapped into the economic desperation of Moscow's working people. The week before, Yeltsin announced that all price controls would soon be ended, setting off a new wave of panic buying, hoarding and speculation. For the first time bread began to disappear from the shops. *Moskovskoe Komsomolets* carried a heart-rending story of a worker who was crushed by a train when he jumped onto the subway tracks to retrieve a sausage he had struggled all day to get for his family.

The older generation who came out remember what a horrible thing hunger is—they remember bread rationing during the heroic struggle of the Soviet people against the Nazi invaders. One recalled, "My mother on 16 Octoher 1941 stood on the longest bread line of that year, and even so it was not half as long as today's!" (*Sovetskaya Rossiya*, 9 November).

Yet the Revolution Day demonstration was not narrowly economic in character, nor, given the occasion, could it be. Above all, it expressed visceral working-class hostility to capitalist restoration and the destruction of the Soviet Union by Western imperialism and its Russian agents. One sign said: "What Adolf did not do, Michael has done." When a British journalist asked, why call Gorbachev "Michael," the bearer of the slogan replied: "We call him Michael because he's a westerner now" (*Financial Times* [London], 8 November).

Gorbachev is not a Westernizer in the sense of seeking to modernize Soviet society and the economy, as Peter the Great attempted to do for Russia in the age of absolutism. Gorbachev, Yeltsin & Co. want to *sell out* the Soviet Union to Western banks and multinationals—at fire sale prices. If they succeed, Russia, the Ukraine, Kazakhstan, etc. will be degraded to the economic level of Latin American neocolonies while all the old reactionary crap from the pre-1917 tsarist autocracy will return.

Indeed, the answer of the pro-Western "democrats" to working-class protest is lying promises of prosperity under capitalism, accompanied by appeals to medieval obscurantism. On the eve of Revolution Day, the mayor of Leningrad organized a fête to celebrate restoring the city's old name of St. Petersburg. Featured in this ceremony were Patriarch Aleksy II, Primate of the Russian Orthodox church, and Grand Duke Vladimir Kirillovich Romanov, son of the cousin of Tsar Nicholas II. Grand Duke Romanov, who had never before set foot in the Soviet Union, said he hoped to become the new Russian tsar!

Trotskyists March on Moscow's Revolution Day

Despite a few pictures of Stalin sprinkled among the signs, there were many more of Lenin and there was also the red banner of the International Communist League emblazoned with the insignia of Trotsky's Fourth International. Moreover, the demonstration was extremely receptive to Trotskyist literature. In Moscow, supporters of the ICL sold 4,750 copies of our Russian-language supplement, "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!", and 600 copies of our Russian-language Spartacist bulletin, "Return to the Road of Lenin and Trotsky!"

At the same time there were instances of vicious reactionary attitudes, particularly anti-Semitism, at the Revolution Day demonstration. Pamyat salesmen were peddling their filth. The Stalinist organizers of the rally appealed to Great Russian chauvinism. Our comrades were baited alternately as "Trotskyites" and "Jews." We shot back that the filth they spewed was the White Guard politics of Yeltsin which are at war with the revolutionary politics of Lenin and Red October. The cutting edge of the struggle to combat Russian chauvinism is to mobilize the workers movement against every manifestation of anti-Semitism. At one point about 20 Stalinists attempted to physically exclude our contingent, shouting "Trotskyists out of the demonstration," "Get out of our country," etc. But we were able to effectively rally the crowd to defend us. One worker came out of the crowd to stand with us against this rabble, and stayed to sell with us all day. A student from Moscow State University came to our contingent and said he's been looking for Trotskyism all his life. As the crowd paraded toward Red Square, a comrade reported:

> "While we marched we chanted, 'Long live the October Revolution!' 'Long live the Soviet Union!' 'Down with Yeltsin/Gorbachev/Bush's Russian-nationalist counterrevolution! For proletarian internationalism!' One of our contacts chanted 'Long live the world communist movement—Workers of the world unite!' These were all met by loud 'Hurrah! Hurrah!'"

Along the march, a supporter of the ICL was interviewed by *Pravda*. In its next issue it reported on its front page that "an Australian woman representative of the International Communist League," asked why she had come, responded: "The October Revolution was directed to the whole world. What is happening with you these days is a blow to communists in all countries."

In other Soviet cities similar, though smaller, Revolution Day demonstrations were held. In Leningrad, several thousand militants, including a number of sailors in uniform, gathered next to the historic battleship *Aurora*, which played a key role in the Bolsheviks' seizure in 1917 of the Winter Palace, site of Kerensky's provisional government. One speaker declared: "Our duty is to not allow the restoration of capitalism in our country! We will not be lackeys of American imperialism!" Over 300 pieces of Spartacist literature were sold to the Revolution Day demonstrators in Leningrad. A hundred copies of ICL literature were sold at the Kiev demonstration by members of the Union of Socialist Students of the Ukraine. An additional 800 pieces of Spartacist literature were sold to Revolution Day demonstrators in other provincial centers.

The most dramatic confrontation took place in the Ukrainian capital of Kiev. Some 5,000 demonstrators, organized hy, among others, the Union of Toilers of the Ukraine, marched from an outlying cemetery to a statue of Lenin in the central city. En route they were blocked by a sizable number of Ukrainian nationalists and fascists in fighting uniforms. But the column broke through the blockade and continued on while the rightists harassed the march from the sides. As they reached the Lenin statue, the column again had to pierce a nationalist/fascist blockade in order to lay flowers commemorating the founder of the Soviet workers state. As the demonstration dispersed and thinned, they were attacked by the nationalists and several demonstrators suffered serious injuries.

The principal organizers of the November 7 demonstrations were drawn from a rump of the so-called "patriotic" wing of the Stalinist movement: the Moscow Workers Council, the United Front of Toilers (OFT) and a broader umbrella group, "Toiling Moscow." The Moscow Workers Council's Viktor Anpilov postures as a hard opponent of Yeltsin, but simply wants to turn the clock back to before 1987, with a "perestroika" (restructuring) of the CPSU. These Stalinists played on working-class opposition to Gorbachev and Yeltsin's privatization before the August coup, but when the decisive moment came, they uncritically subordinated themselves to the bankrupt and ineffectual "Gang of Eight" and failed to mobilize any of their working-class base to go after the Yeltsinite spearhead of counterrevolution.

Now in opposition, they are appealing to narrow economic concerns linked to Russian nationalism. Thus an early

continued on page 10

Reuters

Bread lines in Moscow grow longer as Yeltsin/Gorbachev push restoration of capitalism, producing economic chaos.

Moscow...

(continued from page 9)

call for Revolution Day issued by the Moscow Workers Council concluded with the slogan: "No to the physical and spiritual genocide of the Russian peoples!" Yet in the city of Moscow itself, about half the industrial workforce is from non-Russian republics—Ukrainians, Caucasians, Turkic-speaking Central Asians. Trying to outbid the Yeltsinite counterrevolutionaries in appeals to Great Russian nationalism is poison, and anathema to the struggle for a genuinely socialist union of soviet republics.

In their own way, many of the Russian Stalinist "patriots" accept the disintegration of the USSR along national lines. But the breakup of the Soviet Union would necessarily produce bloody nationalist strife—border wars, intercommunalist pogroms—such as are now ravaging Yugoslavia. We Leninist-Trotskyists stand for proletarian political revolution to reforge the Soviet Union on the socialist basis of genuine national equality.

Would-Be Tsar Boris Decrees "Free Market" Starvation

"People will suffer but we have to go through this," declared Boris Yeltsin as he announced his new economic shock treatment. All price controls are to be lifted by the year's end. Unprofitable enterprises are to be shut down. Collective farms are to be privatized. And the central economic ministries will be dismantled. So Yeltsin decreed. But carrying out this program of even greater immiseration of the Soviet working people is another matter.

In the two and a half months following the Kremlin coup attempt in August, jockeying between Yeltsin's Russian Republic, Gorbachev and the nationalist leaders of the non-Russian republics produced a power vacuum at the center of the fractured Soviet Union. As the imperialists complained that the country was drifting, in late October Yeltsin moved to reassert himself as the strongman of the counterrevolution by announcing a "free market" shock treatment and demanding sweeping dictatorial powers. The Russian parliament duly voted him the right to ban all elections and referendums for more than a year, cancel all legislation passed by local and regional assemblies, and override previous legislation.

In an attempted show of strength, would-be Tsar Boris decreed a state of emergency in the Chechen-Ingush Autonomous Region—a traditionally Muslim enclave in the northern Caucasus which had declared its independence from the Russian Republic—and threatened to send in Soviet troops. This move was so flagrantly dictatorial and inflammatory that even Yeltsin's supporters in the Russian parliament came out against it and he backed off.

In a small way Yeltsin's retreat over Chechen-Ingush points up the fundamental *weakness* of his position. For

Financial Times

Poster of Gorbachev: "You ruined the country, hell waits for you."

the popular mood is turning markedly against the "democrats," i.e., open capitalist-restorationists, who are now held responsible for the hyperinflation, shortages of food and everything else, and the overall descent into economic chaos. A poll by the Moscow Sociological Agency in late October showed 65 percent of Muscovites believe the political and economic situation is the same or worse than before the August coup attempt.

The imperialist godfathers of Yeltsin, Popov & Co. are worried about working-class opposition to capitalist counterrevolution in Russia. One can already see the beginnings of this. In late October, the Moscow Federation of Labor Unions organized a march of up to 50,000 against the price increases. The Federation leaders did not challenge Yeltsin/Popov and their "free market" program as such, but rather adopted a defensive posture. Their main banner read: "Unity! Solidarity! For the Rights of Working People!" However, a placard saying "Free Prices Mean Death for the People!" caught the angry and desperate mood of the Soviet working class.

For a Leninist-Trotskyist Party!

Last year the Soviet Union had a near-record grain harvest of almost 220 million tons. Yet there were still severe food shortages as the distribution system collapsed due to massive hoarding, speculation and black marketeering. This year the grain harvest has fallen to 165 million tons, the lowest level in ten years. Everyone is expecting food riots, which have already begun, to spread this winter. "A revolt would be most likely in December," predicts Major General Viktor Ivanenko, head of the KGB in the Russian Republic. *Moscow News* (13 October) is even predicting "Putsch-2," a new coup coming off of desperate blowups over hunger.

And everyone in Russia knows it was food riots by women workers in February 1917 which set off the revolution that toppled the tsarist autocracy. The Yeltsinite "democrats" rightly fear that food riots could spark their overthrow, too. The "black colonel" Viktor Alknis, a leading figure among the "patriots," foresees Soviet army officers and ranks supporting and joining popular protests against the new regime. However, Alknis is no enemy of a market economy. Far from it. He is an outspoken advocate of "the Chilean model" for a strong Soviet (capitalist) state.

The question of how to ensure food supplies was ever-present on Revolution Day. The Moscow Workers Council called for "Distribution of Goods Under Control of the Workers!" Another grouping, Toiling Moscow, called for putting "under WORKERS' AND PEASANTS' CONTROL prices and the wages of the 'democrats' and bandits, partycrats and speculators and FORCE THEM to work." Workers control is indeed, urgently, necessary. But popular resistance to "free market" starvation can preserve the Soviet Union on a socialist basis only by breaking from the policies of the parasitic, nationalist bureaucracy which led the Soviet Union to disaster. Workers resistance will immediately face the question of power, and to succeed it requires the leadership of a genuinely communist, i.e., Leninist-Trotskyist party.

The Stalinist "patriots" at bottom have no alternative to the market. The "maximum program" of Anpilov's newspaper *Molniya* offers a lot of left verbiage, but in practice the "minimum program" (the real program) takes over: as was the case in last summer's Russian presidential campaign, when *Molniya* supported the candidacy of the anti-Semite Makashev, who was for "equality of all property forms"!

Moscow mayor Popov has decreed that basic foodstuffs—bread, meat, butter and eggs—are to be rationed by coupons. Control over the means of life must be wrested from this lackey of Wall Street and Frankfurt. Workers committees must be set up to *oversee the distribution of food*, smashing the stranglehold of parasitic petty traders, black marketeers and pro-capitalist bureaucrats who would become Russia's new capitalist exploiters. The vast quantities of foodstuffs they are hoarding must be seized and defended, which requires the formation of *workers defense committees*, i.e., the nucleus of workers militias, in coordination with pro-socialist elements of the Soviet Army.

The attempts to victimize national minorities, to rip apart the multinational Soviet proletariat while giving free rein to monarchists and Pamyat thugs and pardoning Nazi war criminals, must be met by organized multinational workers defense guards.

These urgently necessary measures can be a step in creating organs of *proletarian dual power* to challenge and overthrow the Yeltsin/Gorbachev counterrevolutionary gang. *Independent workers committees* must be formed in factories, mines, railroad yards and other enterprises to prevent layoffs and privatization by taking plants and controlling production. Such workers committees can be the basis for genuine *soviets*, drawing into their ranks collective farmers, oppressed minorities, working women, Red Army soldiers and officers, old-age pensioners—all those who will be victimized by the "new order." But authentic soviets must become organs for the struggle for power. Revolutionary leadership is the key.

In his well-known article, "The Impending Catastrophe and How to Combat It," written in September 1917 on the eve of the Bolshevik Revolution, Lenin called for a program of all-sided workers control as the indispensable means to prevent famine. In that situation of dual power, in which the shaky capitalist government had ordered a rise in food prices, he emphasized: "For only the winning of power by the proletariat, headed by the Bolshevik Party, can put an end to the outrageous actions of Kerensky and Co. and *restore* the work of democratic food distribution, supply and other organisations, which Kerensky and his government are *frustrating*. The Bolsheviks are acting...as the representatives of the interests of the *whole* people...."

The historic catastrophe now facing Soviet working people cannot be prevented or even softened by defensive economic struggles. Trade-union activism cannot prevent mass unemployment and hyperinflation if the Wall Street/Yeltsin program is actually carried out. The authors of this program must be overthrown by the revolutionary working class. The disintegration of the USSR cannot be halted by Stalinist "patriotism," which increasingly has taken the form of narrow Russian nationalism. Only the program of proletarian internationalism, carried out by a communist vanguard with a multinational cadre, can reforge the Soviet Union on the basis of national equality and socialist economic planning.

For decades, the oppressive, corrupt and parasitic Kremlin oligarchy falsely claimed the historic mantle of Lenin's Bolshevik Party. In reality, it was the Trotskyist Left Opposition which preserved and carried forward the revolutionary internationalist program of Red October. Under the banner of "building socialism in one country," which translated into sniveling popular-front alliances with imperialist rulers abroad, Stalin was the gravedigger of the Russian Revolution, whose surviving cadre he murdered in the Great Purge of the 1930s. It is urgently necessary to build a new Bolshevik party in the Soviet Union, uniting the most class-conscious workers with revolutionary Marxist intellectuals. Only under the leadership of such an authentic communist party, section of a reforged Fourth International, can the Soviet working class and its allies defeat the forces of bloody capitalist counterrevolution. ■

TASS

Leningrad, November 7—Rally at the battleship *Aurora*, symbol of the Bolshevik Revolution, famed for its shots fired at the Winter Palace.

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Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

UAW Workers: Skin the CAT!

CHICAGO—On November 3, some 2,400 members of the United Auto Workers (UAW) struck two Caterpillar plants in Illinois. Coming more than a month after the expiration of contracts covering 17,000 CAT workers and also UAW members at John Deere Co., the partial strike encouraged the company to step up its hardball tactics against the union. On November 7 the construction equipment giant locked out 5,600 workers and less than a week later began laying off hundreds more.

Over the past six years Caterpillar has wrung nearly $2 billion out of the workers' sweat—now it wants blood. The company's "final offer" included a three-tier wage proposal as well as demands to slash health benefits and install speedup work rule changes. "It's negative if they don't strike," counseled one Wall Street analyst, reflecting Caterpillar's desire to defeat the union.

The company is banking on big inventories and a workforce hogtied by the Solidarity House crew that runs the UAW. Auto Workers chief Owen Bieber sabotaged the industrywide contract—and forfeited joint strike action—by settling with John Deere on October 5 (Navistar workers were cast adrift several years ago). And the "Buy American" jingoism of Bieber & Co. aids the company campaign for givebacks: they claim they need to "crack down" on labor costs to fight competitors like Komatsu of Japan.

UAW workers: don't let the "Sacrifice House" gang hang you out to dry, as in the 206-day Caterpillar strike of 1982. It's high time the ag imp bosses in the Midwest tasted some *union* hardball. Shut down Caterpillar—occupy the factories! See how fast the CAT bosses come running to talk when the strikers are on the *inside* of the plants, sitting on top of their inventory and machinery! Mass pickets must seal off the plants. It's not so easy to sell those big CATs if you can't move them—call on Teamsters, longshoremen and rail workers to refuse to handle them. There's only one way to skin the CAT—mobilize union power!

Doctors Strike Against Deadly Cutbacks

"Conditions in a hospital have to be pretty bad to drive doctors from its senior staff out into the cold to walk a picket line," wrote *Daily News* columnist Bob Herbert as over 300 senior physicians struck the Woodhull Medical Center in Brooklyn last week. In fact the walkout, over the budget cuts which have decimated health care in NYC, was the first ever by attending physicians (not just interns and residents) in the U.S.

Hundreds of community residents and members of other hospital unions swelled the picket lines, chanting "No cuthacks on services! No givehacks for workers!" After two days, the doctors succeeded in reversing some of the devastating budget cuts that sparked the strike, including canceling the firing of 50 staff members.

Woodhull serves the predominantly black and Hispanic Fort Green and Williamsburg area. With over 100,000 emergency admissions annually, it is the second largest hospital in Brooklyn. While the private outfit that staffs the hospital, Medical Associates, turned a $17 million profit last year, conditions for the patients and staff are disastrous. There is not *one* full-time infectious disease specialist, in a hospital where *one-third* of the patients are infected with HIV. The waiting list for a mammogram is a year long. The orthopedic department was simply eliminated. Other cuts were made in ophthalmology and urology.

WV Photo

New York City, November 13—Woodhull doctors' two-day strike was the first ever by attending physicians.

The doctors at Woodhull, 40 percent foreign-born, are organized in the Doctors Council, whose members cover all city hospitals. When they finally struck on November 12, after five months without a contract, the doctors got immediate support from the 900 members of AFSCME Local 420 at Woodhull, who refused to cross their lines. But technicians and pharmacists in Hospital Workers Local 1199 crossed, only coming out at lunch to "picket"—so much for 1199 head Dennis Rivera's "solidarity."

Moreover, Local 420 president Jim Butler, whose members are bearing the brunt of the cutbacks, ordered the AFSCME members at Woodhull to cross the doctors' picket lines the second day of the strike. At the same time, Butler grandstanded by bringing in several hundred AFSCME hospital workers from Harlem, Coney Island, Bellevue and Kings County to march on the lines that day.

When the announcement of the settlement came late in the afternoon, the housekeepers and doctors, porters and lab technicians, cheered the announcement that some of the cuts had been restored. But to win decent wages, not to mention fighting for decent health care, it's going to take a solid strike by all hospital workers. And the hospital union bureaucrats above all don't want to embarrass their buddy, Democratic mayor David Dinkins.

You Can't Win Strikes by Begging the Democrats

BOSTON—For more than a month not a single school bus or van left the terminals. The small USWA Local 8751 held out in the face of a concerted union-busting drive on the part of the School Department and the In-City Bus Company (ICBM), and a concerted attempt by the capitalist media to whip up a back-to-work movement.

Mayor Ray Flynn and the local bourgeoisie want to gut the drivers union as they wipe out any remaining vestige of busing, in essence burying the corpse of the school desegregation struggle of the 1970s. The heavily minority bus drivers hung tough, but their discipline and determination was dissipated by the union tops' strategy of relying on the very same Flynn, tying the power of the workers to the bosses' Democratic Party. And the USWA International intervened from Pittsburgh, collaborating with Flynn to pressure the local. On October 28, the drivers returned to work—their union intact, but nothing gained.

Drivers will be saddled with a one-year wage freeze and a *four-year* no-strike clause (the first ever), and the School Department will be free to implement big layoffs as it "consolidates" bus routes. All that ICBM and Flynn promised to do is rehire from Local 8751 members that get laid off! Even drivers' president Garry Murchison said, "I think the contract stinks and we deserve better."

But if you read *Workers World* (7 November), newspaper of Sam Marcy's Workers World Party, you find Local 8751 vice president Steve Kirschbaum crowing that this "historic union security agreement" guarantees that "wages, benefits, terms and conditions...will stay intact." What he doesn't say is that a hell of a lot of drivers are faced with losing their jobs, while saddled with the no-strike pledge Kirschbaum never mentions!

Kirschbaum and Steven Gillis, an exec board member, whine in *Workers World* (24 October) that the unions want "the mayor to use his executive powers to force the ICBM Co. to bargain in good faith." Yet even the *Boston Globe* knew that anti-busing mayor Flynn was in a "united front" with School Superintendent Lois Harrison-Jones against the school bus drivers union.

It was to cover for their own defeatist program that the Marcyite junior hureaucrats threatened to call the police on *Workers Vanguard* salesmen, then later created a provocation toward the end of the strike. Kirschbaum and a few white anti-communists initiated a loud provocation, causing cops to enter the line and remove two *WV* supporters, endangering everyone on the line—especially immigrant Haitian workers.

The labor bureaucrats, both the open company cops and their small-time shadows, hate the Spartacist League because we tell the truth. As an SL leaflet stated: "Workers in this city, everywhere, need a class-struggle leadership willing to take on this racist capitalist system. To get what we need—quality integrated education, housing and jobs for all—will take a socialist revolution." ■

France: CGT Still Knows How to Sell Out a Strike

"Socialist" president François Mitterrand has succeeded in halting the strikes sweeping the French auto industry, with a big helping hand from the Communist Party-led CGT union federation. At the key Renault plant in Cléon, the despised CRS (riot police) were sent in on November 5 to clear a passage for the scabs. Mitterrand acted as the strike spread to the Renault plant in Le Mans (along with sporadic walkouts in other plants). A strike of the entire state-owned auto company would have meant a showdown with the government, which the union misleaders sought to avoid at all costs. Despite the cop presence, forcing the workers back required a mobilization of the CGT tops, who helped put Mitterrand in office and have loyally carried out their duties as labor lieutenants of the capitalist regime in "socialist" colors.

With riot cops ringing the Cléon plant, the union bureaucrats rushed to "negotiate" a sellout deal—a measly 224 francs ($39) monthly pay boost plus an "end of the conflict" bonus—with no defense of the eight strikers hit with disciplinary suspensions. Two days after the cops moved in, the Stalinist leaders of the CGT and the social democrats at the head of the CFDT rammed the "settlement" down the strikers' throats. As the union hacks—interrupted by boos and cries of "sellout!"—exhorted strikers to return to work "your heads held high," strikers voted by a slim majority to *reject* the sellout. However, the Stalinist double-dealers simply stated that this did not represent a majority of the workers—scabs included! Even after this stab in the back, Renault workers at Le Mans held out for another eleven days before settling for an increased year-end bonus.

After a decade of strikebreaking, racism and austerity, workers have grown increasingly fed up with Mitterrand's gang of "socialist" bourgeois-technocrat ministers. France continues to be swept by strikes. Nurses have stayed out despite attempts by the union tops to push through a "settlement" with the government. France's ports have repeatedly been shut down in the past month as dock workers struck against government union-busting. Last week the airports were virtually closed down several days as air traffic control technicians struck for higher wages.

As the general strike of May-June 1936 was scuttled by the French Communist Party (PCF) in the name of "unity" with the popular-front government, PCF leader Maurice Thorez declared: "You have to know how to end a strike." Supporting Mitterrand's popular-front Union of the Left since 1981, first in exchange for four PCF ministers and then in a "corridor coalition" after they were dropped, the Stalinists in league with the social democrats betrayed the powerful movement of the auto workers. Our comrades of the Ligue Trotskyste de France fought for class-struggle leadership in the strike, emphasizing the need for internationalism and defense of "immigrant" workers, in seeking to forge an authentically Bolshevik party of the working class. ■

Northite Fool's Gold

This article was written for Spartakist *No. 91, November-December 1991, published by our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany.*

For close to two decades David North's Workers League and his cohorts in the "International Committee of the Fourth International" have been foam-flecked cheerleaders for virtually every imperialist-backed anti-Soviet force in the world. But these days the WL is talking a lot out of the other side of its mouth. Now we read in the "ICFI" statement on "The Lessons of the August Putsch and the Tasks Before the Soviet Working Class" (*Bulletin*, 6 September) that only their organization "defends the historic conquests of the Soviet proletariat and upholds its great socialist traditions"! Our advice to anyone who falls for this one is, as the Romans said, *caveat emptor*—hold on to your wallet.

More than 20 years ago we recalled Lenin's term "political bandits" to describe the Workers League and its "International," then headed by IC "founder-leader" Gerry Healy. Over the years, the Healyites' "political" banditry was eclipsed by their degeneration into outright gangsters-for-hire. In 1979, after years of pimping for Libya's Qaddafi, Healy & Co. heralded Iraqi Ba'athist dictator Saddam Hussein as a leader of the struggle against "counterrevolutionary Stalinism" and hailed his execution of 21 members of the Iraqi Communist Party. At the same time they photographed anti-Saddam protesters in London and handed the photos over to the Iraqi embassy, fingering demonstrators for arrest, torture and possibly death. Meanwhile the Healyites were receiving tens of thousands of dollars from the Ba'athist regime.

Although the most heinous, this was only one of many crimes committed by the Healy/Northites, for which they were put on the payroll of virtually every Arab sheik and dictator in the Near East (see "Healyites Got Blood Money," *WV* No. 517, 4 January, and "Northite Blood Money," *WV* No. 523, 29 March).

In 1985 when this dirty source of revenue dried up, Healy's organization fell apart and Workers League leader David North declared himself the heir to his former master's seat at the head of the shattered remnants of the International Committee. Now that it seems like nobody's paying them for what they say and write, the Northites have reverted to an earlier scam: selling themselves as supposed orthodox Trotskyists in the abstract, while still tailing after anti-Soviet counterrevolutionaries in the concrete. But this latest con game blew apart with the August showdown in Moscow, as Yeltsin's countercoup brought to power the capitalist-restorationist forces that the *Bulletin* has been covering for.

The Northites' current posture as the defenders of the gains of the October Revolution is so manifestly fraudulent that they can't get it straight themselves.

Healyite Schizophrenia

The "ICFI" statement on the coup and Yeltsin's countercoup reads like it was written by a schizophrenic. First we have the declaration that "The International Committee of the Fourth International welcomes the humiliating collapse of the August 19 Stalinist putsch in Moscow." Yet the very next paragraph states, "But the justified satisfaction felt by workers both in the Soviet Union and internationally at the failure of the putschists must not blind them to the fact that those now assuming center stage in Moscow are bitter antisocialists and ruthless exponents of capitalist restoration." Again later it declares, "The collapse of the August 19 coup is a large nail in the coffin of the Stalinist bureaucracy." Yet this is followed by:

> "But any premature jubilation on the part of the working class would be totally unjustified.
> "Those forces now in the forefront are the most ruthless and frothing enemies of the working class. Their aim is nothing less than selling off all the assets of the Soviet Union and its reduction to a semi-colonial status."
> —*Bulletin*, 6 September

It's those telltale "buts" that give the game away. For the collapse of the coup, which North & Co. "welcome," is not divorced from, but identical with the victory of "those forces now in the forefront" who they admit are "frothing enemies of the working class." What's to welcome? This is not "dialectics," which Healy and North have done so much to discredit, but the squirmings of opportunists hoist on their own petard. They want to be with the Yeltsinite "masses" on the barricades while warning against Yeltsin the harbinger of capitalism. The dilemma many Stalinophobic pseudo-Trotskyists resolve by prettifying the "democrat" Yeltsin, North deals with by talking out of both sides of his mouth.

The anti-Stalinist David North evidently agrees with Joseph Stalin on one thing; "Paper will put up with anything that is written on it."

Even at the level of description, the "two-line" statement exposes itself. It heralds "the implacable opposition of the socialist working class to the military-KGB coup." Yet a few paragraphs later it notes Yeltsin's "appeal for a general strike went largely unanswered, even in Moscow. The working class identified with neither faction." The Northites warn that "without the independent mobilization of the working class on the basis of a socialist program, the collapse of Stalinism will lead to even more brutal forms of repression and social devastation" and "the terror of capitalism." Yet for years these Stalinophobes have denounced the Kremlin bureaucracy as the *sole* moving force for capitalist counterrevolution in the USSR.

Thus in one of his interminable speeches, spread over six pages of the same 6 September issue of the *Bulletin*, David North refers to Gorbachev, as "leader of the restorationist faction of the official Communist Party apparatus" while Yeltsin is called "a representative of the emerging Soviet bourgeoisie" and of "bourgeois comprador elements," dating this as far back as 1987. But as recently as the 21 June *Bulletin*, an article titled "Behind the Election of Boris Yeltsin" writes of "the drive to capitalist restoration in the Soviet Union, whether it is led by Mikhail Gorbachev, Boris Yeltsin or some other counterrevolutionary representative of the bureaucracy."

What Do David North and Susan Sontag Have in Common?

Bulletin Gilbert/Newsday

Answer: They both supported Polish Solidarność, the only "union" Ronald Reagan loved.

And referring to Yeltsin the bureaucrat rather than Yeltsin the bourgeois is no mere slip of the pen, for in the Northite zodiac the Soviet bureaucracy is nothing but a "counterrevolutionary" agency working hand in hand with imperialism. Thus in his 1989 tract on *Perestroika Versus Socialism*, North declares that "the political and economic goals of the bureaucracy in its relations with world imperialism" are "the destruction of the planned economy and the social conquests of the October Revolution" and the restoration of capitalism. And, more generally, in his 1988 tome *The Heritage We Defend*, he declares that "Trotsky had branded the Stalinist bureaucracy as 'counterrevolutionary through and through'." This stupidly one-sided formulation is the banner of every anti-Soviet fake-Trotskyist. And it is a lie.

Leon Trotsky never said any such thing. Rather, he wrote in "The Class Nature of the Soviet State" (October 1933) that "Whoever fails to understand this dual role of Stalinism in the USSR has understood nothing." He is referring here to the position of the bureaucracy, which rests upon the collectivized property forms inherited from the October Revolution, at the same time as it seeks to balance between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, transmitting the pressures of imperialism but also, on occasion, constrained to defend in its bureaucratic fashion the workers state in order to protect its privileges. Trotsky repeatedly insisted on this fundamental point, as in *The Revolution Betrayed*, which has a section on "The Dual Character of the Workers State." And in a 1937 article against the future renegade Burnham, Trotsky noted:

> "The function of Stalin, like the function of Green [then head of the American trade-union federation, AFL], has a dual character. Stalin serves the bureaucracy and thus the world bourgeoisie; but he cannot serve the bureaucracy without defending that social foundation which the bureaucracy exploits in its own interests. To that extent does Stalin defend nationalized property from imperialist attacks and from the too impatient and avaricious layers of the bureaucracy itself. However, he carries through this defense with methods that prepare the general destruction of Soviet society. It is exactly because of this that the Stalinist clique must be overthrown. But it is the revolutionary proletariat who must overthrow it. The proletariat cannot subcontract this work to the imperialists. In spite of Stalin, the proletariat defends the USSR from imperialist attacks."
> —"Not a Workers' and Not a Bourgeois State?" (November 1937)

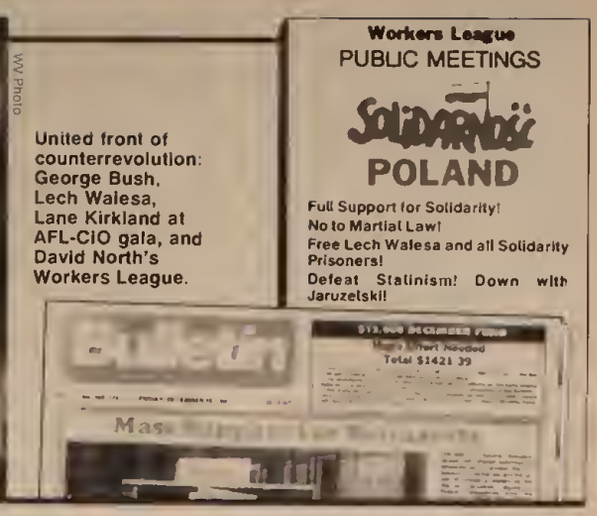
We discussed the genealogy of the anti-Trotskyist formula that Stalinism is "counterrevolutionary through and through" in our article "David North: Joseph Hansen's Natural Son" (*WV* No. 456, 1 July 1988). It is important to underline it here once again, for behind North's analytical deceit lies a fundamental assault on the Trotskyist program of unconditional defense of the Soviet Union against counterrevolution. And indeed, at the decisive moment in the face of a direct counterrevolutionary assault by forces which North himself acknowledges to be a "comprador bourgeoisie," North's bottom line was "we

Spartacist

On Yeltsin's "barricades": counterrevolutionary petty-bourgeois swine sport Confederate flag of white-supremacy.

WV Photo

United front of counterrevolution: George Bush, Lech Walesa, Lane Kirkland at AFL-CIO gala, and David North's Workers League.



were for the defeat of this coup"—*which was also Yeltsin's bottom line.*

From Walesa to Yeltsin: Crush the Counterrevolution!

In an article titled "Middle Class Radicals and the Soviet Coup" (*Bulletin*, 13 September), the Northites assume a posture of denouncing the cabal of fake-Trotskyists who cheered Yeltsin's countercoup. At the same time they rant that the Spartacist League "criticized the coup plotters only for 'ineptitude' and 'stupidities,' because they did not arrest Yeltsin or even cut off his phones, and did not mount a 'serious assault' on the Russian parliament building. In other words, this politically-diseased organization was hoping against hope for an old-fashioned Stalinist bloodbath." North's German followers of the BSA (Bund Sozialistischer Arbeiter) continue in the same vein, saying the Spartacists only criticize the coup plotters "because they didn't carry out a bloodbath in front of the White House in Moscow like the Chinese Stalinists did two years earlier in Tiananmen Square in Peking" (*Neue Arbeiterpresse*, 4 October).

To compare the couple of thousand scruffy yuppies, speculators and Russian nationalists, including fascists and priests, who were the pathetic advance guard of Yeltsinite counterrevolution, with the hundreds of thousands of workers and students, many of them explicitly pro-socialist, who rallied day after day in Tiananmen Square, is *obscene*. Like the less duplicitous cheerleaders for Yeltsin, the Northites can't stand our statement that "a call on Moscow workers to clean out this counterrevolutionary rabble was in order." And to North & Co., the crime of crimes would be a military bloc with a section of the bureaucracy seeking to fight the outright capitalist-restorationists. And as we wrote in our polemic "Traitors, Not Trotskyists—Cheerleaders for Yeltsin's Counterrevolution" (*WV* No. 535, 27 September):

> "The 'gang of eight' was incapable of sweeping away Yeltsin in its pathetic excuse for a putsch because, as we wrote, it was a 'perestroika coup.' But both imperialism and the forces of internal counterrevolution were aligned on Yeltsin's side. The coup plotters were not only irresolute but didn't want to unleash the forces that could have defeated the more extreme counterrevolutionaries, for that could have led to a civil war if the Yeltsinites really fought back. And in an armed struggle pitting outright restorationists against recalcitrant elements of the bureaucracy, defense of the collectivized economy would have been placed on the agenda whatever the Stalinists' intentions. Trotskyists would have entered a military bloc with 'the Thermidorian section of the bureaucracy against open attack by capitalist counterrevolution,' as Trotsky postulated in the 1938 Transitional Program. This was precisely our policy toward Jaruzelski in 1981."

And indeed, it is precisely the example of Poland which lies behind the Northites' policy in the Moscow coup. At that time, when the entire left was proclaiming "Solidarity with Solidarity," the international Spartacist tendency sought to expose before the world's working class that Lech Walesa & Co. were an agency for the CIA and Western bankers, Ronald Reagan, the Pope and clerical nationalists. They quoted as if it were an outrage our forthright statement: "*If the Kremlin Stalinists, in their necessarily brutal, stupid way, intervene militarily...we will support this.* And we take responsibility in advance for this; whatever the idiocies and atrocities they will commit, we do not flinch from defending the crushing of Solidarity's counterrevolution" (*WV* No. 289, 25 September 1981). Healy, North et al. lined up with the counterrevolutionary cabal.

Now that Solidarność leader Walesa is presiding over the capitalist immiseration of Poland, all the fake-lefts are jumping ship, including North. Thus in its statement on the August coup, the *Bulletin* denounces Walesa for running a "pro-imperialist regime" which uses police and troops to smash workers strikes. But ten years ago, the Northites joined with anti-Communist Polish émigrés and AFL-CIO bureaucrats at a pro-Solidarność rally in Chicago which was addressed by the Reaganite governor of Illinois. "Mass Support for Solidarity," ran the front-page headline of the *Bulletin* (18 December 1981) describing this anti-Soviet political orgy.

WV Photo

Spartacist protest in 1979 against Workers League, who took money from Arab despots to be their hired poison pens.

Anti-Soviet Nationalists and Anti-Union Witchhunts

With openly capitalist-restorationist forces on the ascendancy in Russia and other republics, the Northites offer themselves as the leadership for the struggle of the Soviet working class to "stop the degradation of the Soviet Union into a Balkanized semicolony of imperialism." What gall! The Workers League has been the most fervent defender of every force in the USSR that was fighting for just such an outcome.

Last year they championed the cause of the right-wing nationalist Sajudis government in Lithuania. Echoing the most right-wing, anti-Communist elements of the American ruling class, the Workers League even *denounced Bush* for not imposing imperialist sanctions against the Soviet workers state on behalf of Lithuanian independence:

> "The April 24 announcement by the White House that it is taking no retaliatory actions against Moscow for its blockade of Lithuania underscores the unprecedented level of collaboration between imperialism and Stalinism against the international working class."
> —*Bulletin*, 27 April 1990

Here the militantly counterrevolutionary Lithuanian Sajudis regime—whose first act when granted independence by the Yeltsin-Gorbachev regime was to grant a blanket amnesty to the native fascist collaborators of Hitler's Germany—is identified with the international working class!

Today the Northites declare that the Soviet working class "must retain its complete independence from the political aims of the imperialists and their political and economic agents in the Soviet Union." Yet last spring the *Bulletin* uncritically enthused over the Soviet coal miners strike, which was organized and manipulated by the pro-Yeltsin leaders of the newly formed Independent Union of Miners to demand that control over the mines and other industrial enterprises be transferred from the central Soviet government to the Yeltsin regime of the Russian Republic.

Although the strike reflected the desperate economic conditions facing the miners and their growing hatred for the Gorbachev regime, we warned of the hardline Yeltsinites at the head of the miners union:

> "*These people are bitter enemies of the Soviet working class.* They seek to turn the powerful Soviet miners into a battering ram for openly pro-capitalist forces whose victory would mean the destruction of every remaining social gain—the right to work, cheap housing and low food prices, free medical care—which the Soviet workers have as a result of the collectivized economy."
> —"Soviet Miners Strike Amid Perestroika Turmoil,"
> *WV* No. 522, 15 March

We pointed out how many of the leaders of the new union were "well known to the AFL-CIO," according to the American union federation's newspaper, and indeed they had been toured through the U.S., paid for by the Bush government. And we noted how the AFL-CIO is notorious as an agency for CIA intervention into the labor movement internationally. Not a peep on any of this from the Northites.

Among the cabal of CIA types present at the founding congress of the Russian miners union in October 1990 was a delegation from the scab "Union of Democratic Miners" in Britain. A creature of the Thatcher government and the British mine bosses set up to destroy the real miners union during the 1984-85 coal strike, the UDM was there to purvey the imperialist-orchestrated Big Lie campaign that miners union leader Arthur Scargill "mishandled" funds that were donated by Soviet miners during the strike. The bourgeoisie was enraged at this internationalist solidarity from Soviet workers, who dug deep in their pockets to aid this bitter class battle. After years of persecuting the union, and even stealing union funds from the banks, the British state finally had to drop court charges against Scargill.

Spartacists who were present at the Soviet miners congress exposed this anti-union vendetta. Now the Northites say nothing about the whole affair. Small wonder. In 1983 it was their own international leaders, in Gerry Healy's Workers Revolutionary Party, who instigated the initial anti-Communist witchhunt against Scargill. On the eve of the coal strike, Healy's press lambasted the miners union leader for accurately calling Solidarność an "anti-socialist" organization. This was a completely calculated "bombshell" by the Healyites and one which was played for all it was worth by Thatcher, her Fleet Street media and the anti-Communist labor bureaucrats in Britain in their campaign to cut off any solidarity with the miners. The Healyites were so proud of themselves that they published an entire pamphlet about it.

David North and the "AFL-CIA"

Here we had the intersection of the two political hallmarks of Healyism—vicious anti-Sovietism and belly-crawling before the Cold War trade-union tops. At the height of the Vietnam War, the Workers League put out a program for a labor party that didn't mention either the war or the fight for black liberation in the U.S. And in the December 1990 German Bundestag elections, the Northite BSA ran on a program that did not even mention immigrant workers, racist/fascist attacks or women's rights. And while they included ritual criticisms of the Social Democrats (SPD), the Northites called for votes to the SPD witchhunters, who served as the advance guard of capitalist reunification in a Fourth Reich of German imperialism.

Today, as part of its "orthodox" con game, the Northite "ICFI" is making critical noises about the pro-imperialist

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Magic...

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not a lot of joy or opportunity for high achievement, so they identify with sports as a connection—hopeful and illusory—to those few who do make it to the big leagues, the big money, and the acceptance and even admiration by white America. For many, Magic Johnson seemed to bring youth's cloak of invincibility and immortality into adulthood. Now the prospect of seeing an adored superstar wither and die has brought the agony of the AIDS epidemic home to millions. A *Sports Illustrated* headline captured the impact on America: "Like One of the Family."

The fantasy of super stardom now follows Magic Johnson off the court and into the battle against AIDS. The expectation that Magic Johnson and heightened awareness and concern can turn around this catastrophic epidemic is in itself a devastating condemnation of the American government. Tens of thousands have died horrible deaths because there is no cure and because the government has done precious little to find a cure or alleviate the suffering of those infected with HIV, and a very great deal to make it worse: giving free rein to insurance company greed, closing hospitals, fostering discrimination. The virus has been a "giggling factor" in the halls of the White House, welcomed as a divine mop-up operation of capitalist society's most despised pariahs: homosexuals.

The criminal neglect and bigotry by the government and the medical establishment based on the insistence that AIDS was a "gay disease" has also led to the death of thousands of black people. In 1981, Dr. Arye Rubinstein, a pediatric immunologist at Albert Einstein College of Medicine, documented cases of AIDS in black children in the Bronx. He was scorned, ignored, his paper returned unpublished because the *New England Journal of Medicine* thought it impossible that children could have a "homosexual disease." By 1988 one out of every 61 babies born in New York was HIV-infected.

Magic Johnson wants to take a "safe sex" message to the black community. He told a national audience from the Arsenio Hall show to "put your thinking caps on and put your caps on down there" (gesturing below his belt). But powerful institutions, from the government to the schools to the black church, demand "behavioral change," not education. Vice President Quayle countered Magic, stating, "I would not say safe sex, I would talk about abstinence." If "safe sex" is a contradiction in terms, talk of teenage abstinence is utterly absurd.

Larry Kramer, founder of the Aids Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) and author of the play *The Normal Heart*, appeared on Ted Koppel's *Nightline* the same evening as Magic Johnson's announcement. Kramer said:

> "He's going to die and I'm going to die. And the 40 million people that the World Health Organization predicts are going to be HIV-positive by the year 2000 are going to die. We are not talking epidemic, Mr. Koppel, we are talking plague. No amount of education is going to end this plague. The only thing that will end this plague is a cure. And research is simply not being done because George Bush and Congress don't care. I beg Magic Johnson to be the spokesman for a cure."

Tasks of basic education, support for the sick, hospices for the dying, all of which should be energetically undertaken by public health authorities, are picked up by groups like the Gay Men's Health Crisis. Based in the largely white, petty-bourgeois milieu of the organized gay community, with access to jobs, education, health insurance, and connections, GMHC has reached out to provide help to black and other destitute AIDS victims. But heroic ad hoc volunteerism is always a cruelly insufficient resource for any endeavor a society actually cares about, and meanwhile we have an exponentially growing public health disaster. In Harlem, Watts and Miami's "Little Haiti," AIDS is spreading furiously among IV drug users. More than half of the people infected with HIV in this country are black and Hispanic. The AIDS virus is compounded by *systematic* race and class oppression: poverty, unemployment, decrepit housing, inadequate schools, too few hospitals and no health insurance. By the time people in these conditions are diagnosed, most are only weeks away from death.

Sex, Race and the AIDS Witchhunt

An estimated *ten million* people around the globe are infected with HIV and everywhere outside the U.S. and Western Europe the primary means of transmission of the virus is through heterosexual sex. The devastation wrought by the disease in sub-Saharan Africa has brought incalculable horror; India, Thailand and Brazil are threatened by the rampant spread of this plague. The enormity of the shock in the U.S. of a famous heterosexual person announcing he has the AIDS virus is in itself a monument to the ignorance, bigotry and backwardness of this country whose rulers have greeted this terrible disease as "God's retribution" against homosexuals, IV drug users and other social "deviants."

The intersection of disease with sex calls out every hatred, every prejudice in this sick society. In Georgia, the Ku Klux Klan sport "Thank God for AIDS" T-shirts. Reactionaries obstruct fighting this disease and welcome AIDS as a political weapon to instill fear as part of a racist, religious, anti-sex witchhunt. For the past year public health officials, Congress and the bourgeois media swarmed like vultures to the ravaged body of Kimberly Bergalis (who apparently contracted AIDS from improperly sterilized equipment at her dentist's office) in order to further spread fear, loathing and state repression of "guilty" carriers who infect "the innocent."

Randy Shilts (author of *And the Band Played On*) commented: "In his fight against HIV, Magic Johnson should not confine his concern to heterosexual victims.... The depressing subtext to Johnson's announcement was that suddenly people cared about HIV because it struck someone they liked, someone who clearly didn't 'deserve' it" (*Sports Illustrated*, 18 November). And the bluntly honest Charles Barkley confessed: "I'm disappointed in myself that I don't feel bad for everyone who has AIDS like I do about Magic." If Magic hadn't made it to the NBA he could be just another black man dying of AIDS in a Michigan ghetto—and no one would give a damn.

Magic Johnson's commitment to educate black America in particular about the virus, and more generally to fight the opprobrium heaped upon the estimated one million Americans who are infected with HIV, *may* help, but awareness is not a cure. What is required is to fully mobilize society's resources for AIDS research as well as to care for those infected. What stands in the way is the government's policy of malign neglect, reinforced by pervasive social backwardness. Kareem Abdul-Jabbar said it best: "*This is still a nation of bigotry and fear.*" Just look at the skyrocketing incidents of gay-bashing since mainstream America became "aware" that thousands of homosexuals were dying of AIDS. Stars don't come bigger than Magic, and now even against him the backlash has begun.

Since the bigots can't blame gays or IV drug use for Magic's infection, they've unleashed a torrent of prejudice against sex itself. From other players, like Phoenix Suns guard Kevin Johnson, we get misogynous tales of satanic temptresses stalking locker rooms and parking lots for sexual prey: "The women hover and wait to try to get you." From right-wing ideologues and boozy, lunkheaded, hypocritical moralist sports writers we get the inverse—that "innocent" women are the victims of oversexed, spoiled men. On the sports page, Dave Anderson outrageously denounced "the egotistical essence" of Johnson testing positive for HIV. "He's not St. Magic of Sunset Boulevard; he's Earvin Johnson of the Fast Lane who finally got caught for speeding." On the opinion page we get Patrick Buchanan thundering, "We want to ignore the traditional morality, but never pay the price...there is a moral distinction between Kimberly Bergalis and Magic Johnson that cannot be lost."

Condyles/Impact Visuals

Disease of poverty: AIDS victim reduced to begging in New York City subway. The full resources of society should be mobilized to fight this deadly plague.

For women this is nothing but a rehash of the sexist stereotypes of women as either Virgin Marys or Lay Down Sallys. For black men, it's a racist double standard. Warren Beatty, Jack Nicholson or Donald Trump aren't pilloried in the press for their sexual exploits—it's accepted as a "legitimate" lifestyle of the rich and famous *and white*.

Black athletes, who weren't born with silver spoons in their mouths, are held to a different code of conduct. The price of fame and adulation for them is high: no politics, no drugs (except what the owners pump you up with), praise god whenever possible, and be a patriotic "role model" for the Moral Majorityite bigots to hold up for youth. In the NBA, the blackest of professional sports, players have been denounced by the media for "perverse commercialism" when they promote products like high-priced sneakers. But if your great-great-grandfather amassed the family fortune through buying and selling black slaves, then you're "old money" and a pillar of the community.

In the context of the convulsive civil rights and Vietnam antiwar struggles of the '60s and early '70s, some black athletes broke the mold, at a huge personal cost. Muhammad Ali was stripped of his boxing title (and millions in endorsements) when he refused to be drafted and stated, "No Viet Cong ever called me nigger." Gold and bronze medalists Tommie Smith and John Carlos were banished from the U.S. Olympic team for their defiant "black power" salute when the American flag was raised over their heads and the national anthem boomed during the 1968 Mexico City games. In the macho world of sports, it took tremendous courage for football player Dave Kopay to come out of the closet.

It's a sign of these conservative times that even as Magic Johnson courageously goes public with HIV, he repeatedly attributes his infection to "God's way." Much of the sports world has responded with moments of silence and public prayers. This plays into the hands of every bigot, from the Catholic church to the White House to the black preachers who have *opposed* every measure that could prevent the spread of AIDS, like sterile needle exchange programs and condom distribution in the schools. They think it's "God's will" to wipe homosexuals, drug addicts, teenage mothers with AIDS babies off the face of the earth. They demand "behavioral change," by which they mean abstain from sex, abstain from drugs...or drop dead.

Sex and hormones is a lot of what being a teenager is all about, but for kids today, sex without a condom is like playing Russian roulette. In Chelsea, Massachusetts, an economic wasteland, *20 percent* of adolescents are infected with sexually transmitted diseases, and the rate of HIV infection is 50 times higher than that of the rest of the state. In an emotional hearing on November 12, a proposal to distribute condoms in the Chelsea schools was defeated by priests and administrators who argued against "promoting sex." As 15-year-old Sabrina Sullivan retorted, "Sex does not need to be promoted."

AIDS is caused by a virus, not by "sin," and not by sex—*any kind of sex*. Our species didn't evolve to its present state through chastity. Nor did anyone ever advocate an end to the "heterosexual lifestyle" because it was responsible for spreading herpes, gonorrhea and syphilis. But now we have a government with the mindset of Salem witchhunters—they preach abstinence not only because they think people with AIDS deserve to die, but as part of a whole repressive puritan drive to mold obedient boys and girls for Bush's New World Order.

Criminal State Neglect as Epidemic Rages

Magic Johnson has accepted Bush's offer to join the National Commission on AIDS, and vows to "tell President Bush that it's time to drop the political barriers that have slowed down efforts to find a cure for the disease." The Commission issued a report in September advocating national health care and delivered a scathing attack on the Bush administration's lack of response. As Carisa Cunningham, a spokeswoman for the AIDS Action Council, said, "if the President continues to ignore the recommendations of the commission, it doesn't matter who sits on the commission or what they say." Bush and Congress only want Magic's winning smile as window-dressing for a policy of neglect.

Likewise in New York City where AIDS is ravaging the ghettos and barrios, the city's response has been to plaster filthy urine-stenched subway cars with slick bilingual advertisements of happy faces announcing that they've tested positive for the AIDS virus and life has never been better. It's enough to make you scream—but the most curdling howls of rage would not begin to do justice to the appalling state of medical care

in capitalist America. Even the *New York Times* (17 November) acknowledged:

> "As AIDS becomes more deeply entrenched in the culture of poverty, inspiration alone can only help so much. Already those answering Johnson's call to get tested for the virus may face months of waiting. Those who test positive and lack health insurance may find themselves in a three-month line just to see a doctor, let alone gain access to costly life-prolonging therapy."

Thirty-four million Americans have no health insurance at all. There are 200,000 reported cases of AIDS in the U.S. and over 125,000 deaths. On 1 January 1992, the definition of AIDS will change from having an opportunistic infection to having either an infection or a T4-cell count (cells which fight infections) of less than 200. It is estimated that under this new, more appropriate definition the number of AIDS cases in the U.S. alone will soar to 350,000-400,000. At the same time, the less than $500 million allocated for education about AIDS in the U.S. is being slashed by $14 million for fiscal year 1992.

There is more than enough money to slaughter Iraqis, or line the pockets of Bush's family and capitalist friends, as in the S&L bailout, which will cost taxpayers about *$500 billion*—because the American ruling class has a program of death and destruction. They build prisons instead of schools, shut down mental hospitals, dump the sick on the streets, yank the homeless out of their shantytowns and subway platforms, slash spending for welfare, Medicare, and on and on. AIDS in America has rapidly become a disease of poverty. Black youth have been tossed on the slag heap by a ruling class that sees them as a troublesome "surplus" population. The only way out of the literal dead end they face is a thoroughgoing socialist revolution that creates jobs, free quality education and health care for all.

The government's chief response to the AIDS crisis has been hysteria and repression. Just as the Bergalis case fueled a blizzard of bills pushing for mandatory testing and blacklisting of health care workers backed by threats of fines, jail terms, and loss of jobs and licenses, so too will Magic Johnson's announcement be jumped on to push mandatory testing for drugs and HIV in sports and other occupations. Boston Celtic Kevin McHale has already called for mandatory testing in the NBA. These calls for mandatory testing represent the triumph of ignorance over science. AIDS is spread not through casual contact but exchange of semen, blood or vaginal secretion. Who's at risk in the locker room is not McHale but an HIV-positive player, whose suppressed immune system makes him more susceptible and less able to fight infections from colds and viruses that are spread casually. The only purpose then of mandatory testing is to stigmatize, victimize and blacklist.

Since a test for HIV antibodies first became available in 1985, the Spartacist League has opposed any and all government attempts to legislate mandatory testing of anybody. Instead, we advocate *voluntary, anonymous* testing for those who want it. In this racist, anti-gay society, forced testing only exposes those most in need of help to the vicious bigotry intensified since the onset of this terrible epidemic. In 1989 UCLA researchers terrified millions with a clinical study they claimed showed that even people who tested negative for AIDS might really have already been exposed to the virus but wouldn't develop antibodies and test positive for an indefinite period of years. Medical experts long ago concluded these findings were false—the interval between infection and a positive test result is short, less than six months—but the public wasn't informed until this month! Such indifference and incompetence make a mockery of the witchhunters' demands for mandatory testing.

WV Photo

Spartacists at demonstration for gay rights in Washington, D.C., October 1987.

The answer to the AIDS crisis is science, not hysteria. But in this sick capitalist society, scientific research on AIDS is hampered by underfunding, grotesque squabbles among drug companies and research teams for glory and prestige, and especially by a medical system run for profit. AIDS patients are bankrupted by the drug companies, who charge a fortune for drugs that appear to be life-prolonging, like AZT. And while the FDA takes forever to get new medications on the market, AIDS victims are legally persecuted for seeking out new medications the only way they can—through an international black market.

We need *billions* for AIDS research and *international* cooperation in research for a cure. We're facing a devastating plague here, and society should be mobilized from top to bottom to fight it. But of course this capitalist society is organized to produce for profit, not to fill human needs. And there's no better example of that than what has happened and continues to happen and *not* happen with the AIDS crisis. This government is doing everything in its power to push a reactionary social and political program that prevents effective treatment or containment of the disease and that ensures that its effects will be most devastating and inhumane.

As we wrote in "The Agony of Aids" (*Women and Revolution* No. 35, Summer 1988): "The fight against AIDS cries out for a socialist revolution which will lay the basis for a society which will end all forms of social oppression. Only then will the limits of science be the sole limits—and those will constantly be enlarged through thoughtful, energetic research." ■

Northite Fool's Gold...

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labor bureaucracy. North cynically proclaims: "We do not make a fetish of the so-called mass organizations, with their paper membership and their overstaffed and overpaid bureaucracies.... The AFL-CIO, like all the other bureaucracies which exist in this world, is an instrument of imperialism which exists to control and discipline the working class" (*Bulletin*, 6 September). He calls for a "Fight for a Labor Party Based on a Socialist Program," and even declares that such a party need not be "some sort of social democratic party under the aegis of the AFL-CIO." Quite a mouthful coming from the same Workers League which for years routinely called on the same sellout AFL-CIO bureaucrats to lead everything including general strikes.

In fact, during the Iran-Contragate scandal, the Northites demanded that "the AFL-CIO conduct[s] its own independent inquiry into the illegal White House activities and the direct dangers they pose to the working class" (*Labor Must Act on Iran-Contra Crisis*, January 1987). This is tantamount to calling on the CIA to investigate itself! The AFL-CIO tops were no less involved in the U.S. war crimes in Central America than the crew in the White House basement. Lane Kirkland was a member of the Rockefeller Commission, which carried out a whitewash of CIA assassination activities for the Ford administration in 1975. Kirkland was a member of the Kissinger Commission, which rubberstamped Reagan's support to the contra terrorists in Nicaragua. He is a member of the National Endowment for Democracy, set up to give a veneer of legitimacy to CIA-funded subversion. And the AFL-CIO has for years provided cover for CIA "labor" activities through the "American Institute for Free Labor Development" in Latin America and similar outfits elsewhere.

"Democratic" Cover for Imperialist War

The hypocrisy is mind-boggling, but hardly new for the sinister David North, who was one of the prime authors of the Healyite cop-baiting smear job against the American reformist Socialist Workers Party, "Security and the Fourth International," and who more recently appealed to the capitalist state to jail SWP member Mark Curtis, while lining up AFL-CIO bureaucrats to back this vicious frame-up. As part of his current pseudo-orthodoxy jag, North is putting his membership's heads through yet another Healyite wringer as they build for a "Berlin Conference Against Colonialism and War" this month.

This is quite a name for a conference held by this crew. When the U.S. imperialists' mad bombers were laying waste to Iraq, the central demand of the Northites was for a "national referendum on the gulf war in which all workers and youth of voting age would be able to take part" (*Bulletin*, 30 November 1990). We pointed out (and perhaps members of North's Workers League could figure out for themselves) how this amounted to "*democratic*" *support for the imperialist war*:

> "At the red-white-and-blue 'antiwar' demonstration in Washington, D.C. on January 26, the Northites marched under a banner reading: 'Stop War Against Iraq—Let the People Vote on War.' This is worse than the most abject social-pacifism, appealing to the imperialist butchers to give a more 'democratic' cover to their genocidal war against the Iraqi people. At the time, the American 'people,' in their overwhelming majority, *supported* Bush's war!"
>
> —*WV* No. 523, 29 March

North's attempt to invoke Trotsky in defending this social-*patriotic* ploy is a slander against the Bolshevik leader, who consistently fought for *class* struggle against imperialist war. While the "ICFI" was peddling this line, the Spartacist League marched under the banner "Defeat U.S. Imperialism! Defend Iraq!" and the sections of the International Communist League (Fourth International) fought for labor political strikes against the war.

So our advice to anyone who might be taken in by North's latest shell game is to look carefully at the record of this dubious tendency which took well over *£1 million* from Arab bourgeois regimes; which set up the leader of the British miners union for persecution by the class enemy; which has systematically used the capitalist cops and courts against its opponents on the left; which extolled the execution of Iraqi Communist workers, and fingered opponents of the Ba'athist regime for bloody repression; which hailed feudalist Ayatollah Khomeini and Walesa's Solidarność, the only union Ronald Reagan ever loved; which has supported fascistic Lithuanian nationalists and Yeltsinite "union" misleaders bought by the "AFL-CIA"; which has catered to the AFL-CIO bureaucracy in America and the Fourth Reich Social Democrats in Germany...look carefully at all this and understand that the slimy reality of the Northites is not just what you read on paper. These people are capable of saying and doing *anything*. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

Soohoo/NBA Photos

Legendary Los Angeles Lakers basketball star Earvin "Magic" Johnson.

Magic Johnson and the AIDS Crisis

On the early afternoon of November 7, Magic Johnson calmly stepped up to a microphone as if it were just another NBA free throw line and stunned the world with the announcement that he had been infected with the HIV virus. Johnson announced his immediate retirement from professional basketball and pledged to become a spokesman in the battle against AIDS, cautioning, "You think it can never happen to you, that it only happens to other people. If it can happen to Magic Johnson it can happen to anybody."

His composure and bravery in publicly announcing his infection with the AIDS virus—a death sentence for its overwhelmingly gay, black and Hispanic victims who also suffer a plague of bigotry—was met with an unusual outpouring of support. Philadelphia 76ers' forward Charles Barkley adopted Johnson's uniform number "32" for the rest of the season as a personal tribute. Phone lines to AIDS organizations were jammed coast to coast as thousands called in $32 contributions or asked for information about the virus. Young black kids who practice Magic's moves with the basketball in vacant lots and schoolyards across the country cried and talked of their fears for themselves, their older brothers and sisters, and their idol.

For more than a dozen years Magic Johnson has dominated the sport of basketball. The Los Angeles Lakers had not had a losing month since Magic joined the team in 1979. Lumbering down the lane on the break with his shoulder-high dribble, arching jumpers from "downtown," master of the touch pass, no-look pass, fake pass, "junior sky hook," and now and then a crushing slam dunk, Johnson led his Lakers to five NBA championships. He is also that rare professional gracious enough to visit the opposing team's locker room to offer congratulations when the Lakers lost.

To list Johnson's achievements only scratches the surface of his game. Magic Johnson is one of the very few who changed the way the game was played. The on-court coach, Magic demonstrated that teamwork, setting up teammates to score, was an art. In the dozen years since Johnson and his friend Larry Bird brought their rivalry onto the hardwood floors of the Boston Garden and the Great Western Forum, pro basketball was transformed from an exciting but little-watched inner-city game to a vastly successful international business—helping overcome the last vestiges of a quota system in basketball by proving that white fans will turn out for a "black sport."

Especially for minority youth who face big "Do Not Enter" signs at the gates of most walks of life, sports are the great escape fantasy from a reality of grinding poverty and oppression. For them there's

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NYC Trial of Skinhead Gay-Bashers

The Murder of Julio Rivera

Three white skinhead killers are currently facing charges in Queens for the brutal slaying of Julio Rivera, a gay Hispanic bartender. "I killed him because he was gay," Daniel Doyle testified on November 7. Doyle could calmly deliver this chilling admission because he isn't even on trial, having earlier copped a plea. And the judge encouraged the prosecution to work out a deal for a lesser plea for his two accomplices.

The case is becoming known as the "gay Howard Beach trial" as the murderous bigotry of the gang members recalls the racist lynch mob which, in 1986, set upon three black men and chased Michael Griffith onto an expressway where he was struck and killed by a car.

In the early morning hours of 2 July 1990, the skinhead punks, members of the fascist "DMS" ("Doc Martens Skinheads") gang, set out on a vicious "hunting party." They looked for a homeless man, but couldn't find one. So they knocked down an empty shanty of a homeless person under the subway tracks, and went to P.S. 69 and lay in wait for a gay man to walk by. The Jackson Heights schoolyard is known as a gay "cruising strip."

They lured Julio Rivera into the yard, then took out a claw hammer and began to hit him in the back of the head with full force. They broke a beer bottle over his head and smashed him in the face with a plumber's wrench. When Rivera was bent over under the blows, they stabbed him in the back, the blow that ended his life.

Gang leader Daniel Doyle, who delivered the fatal knife blow, is the son of a retired city detective. By pleading guilty to manslaughter Doyle will be eligible for parole in eight years, in exchange for testifying against fellow gang members Erik Brown, college student and brother of a New York City cop, and Esat Bici, a lumpenized part-time pizza deliveryman with underworld connections.

Brown and Bici are charged with second-degree murder and, if convicted, could face 25 years to life. Even that is a whitewash, for it's crystal clear that this was a case of cold-blooded, premeditated murder.

The cops said Rivera was a "cocaine user" and treated it as a low-priority drug murder. They waited nine months to classify it as a "bias crime" and four months of demonstrations passed before they made an arrest, even though the killers were going around the neighborhood bragging about their deed. It was due to the courage of Alan Sack, a close friend and former lover of Rivera, that the case has come to court.

Sack, a 39-year-old interior designer, had been talking with a friend on the street, when someone shouted at him to run to the schoolyard because "someone's killing Julio." As he testified at the trial, he ran to the scene where he found his friend covered in blood and lying on the sidewalk. Fighting back tears, Sack told the jury how he held Julio, desperately urging him to hang on.

Sack had never been an activist until he held Rivera dying in his arms. Determined to seek justice, he tracked down witnesses and badgered the police and mayor's office. He called upon the gay rights group Queer Nation in Manhattan,

Newsday

Julio Rivera

and with their help flyers were distributed and marches organized. On one candlelight march this August, 350 gay men and women walked to the schoolyard, as store owners cheered them on.

At the Queens state supreme court last Wednesday, Sack told *WV* what it has meant for him to sit through the trial of

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 540

6 December 1991

Economic Rivalry and Japan-Bashing

Pearl Harbor Media Blitz

Fifty-year-old images of the U.S. war with Japan are suddenly flooding the media. "Day of Infamy" screams the front cover of *Time* (2 December) with a picture of the USS *Arizona* burning at Pearl Harbor on 7 December 1941. A bellwether of thinking in high ruling-class circles, *Time* gives a blow-by-blow account of that event which brought the U.S. into World War II, as part of a 40-page special looking back on the war in nostalgic tones. *U.S. News & World Report* subtitles its special "America Fights Back," with images of G.I. Joe and Rosie the Riveter. Even the *New York Times Magazine* (3 November) throws somber rays of the rising sun across its cover, complaining that there is "little sound of remorse" in the "Mind of Japan."

On the anniversary of the war, the two imperialist rivals/allies serve up self-serving images: Washington recalls Pearl Harbor. Tokyo talks of Hiroshima. While the Japanese Diet (parliament) is reportedly considering a resolution apologizing for the Pearl Harbor attack, George Bush declared that "no apology is required" for the U.S. dropping of atomic bombs. The media blitz takes its cue from the imperial president: Bush made a point of canceling a scheduled visit to Japan, supposedly to tend to pressing domestic affairs, and the White House squelched talk of Japanese officials attending the Pearl Harbor ceremony.

And behind it all are the growing economic frictions between the Americans and Japanese. The Pearl Harbor hoopla might be more accurately described as "Hysteria Over High-Grade Sony Products, Wrapped Up in the Stars and Stripes." As the U.S. economy now sinks into a bottomless pit, the bourgeoisie looks with envy on the Land of the Rising Sun. And they're not just worried about Japanese domination of the auto and consumer electronics markets through superior quality. They're worried about empire.

National Geographic (November 1991) runs a lead story, "Japan's Sun Rises Over the Pacific," complete with a map of the new "co-prosperity sphere" with tentacles reaching from Tokyo throughout East Asia. It lists the economic accomplishments of postwar Japanese capitalism:

> "Nearly devoid of natural resources, Japan is now awash in one commodity: money....
>
> "Yen rolled out from Japan like a tsunami—to the U.S., Europe, and the rest of Asia. Japan became the world's biggest creditor nation. Then the world's biggest aid donor. And then one of the world's biggest foreign investors....
>
> "Today Japan, with a population less than half that of the U.S., boasts an economy almost two-thirds as large—and gaining."

Many "opinion-makers" in Washington recall that winning the last world war "solved" the last depression. The *Times*' Tokyo bureau chief, Steven R. Weisman, put it diplomatically:

> "Anyone following Japanese-American frictions cannot help but note the parallels between the early 1940's and now. Fifty years after the attack on Pearl Harbor, Washington is still debating the wisdom of economic pressure on Tokyo. Will American trade sanctions

continued on page 10

Imperialist Troops Get Out!

New World Disorder in Cambodia

On November 14, "Peacock Prince" Norodom Sihanouk returned to his palace in the Cambodian capital of Phnom Penh after 12 years' exile. Sihanouk's return signaled the implementation of an imperialist-brokered "peace accord" aimed at ending the decade-long civil war which pitted the Vietnam-allied regime of Prime Minister Hun Sen against a U.S.-backed mélange dominated by the genocidal Pol Pot's Khmer Rouge. Having succeeded with Gorbachev's collusion in extinguishing other "regional hot spots," Washington now seeks to extend its "New World Order" to Cambodia. Up to 11,000 UN "peacekeeping" troops have started flooding in, supposedly to supervise "free elections" and the installation of an interim "coalition" including the U.S.-backed forces.

Grotesquely, more than 16 years after the heroic Vietnamese people drove out the American invaders and their corrupt Saigon puppets, imperialist troops are once again on Indochinese soil. We say: *Get out—and stay out!*

The Cambodian people have not forgotten the horrors they suffered at the hands of Pol Pot, whose xenophobic regime murdered a million people before being toppled by Vietnamese forces in 1979. Hours after the arrival of Pol Pot aide Khieu Samphan, an angry crowd gathered outside his Phnom Penh villa and nearly lynched the despised Khmer Rouge leader. Hun Sen later issued a statement that the "unplanned violent demonstration" was "regrettable" and would hamper "the process of implementing the peace agreement," but his police remained conspicuously at a distance while the enraged crowd went about its business.

And the slimy Sihanouk, who went from being an exploiter of the starving Cambodian peasantry to a figurehead in the Khmer Rouge regime and then an ally in its terrorist war, moved

continued on page 5

Faget/AFP

"Peacock Prince" Norodom Sihanouk returns to Phnom Penh, now allied with Cambodian prime minister Hun Sen (right) against Pol Pot.

Partisan Defense Committee

CLASS-STRUGGLE DEFENSE NOTES

Holiday Appeal for Class-War Prisoners

"All through history those who have fought against oppression have constantly been faced with the dungeons of a ruling class. The greater the cause has been, and the deeper it has been rooted in the needs and sufferings of the masses, the more it has been menaced by the tortures of prison cells."

—James P. Cannon, "The Cause That Passes Through a Prison," September 1926

The state's answer to the strivings of the poor, exploited and oppressed is cops, courts and jail. Where the capitalist rulers once built automobiles they now build prisons. Old penitentiaries—from Marion, Illinois to Trenton, New Jersey—are turned into high-tech torture chambers known as "Control Units." Across the country men and women are imprisoned for challenging the racist status quo, subjected daily to the most brutal and degrading treatment.

Support for these class-war prisoners is indispensable to the defense of all victims of racist terror and capitalist state repression. The Partisan Defense Committee (PDC) seeks to sear the injustice of these cases into the consciousness of the working masses—today and for generations to come. These brothers and sisters behind bars must not he forgotten.

Six years ago we revived the tradition of the International Lahor Defense (ILD) of sending monthly stipends to class-war prisoners and extra gifts for them and their families during the holidays. This winter is our sixth Holiday Appeal for the prisoners. Last year we raised over $9,700, giving us a solid financial hasis for sending monthly stipends, and meeting requests for books, magazines, special items of clothing, as well as the holiday gifts. These modest gifts and holiday messages of solidarity are a reminder to these brothers and sisters that they are not forgotten, and that we are dedicated in every season to waging the fight for a powerful movement of legal and social defense in support of their battles against the racist frame-up system.

As James Cannon wrote for the Second Annual Conference of the ILD, "The class-conscious worker accords to the class-war prisoners a place of singular honor and esteem." We list below the 19 prisoners presently in the PDC's stipend program.

TROTSKY

LENIN

WWII: Wall Street's War

As the American bourgeoisie, in recalling the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, wallows in an orgy of chauvinist hysteria aimed at preparing the way for trade war and a new interimperialist slaughter, we Trotskyists uphold the principled stand of our forebears of James P. Cannon's Socialist Workers Party. On the same day that the U.S. Congress declared war on Japan, 8 December 1941, a U.S court sentenced Cannon and 17 other leaders of the SWP and the Minneapolis Teamsters for their internationalist opposition to the war drive. At its October 1942 convention, the SWP vowed, following Lenin's policy in World War I, to fight to turn the imperialist world war into proletarian world revolution.

Long before its advent we warned the workers of the inescapable participation of the United States in this war and stated that such a war could only be an imperialist war. The actual entry of the United States into the conflict has not altered our position, but confirmed it. We do not and cannot give any support to this reactionary war undertaken on behalf of America's monopolists to ensure their world domination of markets, foreign concessions, sources of war materials and spheres of influence. This is Wall Street's war, not ours....

That this is the epoch not only of imperialist wars but also of proletarian revolutions was confirmed in 1917 when the Soviets became the state power in Russia, abolished private property and nationalized the means of production, including the land. It then became a class duty for every worker to defend the Soviet Union. That remains our duty today. We remain today as we have been from its birth unconditional defenders and devoted partisans of the Soviet Union. The war of the Soviet Union is our war, the war of the workers everywhere....

The outbreak of war between Japan and the United States came as a surprise to no informed person. The contest for supremacy in the Pacific has been brewing since these allied rivals crossed swords in Siberia at the close of the first world war.

The imperialist rulers of both camps are fighting tenaciously to maintain the existing system which has brought about the prevailing slaughter, misery, chaos and hopelessness. The rival monopolist cliques want to reconstruct the world for their selfish ends. They have not the slightest concern for the welfare of their own peoples or the oppressed in other lands. Each strives to conquer the world or a larger share of it for their own enrichment and power. Both imperialist blocs have the same predatory aims, although they employ different terms and slogans to justify their role in the war. Hitler's "New Order" is simply German capitalism's reedition of the old capitalist anarchy and oppression. The Anglo-American combine has no more radiant prospect to offer than a new and more monstrous Versailles treaty that can only lay the groundwork for a Third World War.

—SWP Political Resolution, "The Imperialist War and the Road to World Socialism" (October 1942)

no credit

Mumia Abu-Jamal, 37 years old. MOVE supporter, former Black Panther, well-known journalist—"Voice of the Voiceless." Sentenced to death for his political beliefs. Currently at Huntingdon, Pennsylvania.

Mumia Abu-Jamal must not die!

WV Photo

Geronimo ji Jaga (Pratt), 44 years old. Former Black Panther, decorated Vietnam vet. Victim of FBI COINTELPRO frame-up. He has served over 20 years for a crime the government knows he could not have committed. He is currently in Tehachapi prison, California.

Nat Weinstein

Wopashitwe Mondo Eyen we Langa (David Rice), 45 years old. He and Poindexter were victims of COINTELPRO, framed up in 1970 explosion which killed a cop. Both men were convicted on perjured testimony and sentenced to life terms. Mondo is at Lincoln, Nebraska.

LNS

Hugo Pinell, the last of the San Quentin Six still in prison, leader of prison rights movement along with George Jackson, militant anti-racist. In prison over 26 years, currently serving a life sentence at Crescent City, California.

no credit

Charles "Chuckie" Africa, shot in the 1978 cop attack on MOVE's Powelton Village home and convicted of killing a cop who died in the attack although the autopsy showed the bullet came from a cop's gun. One of nine MOVE members serving 30-100 years. Now in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Ramona Africa, 36 years old. Jailed for being the sole adult survivor of the hideous MOVE massacre, 13 May 1985. In prison at Muncy, Pennsylvania, due for release in 1992.

We send stipends to eleven other Africa family members in Pennsylvania prisons:

Carlos Africa, Dallas, PA
Consuewella Dotson Africa, Muncy, PA
Debbie Sims Africa, Muncy, PA
Delbert Orr Africa, Dallas, PA
Edward Goodman Africa, Camp Hill, PA
Janet Holloway Africa, Muncy, PA
Janine Phillips Africa, Muncy, PA
Merle Austin Africa, Muncy, PA
Michael Davis Africa, Huntingdon, PA
Susan Leon Africa, Muncy, PA
William Phillips Africa, Bellefonte, PA

Committee to Free Rice/Poindexter

Ed Poindexter, 48 years old. Former Black Panther supporter, victim of racist COINTELPRO frame-up, sentenced to life. He has already served more than 19 years, and is now at Lino Lake, Minnesota.

Eddie McClelland, framed up in 1984 in the deaths of three members of the Royal Ulster Constabulary. He was sentenced to three consecutive life terms without a jury or any evidence. He is in Maze Prison, Northern Ireland

Send your contributions for the Holiday Appeal to: Partisan Defense Committee, P.O. Box 99, Canal Street Station, New York, NY 10013. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth International)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co 41 Warren Street, New York NY 10007 Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial) (212) 732-7861 (Business) Address all correspondence to Box 1377, GPO New York NY 10116 Domestic subscriptions $7 00/24 issues Second-class postage paid at New York, NY POSTMASTER Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard* Box 1377, GPO, New York NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 540 **6 December 1991**

On the Yugoslav Civil War

Independence, Mo.
Novemher 1. 1991

Comrades,

I was surprised Yugoslavia did not make the headline in the *Workers Vanguard* No. 537 [25 October]. I have many friends of the "progressive-peacenik-green" ilk that are unconvinced that the Yugoslav Federal Army is to be supported. Instead, coverage of the relatively irrelevant Thomas nomination/confirmation took its place.

Who cares what the black-robed bigots are up to? I read the article of course in the event some idiot took sides in such a sick preppie game that I'd have to answer to.

I suppose I had hoped for a headline as: "Defeat Counter-Revolutionary Attack on Yugoslavia." Or, "Defend Yugoslavia Against Imperialist Attack." Because that's what it is!

Certainly, Yugoslavia is *far* more degenerated as a workers state than say, Cuba—or even North Korea—but Yugoslavian workers and farmers are much better off than the Italian or Greek masses. Let's support *Army*!

Why is SL shying from supporting the defense of Yugoslavia?

Comradely,
David A. Johnson

WV replies: To begin with, on the squalid Clarence Thomas Supreme Court hearings, this was not just some irrelevant "preppie game." As we noted in our headline, it intersected "Sex, Race and Reaction" in America and thus touched quite a few raw nerves in this racist, sexist country. And, as we wrote, the protracted fight over Thomas' nomination was over abortion rights. A Leninist party, as a tribune of the people that fights all forms of oppression, must take on questions of all-sided social oppression, even when refracted through bourgeois politics. What the black-robed bigots are up to is revving up the legal lynching machinery, which is not a matter of indifference to the working class.

Concerning Yugoslavia, we refer readers to "Serbia-Croatia War Ripping Apart Yugoslavia" in *WV* No. 535 (27 September) and an earlier article, "Bloody Nationalist Warfare and Counterrevolution: Yugoslavia Shattering" in *WV* No. 531 (19 July). We argue there that proletarian internationalists have no side in this fratricidal conflict. A blatant negative confirmation of this is the stand taken by Ernest Mandel's anti-Trotskyist "United Secretariat." They not only support Croatia under the ultrarightist bourgeois-nationalist Tudjman regime, but also call for the "downfall" of Milosevic's Serbia through "economic and political isolation of the regime in Belgrade by Europe as a whole" (*International Viewpoint*, 16 September). In other words, Mandel's "NATO socialists" are calling *for imperialist intervention!*

David Rose

Der Spiegel

Croatian militiamen (left), including Ustashi fascists, battle Serbian irregulars (right), who call themselves Chetniks after the anti-Communist monarchists in World War II.

In fact, should NATO forces intervene decisively on the side of Croatia, Trotskyists would bloc militarily with Belgrade against imperialism. But that is not what is happening now. Comrade Johnson would side with the federal army, arguing that it is defending the Yugoslav workers state against counterrevolution. Unfortunately, the military high command is not fighting to preserve socialized property as the basis of a federated workers state, but has reluctantly subordinated itself to Milosevic's project of founding a "Greater Serbia" on the ruins of Yugoslavia. As we noted in July, "The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia is now being ripped apart by the same forces defeated by Tito's Communist partisans in World War II—the fratricidal Croatian and Serbian nationalists and their imperialist godfathers."

There is no question that the Croatian secessionist regime is counterrevolutionary and aims to make Croatia a neocolony of the German Fourth Reich. Certainly, the Serbian communities have every reason to fear living under the right-wing nationalist government of Franjo Tudjman, a notorious apologist for the clerical-fascist Ustashi regime, which under the protection of the Nazi Wehrmacht massacred hundreds of thousands of Serbs, Jews and Gypsies. But the sum total of Milosevic's program is that Serbian refugee families are being moved into formerly Croatian homes and farms.

What this forced population transfer underscores is that the army/Milosevic campaign is not to preserve the Yugoslav workers state but, in fact, is speeding its demise through an explosion of nationalist rancor and bloodletting. While claiming to stand for the rights of the Serbian minority in Croatia, Milosevic is himself a bloody oppressor of the non-Serbian peoples over whom he has gained sway. He rode to power by trampling on the Albanians of Kosovo. And he did away with regional autonomy for the large Hungarian population in the province of Vojvodina. The Slavic Muslims of Bosnia—the largest ethnic group in that republic—rightly fear they will become an oppressed people in a Greater Serbia dominated by Milosevic. Thus, Bosnian Muslims have obstructed the movement of federal army units and Serbian irregulars into Croatia.

While Milosevic is not at the moment singing the praises of the Western capitalist powers, since Berlin and Washington now favor the Croats, the Serbian demagogue is in no sense committed to maintaining socialized property. A former head of the Yugoslav central bank, Milosevic has long been an advocate of a capitalist market economy. Last year his party voted in the federal parliament for a law allowing for the wholesale privatization of socialized enterprises. And this spring he summed up his economic program as "a completely free flow of labour, goods and capital" (*Review of International Affairs*, 20 June).

One Yugoslav observer noted that "after resisting for some time, the army is riding with Milosevic" (*New York Times*, 1 October). Yet there remains a certain sentiment in the officer corps to restore the old Titoist order. Both Defense Minister Kadijevic, who is half Serb and half Croat, and his Slovene deputy, Admiral Stane Brovet, have reportedly voiced opposition to the Serbian-nationalist demagogue as well as to his Croatian counterpart. But the high command has neither the perspective nor the capacity to mobilize the working class to overthrow the warring nationalist regimes. As we wrote in September:

> "Class-conscious workers throughout Yugoslavia must fight the forces of fratricidal nationalism, and aim to overthrow both the fascistic regime of Franjo Tudjman in Croatia and the Great Serbian chauvinist regime of Slobodan Milosevic. Officers and soldiers in the federal army who stand for socialism must oppose both the drive for a Greater Serbia and those who would transform Yugoslavia and its constituent republics into neocolonies of the (German-dominated) West European Common Market. Only the struggle for a Socialist Federation of the Balkans within a Socialist United States of Europe can save Yugoslavia from becoming once again an arena of nationalist genocide and imperialist subjugation." ■

If the federal army leadership *were* seeking to militarily defeat the Croatian secessionists, they would have struck at the capital. And up until last week they had enough military force in the Zagreb barracks to flatten the Croatian capital in 24 hours and overthrow the Tudjman government. *But they didn't.* Since July, the war has consisted of territory-grabbing. First came the breakaway of majority Serbian areas on the fringes of Croatia. Then, by going after the Adriatic seaport of Dubrovnik, the army obtained for Serbia an outlet to the sea and a prime hard-currency-generating tourist region. By taking Slavonia, it has gained a breadbasket. The sieges of Vukovar and Osijek, which could have been taken weeks ago, were designed to drive out the Croatian population. And now the *New York Times* (30 November) reports

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No. 16
Fall/Winter 1991-92

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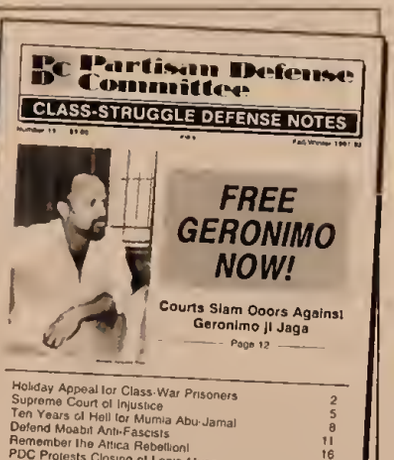

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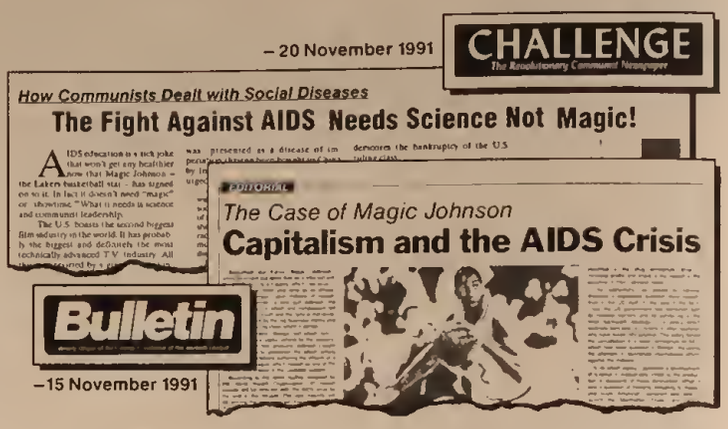
On Magic Johnson and AIDS

PL, WL: Idiots and Bigots


CHALLENGE
The Revolutionary Communist Newspaper
– 20 November 1991
How Communists Dealt with Social Diseases
The Fight Against AIDS Needs Science Not Magic!
EDITORIAL
The Case of Magic Johnson
Capitalism and the AIDS Crisis
Bulletin
–15 November 1991

Following basketball star Earvin "Magic" Johnson's announcement that he had tested positive for HIV, we wrote in our last issue: "His composure and bravery in publicly announcing his infection with the AIDS virus—a death sentence for its overwhelmingly gay, black and Hispanic victims who also suffer a plague of bigotry—was met with an unusual outpouring of support." But we added: "Stars don't come bigger than Magic, and now even against him the backlash has begun."

Vice President Quayle whined that instead of "safe sex," Magic should have advocated "no sex." Fascistic ideologue Patrick Buchanan thundered about the "moral distinction" between Magic and "innocent" victims of AIDS like the virginal Kimberly Bergalis. Into this chorus of idiocy and bigotry fall two so-called "socialist" groups, David North's Workers League and the Stalinist Progressive Labor Party, which rival the ruling-class reactionaries in their lack of basic human decency.

Despite the abysmal state of AIDS education in the United States, there is virtually no one who fails to recognize that gay, black and Hispanic people have suffered disproportionately high death tolls from this disease. Yet an editorial in the Workers League's *Bulletin* (15 November) on "The Case of Magic Johnson: Capitalism and the AIDS Crisis" manages to spill over 1,700 words on the subject without once mentioning the word "gay" or "homosexual," or "black" or "racism" or "higotry"! And that's quite an accomplishment...akin to writing a treatise on the Holocaust without ever mentioning the word "Jew"! The Workers League's idea of "class-angling" a social issue is "colorblind" commentaries that pander to the worst reactionary prejudices.

Back in 1972, the then-leader of the Workers League Tim Wohlforth shrieked to a shocked gathering of the Buffalo Marxist Caucus (a group of young socialists which subsequently fused with the Spartacist League): "The working class hates faggots, women's libbers and hippies, and so do we!" From its earliest days the WL has put forward a program for a "labor party" geared to the prejudices of the conservative, racist AFL-CIO bureaucrats, with a blind eye—if not open, sneering hostility—to all questions of fighting special oppression. On the life-and-death issue of AIDS, the Workers League merely chides the genocidal U.S. government for promoting "hourgeois individualism" by making a big deal of Magic Johnson's announcement. Meanwhile, the WL partakes of the worst racism and anti-gay bigotry that the ruling class has manipulated to stigmatize people with AIDS, thus crippling the search for a cure to the disease.

While the Workers League ostentatiously ignores the vicious persecution of homosexuals and racial minorities which is integral to the bourgeoisie's policy of malign neglect of the AIDS crisis, the puritanical Stalinists of the Progressive Labor Party (PL) make their dimwitted bigotry explicit. Under the shockingly mean-spirited headline "The Fight Against AIDS Needs Science Not Magic!" PL's *Challenge* (20 November) brainlessly denounces Magic Johnson up and down for everything from his salary to his purchase of a life insurance policy, concluding that he's a member of the ruling class (as if George Bush phones black athletes like Magic Johnson before carpetbombing Iraq), and says, "Let us rid ourselves of all these multi-millionaires like Magic Johnson who profit from our exploitation!"

Consistent with PL's grotesque Stalinist belief that under communism, homosexuality (which they consider a disease of capitalism) will be wiped out and everyone will live in happy monogamous families, *Challenge* trumpets the totally discredited theories of virologist Peter Duesberg which blame AIDS on "deviant behavior." According to Duesberg via PL, the HIV virus has nothing to do with AIDS, which is caused rather by "malnutrition" and "psychoactive drugs," and "among homosexuals, a combination of both could be the cause."

Buying into the government's racist war on drugs, which has unleashed a storm of cop terror in the ghettos, PL denounces needle exchange programs which could drastically reduce the now-exponential spread of AIDS in urban wastelands, with a dumb quip about "clean needles" for "dirty drugs." As for sex, PL howls that the government is inconsistent in its message, pushing "safe sex" in press conferences and Madonna and *Hustler* magazine in the marketplace. Politics makes strange bedfellows, and the Stalinists of PL have the same wet dream as the Moral Majority bigots: they believe American society must be "morally regenerated" to total conformity—by force.

As we said in our article, "Magic Johnson and the AIDS Crisis": "AIDS is caused by a virus, not by 'sin,' and not by sex—*any kind of sex*" (*WV* No. 539, 22 November). But this government thinks gay, black and Hispanic victims of AIDS *deserve to die*. The search for a cure is hampered not only by a medical system run for profit but by the triumph of hysteria and bigotry over science. This situation cries out for a Leninist party to champion the cause of *all* the oppressed. The intersection of race, class and sex which characterizes the AIDS crisis calls out every base hatred in this capitalist society. It is a litmus test for socialists. Progressive Labor and the Workers League both flunk abysmally: no heart, no brains, no program. ■

BT "Forgets" Support to Gang of Eight

After deserting the ranks of Trotskyism at the onset of Cold War II, for the past decade the self-styled "Bolshevik Tendency" has been driven by a monomaniacal obsession with our organization. Their guiding principle, as we noted in our article "BT Writes Off the Soviet Union" (*WV* No. 535, 27 September), has been to use "any stick to beat the dog," in this case the Spartacist League and the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist). So after years of denouncing "Spartacist Stalinophilia" because we did not flinch in our unconditional defense of the gains of the October Revolution—including our emphatic calls for military support to Stalinist forces fighting against counterrevolution—this fall the BT attacked us for refusing to support the impotent August coup in the Soviet Union.

Thus at a series of SL forums in the Bay Area titled "Defeat Yeltsin/Bush Counterrevolution in USSR!" BTers have ludicrously tried to present the toothless Gorbachevite coup plotters as the last-ditch defenders against counterrevolution. At UC Berkeley, a prominent BT spokesman even denounced us for saying that the coup makers had left "Washington's darling Yeltsin untouched." Presenting a scenario as farcical as the pathetic coup attempt they retrospectively claim to have backed, the BTer argued:

> "They made every attempt to pick him up. They tried to arrest him at his dacha outside Moscow, missed him. They tried to get him at the Kremlin, and in fact the guard at the Kremlin that did not allow Yeltsin to enter had not been informed that he should have been detained. They then tried to get him once again in Moscow, he then made it to his little White House and of course things happened, the troops went over, they refused to fire, but the coupists obviously had every intention of picking him up and shooting him."

As one SL speaker from the floor retorted: "These are the people that didn't want to hail the Red Army in Afghanistan but want to hail the Keystone Cops in Moscow."

Of course, as we noted, the BT's cynical, after-the-fact support to the failed coup is their way of finally being able to dump Soviet defensism altogether—which they have longed to do for years—by declaring the triumph of capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. Moreover, their clarion call for "military support" to Yanayev & Co.'s "Emergency Committee" is very much a sometime thing, to be played for select audiences—i.e., at SL forums—and conveniently dropped from the program in the popular-front haunts the BT frequents. So when called upon at an October 13 meeting in San Francisco on "The Collapse of the USSR and the Crisis of the U.S. Left," the BT didn't breathe a word of its putative "support" to the coup.

The meeting, whose featured speaker was *People's Weekly World* former Moscow correspondent Carl Bloice, was clearly part of a factional tour to rally anti-Gus Hall forces in the fast-decomposing CP. While Hall is under siege for reportedly backing the "Emergency Committee," Bloice defended Gorbachev and repeatedly condemned the coup as "unconstitutional and undemocratic." While the chair of the meeting quite consciously refused to call on SLers, she did call on some of the slimier self-proclaimed "Trotskyists," including the BT. So carried away was he in ranting on about "the Stalinist jackboot on the necks of the workers," that the BTer neglected to mention their own oh-so-martial support to the coup committee.

RTT Didn't Notice BT "Opposition" to Solidarność

A month later in a "debate" on "Stalinism and Counterrevolution: The U.S.S.R. Today," the same BTer was lecturing the Revolutionary Trotskyist Tendency on the "contradictory nature of the Stalinist bureaucracy"! Obviously this lecture wasn't given to the ex-Morenoite RTT when they joined forces with the BT some years back in what was heralded as a "principled fusion" in the pages of the BT's press *1917*. The BT (which is always shrieking about the "demise" of the ICL) has never said a word about the rapid demise of this much-vaunted "fusion." For its part, the RTT snivels that they did not "study the Fusion Document as carefully as they should have, partly because of exhaustion"!

Apparently after finally getting a good night's sleep, they woke up to discover that the BT supposedly echoed the SL call to "Stop Solidarność Counterrevolution" in Poland in 1981—while the

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Christine Spengler

Ullal/Stern

U.S. terror bombing (left) devastated Cambodia, preparing conditions for xenophobic and genocidal Khmer Rouge massacre (right).

Cambodia...

(continued from page 1)

immediately to distance himself from his former partners and cut a deal with Hun Sen aimed at freezing out Pol Pot. Sihanouk was welcomed back with a triumphal motorcade, riding through the streets of Phnom Penh in an open-top Cadillac next to the Cambodian prime minister.

In preparation for Sihanouk's return, the impoverished government spent $200,000 refurbishing his palace, though the "playboy prince" doubtless looks forward to once again gamboling and gambling on the Riviera after 12 years of the dubious pleasures of Beijing and Pyongyang. "You are my son," waxed the prince as he embraced Hun Sen, whom he had previously denounced as a "one-eyed lackey" of the Vietnamese. In turn, the government appointed Sihanouk head of state of "all Cambodia" and announced a new coalition regime which will include his son.

What happens now is anybody's guess, but it will hardly be peaceful. For all its "dovish" cooing of late, the Khmer Rouge has some 30,000 guerrilla troops and large caches of arms scattered throughout the countryside and on the Thai border. Its radio called the accord "a great historic victory," vowing that it would lead to Cambodia being "completely liberated." At least 70,000 refugees in Red Cross camps in Thailand are under Khmer Rouge control, and many have recently been "repatriated" at gunpoint to jungles in southwest Cambodia to provide a base for future actions.

Ominously, Khieu Samphan recently called for the removal of a million ethnic Vietnamese "settlers," denouncing them as "part of the Vietnamese forces' occupation of Cambodia." Ethnic Vietnamese were the first targets of the Khmer Rouge massacres following its seizure of power in 1975, as the Mekong River ran red with their blood.

But while the Western press regularly bemoans the "killing fields" of Pol Pot, the U.S. (and China) armed this butcher for the last 12 years. And it was the U.S.' deliberate devastation of Cambodia in the early 1970s, aimed at bombing the region "back to the Stone Age," which prepared the conditions in which Pol Pot's xenophobic barbarism could take root. As we noted following the Soviet-instigated Vietnamese withdrawal from Cambodia two years ago:

> "In the six months between February and August 1973 alone, U.S. B-52s dropped one and a half times as many bombs (over 250,000 tons) on Cambodia as the total tonnage dropped on Japan during all of World War II.... Over *one-fourth* of the Cambodian population, some two million people, was killed between 1969 and 1979, while an equal number of Vietnamese died in the war against the U.S. and its puppet regimes in Saigon."
>
> —"U.S., China Arm Pol Pot Butchers" (*WV* No. 493, 12 January 1990)

In its vindictive attempt to avenge its humiliating defeat at the hands of the Vietnamese workers and peasants, Washington continued to starve the Indochinese masses through a brutal economic embargo, while supplying its Khmer contra forces under former Sihanouk lieutenant Son Sann and their Khmer Rouge allies to terrorize Cambodians and their Vietnamese protectors. The U.S. issued one ultimatum after another to Hanoi as justification for its undeclared war—Vietnamese withdrawal from Cambodia, installation of a coalition government, accounting for American MIAs. And as every demand was met by the Hanoi regime, desperate for an infusion of Western capital, another was imposed.

The responsibility for the dire straits in which Cambodia and Vietnam today find themselves lies at the feet of the recently collapsed Kremlin bureaucracy, which refused to give its allies the aid they needed, then forced them into acquiescing to imperialist *diktat*. In the past year, the Soviet Union even cut off shipments of fuel and fertilizer to Cambodia, leading to sharp declines in the rice harvest. Today openly counterrevolutionary forces are in the ascendancy in Moscow. A victorious struggle by the proletariat to defeat capitalist restoration requires a return to the internationalist road of Lenin and Trotsky. And among the first acts of a new Bolshevik regime in the Kremlin would surely be to provide unstinting and genuinely fraternal and internationalist assistance to the peoples of Indochina, whose sacrifice and struggle stayed the hand of bloody U.S. imperialism against the Soviet Union for years.

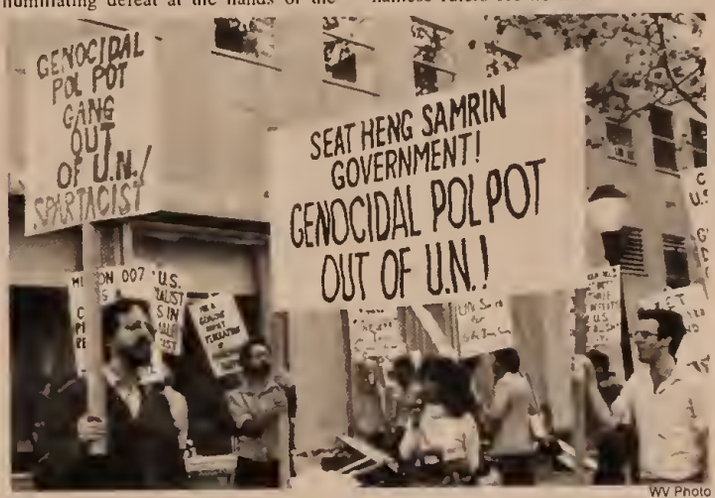
In the face of sharpening inter-imperialist rivalry with Japan, which along with Germany and France is moving to exploit Vietnam's mineral and oil resources, the U.S. is finally mooting the possibility of re-establishing diplomatic relations with Vietnam. Yet Washington continues to seek the destruction of the Vietnamese workers state through a policy of starvation and isolation. Wedded to the Stalinist dogma of "socialism in one country," their backs against the wall because of the betrayal and now collapse of their Soviet patrons, the Vietnamese rulers see no alternative but to futilely seek to appease their imperialist tormentors.

And in accepting the imperialist-sponsored "peace" accord, the Cambodian Stalinists have dumped "Marxism-Leninism." They are even reportedly dissociating themselves from the Vietnamese. It would be a tremendous historical injustice should the Cambodian Stalinists embrace virulent Khmer nationalism and renounce the Vietnamese who saved them from the horrors of Pol Pot.

We Trotskyists of the International Communist League have throughout maintained our defense of the Vietnamese Revolution, from calling for military victory to the NLF during the Vietnam War to opposing the U.S.-backed Chinese invasion in 1979 to our international protest campaign in 1983 against recognition of Pol Pot as UN representative of Cambodia. Today, with Australian troops acting as the spearhead of the UN expeditionary forces, our comrades of the Spartacist League of Australia have issued an urgent appeal, seeking to rally working-class opposition to the policies of the Hawke Labor Party (ALP) government:

> "During the Vietnam War, Australian maritime workers showed the way through strikes and bans [labor boycotts] in support of the Vietnamese and Cambodian workers and peasants. *Australian workers: Break with the policies of the ALP imperialist 'statesmen,' would-be policemen of Southeast Asia, lackey junior partners of U.S imperialism! For political strikes and bans to stop Australian troops to Cambodia!*"
>
> —*Australasian Spartacist* No. 143 (Summer 1991/1992)

The dramatic collapse of the Stalinist bureaucracy in the Soviet Union, opening the floodgates of counterrevolution, and now the imperialist encroachments on the hard-fought gains of the Vietnamese Revolution forcefully demonstrate that *Stalinism undermines the defense of the deformed/degenerated workers states.* More than 40 years of struggle by the Indochinese peoples against imperialism must not be in vain. It will take the Leninist-Trotskyist program of world socialist revolution to roll back the tide of counterrevolution and defeat rapacious imperialism once and for all. *Imperialist troops out of Cambodia! Defend the Vietnamese Revolution!* ■



WV Photo

New York, September 1983—Spartacists protest UN seating of Pol Pot as Cambodian representative.

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Why They Didn't Go After Yeltsin
Soviet Union: X-Ray of a Coup

Novosti

Members of "gang of eight" announce state of emergency at press conference on August 19.

What happened in Moscow on those crucial three days in August? Gorbachev already has his instant book out, Yeltsin's is on the way and CNN has an instant video in the stores—all rehashing the neatly packaged "official" story. But slowly information has trickled out about what the coup plotters sought and what they really did...

The botched coup attempt opened the floodgates of capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union. The imperialist media cheered how the Russian people, newly awakened by "democracy," rose up against Stalinist "tyranny" and Communist "totalitarianism." The authors of the coup fiasco—all of them lieutenants of Soviet president Mikhail Gorbachev, indeed virtually his entire top echelon of cabinet officials—were painted as hard-bitten hardliners intent on a ruthless crackdown against Gorbachev's "democratic" reforms. The aim of this propaganda exercise is to portray the coup and the pro-imperialist countercoup spearheaded by Russian president Boris Yeltsin as a grand anti-Communist morality play in which KGB and military heavies were overwhelmed by the forces of "democracy" who rose up in a "second Russian Revolution."

While the Western press lionized Yeltsin, various "leftists" tried to give a "working-class" cover to counterrevolution with headlines like "Soviet Workers Win Giant Victory by Defeating Coup" (American SWP), "Workers' Action Decisive in Coup Defeat" (British WRP) and "USSR: Victory to Workers' Resistance" (British SWP). In opposing the pro-imperialist countercoup and raising the call "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" we noted that, in fact, the barricades outside Yeltsin's "White House" only had a couple of thousand "yuppies, students and assorted Russian nationalists, including fascists and priests." Even the less starry-eyed observers in the media were forced to deal with the fact that the masses did *not* flock behind Yeltsin. The anti-coup demonstrations were no bigger than numerous other "democrat" mobilizations in the last year. Yeltsin's call for a general strike was a complete flop (see "Who Was on Yeltsin's Barricades?" *WV* No. 535, 27 September).

But many asked, how could the combined chiefs of the Soviet military, internal security police and KGB be so incompetent and so impotent as to simply bungle their coup attempt every step of the way? Why did they fail to deploy politically reliable military units to take down the barricades, why did they fail to cut off Yeltsin's communications (both his phone lines to Bush and the radio transmissions from the "White House")? Above all, why did they fail to arrest their chief nemesis? The tabloids ran stories of perpetually drunken coup plotters and jokes about the gang that couldn't shoot straight. But even the most inept banana republic conspirators know that the first rule of coup-making is to dispose of your enemies. Interviewed in the CIA think tank's *Harriman Institute Forum* (August 1991), Soviet "expert" John Copp remarked: "Their lack of ruthlessness was something I never would have expected from the conservative elements of the CPSU.... The list of mistakes made by the junta is almost interminable."

Since the coup, Moscow has been teeming with conspiracy theories aimed at making sense of the coup leaders' failure to move against Yeltsin. Russian social democrat Boris Kagarlitsky, reflecting a common opinion, argues that Yeltsin was in on the coup and then double-crossed his putative partners. But it requires no conspiracy theory to explain the impotence of the "gang of eight." We noted at the time that this was a "perestroika coup," which "wouldn't stop Yeltsin, and was therefore doomed to failure." Enough information has since became available to demonstrate that the coup leaders had no intention of doing away with Yeltsin and the pro-capitalist forces, but rather were out to do exactly what they assured the West: impose sufficient order to continue the moves toward a capitalist market economy without plunging the country into chaos. With this aim, they saw Yeltsin not as an enemy to be removed, but as a potential ally, however problematic.

Der Spiegel

On Yeltsin's barricades: Russian Orthodox priest blesses "democrats."

Lie Heard 'Round the World

As we have noted before, the barricades outside Yeltsin's headquarters never posed even a modest obstacle to a military assault. An article in the Yeltsinite *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* (September 1991) conceded: "In the first hours of the nineteenth, the 'White House' government building could easily have been seized by just a few platoons of ordinary motorized troops, to say nothing of paratroopers or commandos." The Russian business newspaper *Kuranty* (22 August) described how, even on Tuesday evening, with the coup already unraveling, "the situation of democracy's defenders is desperate: 1,500 'people's volunteers,' 300 armed professionals, 300 Afghan War veterans..." (*Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, 18 September). The "armed professionals" were apparently hired out by a Moscow rent-a-cop outfit called Alisa and paid for out of the pockets of private businessmen—i.e., speculators and black marketeers.

Bourgeois commentators who acknowledge the weakness of the popular support for Yeltsin claim his strength lay in the fact that the "democracy" forces won over troops sent to attack them and thus paralyzed the plotters. Tanks and troops stationed outside Yeltsin's "White House" were supposedly meant to storm it but refused when confronted by demonstrators. One unit of armored vehicles supposedly "turned" against their commanders and joined the Yeltsin barricades. An elite unit—alternatively from the Interior Ministry's Omon black beret forces, paratroop units or KGB Alpha commandos—was allegedly assigned to dispose of Yeltsin but refused to follow through.

The 20 August *Los Angeles Times* claimed: "In the early hours today ...thousands of cheering Muscovites welcomed tanks from the elite Taman Guards division as they took up positions to protect Russia's democratically elected leaders." This story of ten tanks breaking ranks and going over to the Yeltsinites was repeated in various versions throughout the Western and pro-Yeltsin Russian press. According to the *New York Times* (22 August), it happened at 11:30 p.m. on the night of August 19: "Ten tanks from an elite Soviet division move to Russian Parliament building in support of Mr. Yeltsin." *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* (22 August) wrote that the "White House" had issued a report no later than 1 p.m. on the 19th that "a battalion of the Taman Division has gone over to the side of the legal Russian government."

While some troop units were certainly pro-Yeltsin, it never came to a split in the armed forces because, as we noted, "The coup was not so much by the military, which largely stayed out of the fray, but by top administrative and party hacks of the central apparat" (*WV* No. 533, 30 August). When Yeltsinite demonstrators surrounded the tanks of the Taman division imploring them not to fire on the "White House," the tank commanders assured them they would not, *as they had no such orders*. So where were the much-ballyhooed "defections"? A senior Yeltsin military aide later admitted that in trying to win over a troop commander on the streets of Moscow on August 20, "I also told him a lie—that some storm troops had come to the White House and had come over to our side" (*New Yorker*, 4 November). This lie was heard 'round the world.

A paratroop unit including eight armored vehicles from the Tula division led by Major General Lebed did arrive at the "White House" late Monday evening to stand guard and left early the next morning. In the *Harriman Institute Forum* interview, John Copp remarks with astonishment: "The idea of entrusting the suppression of the Muscovite populace and the arrest of Boris Yeltsin to the commander of the Tula division, who was known as a supporter of both radical reform and Yeltsin, is ludicrous." It would be ludicrous...if it were true. But was the Tula unit sent to arrest Yeltsin? Lebed was known as a pal of Yeltsin's. And as the *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* reports: "Lebed publicly declared that he and the paratroopers accompanying him had arrived by order of their commander, General Grachev [head of the Airborne Forces], to defend Russia's legitimate government."

Was Grachev acting on his own account? *Der Spiegel* (7 October) has published excerpts from the interrogations of the chief coup plotters immediately after their arrest. On August 22, Defense Minister Dmitri Yazov explained to his interrogators that units

outside the "White House" were rotated: "There was one battalion from the Tula division and its commander, the former commander of this division and personal friend of Yeltsin, thus withdrew this battalion," which was replaced with another one from the same division.

How Many Divisions Did Yeltsin Have?

The *New York Times* and other papers have run stories from various commanders and officers of the KGB Alpha commando, claiming they were ordered to take Yeltsin but refused. Subsequently, Grachev has claimed that *his* forces were ordered to seize the Russian president, but he too refused. Every one of the coup leaders categorically insisted, in the *Spiegel* excerpts, that no such order was given. And Robert Cullen, writing in the *New Yorker* (4 November), comments: "The Alpha Group's post-coup interviews, in fact, have only one thing in common: in each case, the officer doing the talking tries to take credit for being the hero whose refusal to obey orders foiled the coup."

Had the coup committee intended to seize Yeltsin, by the account of Yeltsin's own aides they could have done so long before a single demonstrator stood outside the "White House." At the time of the emergency decree in the early hours of August 19, Yeltsin was at his dacha in the Moscow suburb of Arkhangelskoye. His military adviser Konstantin Kobets, who was with him, later ascribed would-be Tsar Boris' unhindered return to "divine intervention"! But coup leader and former KGB head Vladimir Kryuchkov says they knew where Yeltsin was and where he was going ("we were in the picture") but made no attempt to stop him. Indeed, when Yeltsin got to the "White House" on Monday morning, the tank company from the Taman division was already stationed there, but as the *New Yorker* noted, "no one prevented the Russian leaders from entering their building."

The "gang of eight" declared from the outset that Yeltsin was not their enemy, even as he was issuing decrees for their arrest as early as the morning of the 19th. At the coup committee's press conference that day, acting president Yanayev emphasized that they wanted to work *with* Yeltsin: "I think that, if we had the willingness of the Russian leadership to engage in such cooperation, we would be able to find ways for this kind of interaction." Likewise, Kryuchkov insisted to his interrogators: "Our emergency committee undertook not a single step, not a single action, that was in any way directed against the Russian leadership and against Russia." Asked, "Did you give either a secret or verbal order that the Russian leadership should be arrested?", Kryuchkov replied with a categorical no, adding: "I always said, they should sleep in peace and let others sleep as well" (*Der Spiegel*).

There is no evidence whatsoever that the two divisions—hardly a force capable of subduing a rebellious city of ten million—deployed by the coup committee in Moscow had orders to take offensive action of any kind. Yazov told his interrogators that when he sent the tanks into the capital he gave explicit orders that no "weapons be deployed. They were simply supposed to block off the streets." The Moscow Military District chief of staff confirms this, saying their only orders were "to enter the city and stay there." When asked on the first day of the coup if troops had been given orders to fire, a defense ministry spokesman insisted "that no one has given or will give such a mission to our units." The *U.S. News & World Report* (2 September) observed: "their demonstrations of power were all for show."

In fact, the coup leaders wanted to avoid any confrontation with Yeltsin, with the aspiring Russian bourgeoisie, above all, with the imperialists. They counted, not without justification, on passive support or at least neutrality from the overwhelming mass of the population, fed up with the general slide into chaos: rising unemployment and food shortages, pervasive black marketeering and free enterprise "cooperativist" extortion rackets. Valentin Pavlov, another of the "gang of eight," said under interrogation that they wanted "no confrontation" and "no bloodshed." Kryuchkov added that it was clear from the start, "if it came to a confrontation or suchlike, that we would then immediately resign or have to go completely different ways."

Gamma-Liaison

Der Spiegel

Contrary to imperialist media lies, tanks (above) from unit commanded by Yeltsin friend were sent to "White House" not to arrest counterrevolutionary leader but to guard him. Workers' mobilization was needed to smash Yeltsin/Gorbachev counterrevolutionary countercoup.

When it did come to a confrontation, just after midnight on August 21, this was provoked not by the coup committee but by the Yeltsinites. The incident in which three Yeltsin supporters died as they supposedly threw themselves against tanks about to storm the barricades has been turned into the mythic high point of the "second Russian Revolution." But that ain't the way it happened!

According to an account in the Moscow business weekly *Commersant* (26 August) by the commander of the motorized unit, APCs going through an underpass to leave the area for routine patrol duty found their exit blocked. When they tried to turn around they were again blocked by trollybuses dragged in by the Yeltsinites using a nearby crane. *U.S. News & World Report* (2 September) recounted, "Soviet tanks from the Dzerzhinsky and Taman divisions became entangled in the human chain around Yeltsin's White House and protesters swarmed over the first tank. A second tank tried to maneuver around and was pelted with Molotov cocktails."

Perestroika Coup—Formula for a Sure Loser

Yeltsin and his shock troops for capitalist counterrevolution took the offensive because, unlike the dithering "gang of eight," they knew exactly what they wanted: a forced march toward capitalist restoration and imperialist colonization. As for the coup leaders, while Yazov swore last year to fellow "patriots" in the military that "our hatred of private ownership unites us," Pavlov was an explicit advocate of the capitalist market and the architect of last spring's onerous price increases. And the initial 18 August proclamation of the state of emergency vowed, "In the process of developing a mixed national economy, we will support private enterprise, providing it with the necessary possibilities for developing production and the service sphere."

The coup committee promised to "unswervingly observe all the commitments" made to the imperialists, and even fired off a special "Message to Heads of State" promising that their "temporary measures" would "in no way signify a renunciation of the course aimed at profound reforms in all spheres" and "in no way affect the international commitments that the Soviet Union has assumed." At the coup committee's press conference the next day, economic spokesman Tizyakov again insisted: "We are not rejecting the reforms aimed at moving toward a market." And in the committee's "Resolution No. 1," it declared: "Favorable conditions are to be created for increasing the real contribution of all types of entrepreneurial activity...." As *WV* wrote in the wake of the botched coup: "Their avowed program was martial law to keep the USSR from breaking apart, which comes down to perestroika minus glasnost: the introduction of the market but not so fast, and shut up."

Nevertheless, the aspiring Soviet yuppies and their imperialist patrons put their money on Yeltsin, literally. Operating out of a "White House" office, the CIA's Radio Liberty transmitted Yeltsin's appeals throughout the Soviet Union. Profit-gouging housing speculators took time off from selling vacant public apartments for small fortunes to put in a few hours on the barricades. Brokers at the Russian commodities exchange "passed a hat" and sent several million rubles in cash to the "White House." The Moscow Pizza Hut even shipped free pizzas to the barricades! "The businessmen's money," crowed one Yeltsinite to the *New Yorker*, "bought the buses and trolleys that became part of the barricades around the White House. It bought truckloads of sand and concrete to reinforce them. It bought weapons, cigarettes, food, medical supplies, and private security guards to help in the building's defense."

In the flush of "victory," a group of Moscow business associations demanded that, in return for services rendered, they "should receive a legitimate place in the structure of state power and directly influence the course of economic reforms," according to *Izvestia* (23 August):

> "On the night that an attack was feared, among those forming a living chain were hundreds of businessmen.... And the commercial banks, emptying their tills, brought *suitcases* (no, I didn't misspeak) filled with cash for purchases of food and medicine. The Bank of Foreign Commerce alone delivered 70 kilograms of money, totaling 1.1 million rubles, and on the whole it 'invested' 10 million rubles in defending the House of Government.
>
> "In short, at the hour of testing Russian business stood together with the people. That alone has earned it the right to have its own political voice...."
>
> —*Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, 2 October

Gamma

Anti-communist "democrats" burn red flag.

Stalinism—A Dead End

Simply empirically describing the social forces aligned behind Yeltsin reinforces our post-coup statement:

> "The coup plotters were not only irresolute but didn't want to unleash the forces that could have defeated the more extreme counterrevolutionaries, for that could have led to a civil war if the Yeltsinites really fought back. And in an armed struggle pitting outright restorationists against recalcitrant elements of the bureaucracy, defense of the collectivized economy would have been placed on the agenda whatever the Stalinists' intentions."
>
> —*WV* No. 535, 27 September

It was precisely the fear of civil war that paralyzed the Stalinists. At a key moment, not one section of the disintegrating Stalinist bureaucracy proved capable of lifting a finger against the restorationist forces.

Soyuz leader Colonel Viktor Alksnis, who looks to such "hardline" regimes as Pinochet's Chile, initially saw the coup as "positive" but distanced himself from the manifestly irresolute plotters while muttering that they hadn't been "constitutionally" ordained. The Moscow Workers Council, organized by the United Front of Toilers (OFT) and others from the "patriot" milieu, issued a call during the coup to "form workers militias for the preservation of socialized property...for the control of the carrying out of the orders and instructions of the State Committee." But one of the coup committee's instructions was against public mobilizations. This was flouted by the Yeltsinites. However, Nina Andreyeva's Yedinstvo, the OFT and their ilk dutifully sat on their hands while the counterrevolutionary rabble took to the streets. Had even a couple of Moscow factories, like the giant Zil automobile works, been mobilized, pro-socialist workers could have made short shrift of Yeltsin's ragtag defenders.

While they refused to rally the multinational Soviet proletariat, about the only open support the Stalinist "patriots" received came from notorious Russian nationalists. Notably, two early supporters of the coup were General Albert Makashov and the Liberal Democratic Party of V.V. Zhirinovsky, candidates in last June's Russian presidential elections who particularly appealed to anti-Semitic reaction. An order signed by Makashov as commander of the Volga-Urals Military District during the coup called for detaining "cosmopolitans" and

continued on page 8

Soviet Union...

(continued from page 7)

for using the document "Address to the People" as the basis to "intensify patriotic work among soldiers and officers." The 23 July "Address to the People," published in the "patriot" flagship organ *Sovetskaya Rossiya*, was seen by many as a prelude to the coup. Signed by, among others, Afghanistan forces commander Boris Gromov, Soyuz chairman Yuri Blokhov, coup committee members Starodubtsev and Tizyakov, and fascistic anti-Semites Yuri Bondarev and Valentin Rasputin, the document is shot through with reactionary Great Russian chauvinism:

> "We appeal to the Orthodox Church, which, having gone through Calvary, is slowly, after all the beatings, rising from the grave....
>
> "We appeal to parties, both large and small, to liberals and monarchists, to centralists and local-autonomy advocates....
>
> "Women, who are denying themselves the highest natural right—to continue the family by bearing descendants....
>
> "Russia—our only beloved!—is calling for help."

This nationalist, sexist crap is antithetical to a real program to defend the gains of the internationalist October Revolution.

For a Trotskyist Party in the Soviet Union!

In the immediate aftermath of the coup, we wrote: "As the crowd of yuppies, students and assorted Russian nationalists, including fascists and priests, gathered at the start of the coup outside the Russian parliament, Yeltsin's 'White House,' a call on Moscow workers to clean out this counterrevolutionary rabble was in order." But the Stalinists could not and would not mobilize the workers to defeat the counterrevolutionary forces because, at bottom, they fear a conscious and organized proletariat more than they fear capitalist restoration.

Swersey/NY Times

Moscow, November 7—Up to 90,000 turned out on Revolution Day, saying yes to Lenin, no to Yeltsin/Gorbachev drive to capitalist restoration.

The Stalinist bureaucracy, as Leon Trotsky pointed out nearly 60 years ago, is a parasitic growth on the proletarian property forms issuing out of the October Revolution and simultaneously acts as a transmission belt for imperialist pressure on the workers state. While seeking above all to appease hostile imperialism, this privileged caste has at times—simply in order to assure its survival—been forced to defend the social foundations upon which it rests, albeit by its own bureaucratic methods. In recent years, with the Soviet proletariat relatively quiescent and under the relentless pressure of imperialism, only one pole of the Stalinist bureaucracy has expressed itself, a burgeoning pro-capitalist wing. But had the workers of Moscow taken to the streets to sweep away the Yeltsinites, the bureaucracy would have polarized, with some section going over to the side of the insurgent workers.

Even more importantly, *independent working-class action would have been a launching pad for proletarian political revolution* to crush the capitalist-restorationist forces and sweep the bureaucracy away. The ignominious collapse of the Stalinist bureaucracy last August only serves to underscore Trotsky's perspective, in his incisive 1933 article on "The Class Nature of the Soviet State":

> "A real civil war could develop not between the Stalinist bureaucracy and the resurgent proletariat but between the proletariat and the active forces of the counterrevolution. In the event of an open clash between the two mass camps, there cannot even be talk of the bureaucracy playing an independent role. Its polar flanks would be flung to the different sides of the barricade. The fate of the subsequent development would be determined, of course, by the outcome of the struggle. The victory of the revolutionary camp, in any case, is conceivable only under the leadership of a proletarian party, which would naturally be raised to power by victory over the counterrevolution."

Trotsky's warnings that the Stalinist bureaucracy would prepare the way for capitalist restoration have come to pass. But while the Soviet proletariat is confused and disoriented, it is far from defeated. In October, some 50,000 workers turned out in Moscow in a protest against rising prices and falling wages, and on Revolution Day, November 7, up to 90,000 marched to Red Square denouncing Gorbachev and Yeltsin. Now Yeltsin has announced his long-expected "shock treatment" of massive layoffs and uncontrolled prices for basic necessities, to begin what already promises to be a harsh and bitter winter. But while Stalinist "patriots" seek to channel anti-capitalist sentiment into vile Russian nationalism, the Trotskyist program of the International Communist League is gaining a hearing among Soviet workers—as witnessed by the enthusiastic reception from large sections of the November 7 demonstration for our internationalist slogans, and the hand-over-fist sales of several thousand pieces of ICL literature.

In the Soviet Union today, the task of the hour is forging the nucleus of a Leninist-Trotskyist party capable of leading the struggles ahead with an internationalist program for victory over the counterrevolution. ■

TWU...

(continued from page 12)

Kiepper who should be up on Murder One for deliberately and knowingly running this deathtrap of a subway system.

Hall did nothing when the TWU contract expired seven months ago, but he didn't waste any time implementing this attack on the union. Hall even brags that the TWU plan will set the "pattern" for the rest of the labor movement! When the TWU tops tried to ram through drug testing for the TA two years ago, the Committee for a Fighting TWU, a class-struggle opposition in the union, declared:

> "The TA *always* finds a scapegoat for the 'accidents' that kill and maim workers and passengers on this 80-year-old rattletrap railroad run by union-busting liars and thieves.... Drug testing is a union-busting weapon in the arsenal of the hypocritical 'war on drugs' pushed by the Democrats and directed by 'Poppy' Bush."

For years now the TA has been using drug testing to harass and abuse train operators and conductors. The bosses blame transit workers for the deadly conditions that exist in the NYC subways. As one transit militant put it, "Instead of pumping in billions of needed dollars to rebuild the system they want to drain the veins of the TWUers." Where the TA spends money is making sure the Tribeca yuppies get marble in the Franklin Street station—and buying over twenty grand worth of drug-laced urine from a Jersey company to use in testing (or fixing tests)!

The TA has no business telling workers how to live their lives, and their urine tests are notoriously inaccurate. Hundreds of TWUers have been framed up and fired on the basis of faulty tests. Everything from ginseng tea to poppy-seed bagels can result in a positive test and put you on the street. Black workers are doubly at risk—the skin pigment melanin shows up as marijuana in urine screens. The TA rides roughshod over workers on the job—now it wants to be Big Brother off the job as well. What's next, Delta Airlines-style "interviews" grilling workers about their sex lives?

Transit workers must fight to smash this union-busting move. The government, the TA and Sonny Hall should butt out of people's lives! Stop the drug and alcohol testing!

Along with witchhunting its employees, TA policy is to substitute workers' and riders' blood for money. Because of deep job cuts, and the miserable pay, transit workers are forced to work exhausting and dangerous overtime. The Clark Street tunnel fire last year claimed the lives of two passengers and injured hundreds. The fans that could have removed the toxic fumes were ordered in 1977 and *still* have not been installed.

Other transit systems around the country have modern computer switching and speed controls. At Union Square, even the antiquated signals and tripping devices the TA does have were positioned so they couldn't stop the derailment. But despite an unusual safety board demand that the TA "immediately" correct such devices at Union Square and elsewhere, the TA says it won't finish doing so for *20 years!*

If the union tops are capitalism's labor lieutenants, Hall & Co. are the Transit Authority's MPs. They sabotaged any action against the firing of 300 "provisional" track workers and the ripping up of the seniority rights of the rest. Last spring a TWU official declared at a motormen's division meeting that the TA "has the right" to impose the deadly "one-person train operation." Meanwhile, workers who can't wear a respirator because of high blood pressure are sent home without pay, instead of being given another job.

As the TWU faces these attacks, transit workers are now voting in local union elections. But "New Directions," the ragtag "opposition" supported by reformists like Solidarity and the Fourth Internationalist Tendency, is virtually indistinguishable from the Hall gang. And in a dangerous move which puts the TWU even further under the thumb of the capitalist government, New Directions candidate for president Tim Schermerhorn has *sued the union in the bosses' courts* over the drug testing plan. It is criminal idiocy to pretend that the judges who enforce the Taylor Law and hand out strikebreaking injunctions are going to protect transit workers! *Government out of the unions!*

The New Directions wannabe bureaucrats didn't even oppose working without a contract last April—not surprising since they knuckle under to the Taylor Law and never call for a strike. Even Hall hypocritically challenged them: "Why not use the 'S' word—STRIKE." Their program is silent on fighting the special oppression of black and Hispanic workers—in a union, a city, where minority workers face racist violence on and off the job every day.

And you certainly won't hear a call to use working-class power from New Directions—that would threaten the Democratic Party's stranglehold on New York. These "Rainbow Democrats" (just like Hall, they backed Jesse Jackson) only whine that the union shouldn't "rely solely on the Democratic and Republican parties." So they want to "rely" on the capitalist parties only a little bit?

It is the same Democratic Party politicians who are carrying out Wall Street's assault on the unions and minorities of NYC. When Dinkins proposes to eliminate one out of every fifteen full-time city jobs, banker Felix Rohatyn, who is withholding hundreds of millions in big MAC funds, demands more cuts. Just the annual *interest* paid by the city to the bloodsucking banks is almost *$3 billion*, the TA's debt service is $167 million. But they make sure tottering Citibank and Chase get paid.

New York is on the crumbling edge of decaying American capitalism. From bridges and subways to health care and housing, as the country goes to hell, the workers and poor are being squeezed to pay for trillions in war buildup and S&L bailouts. The union tops hire out, pretty much openly, as company cops whose chief task is to prevent class struggle. And their reformist shadows don't have any answers because they don't want to fight the capitalist *system*.

NYC transit workers are strategically positioned to lead a fight against the capitalist looters. But as Leon Trotsky, co-leader with Lenin of the first victorious workers revolution in the world, pointed out over 50 years ago, the only way trade unions in the epoch of capitalist decay can be truly democratic and independent of the bosses is through fighting for a revolutionary class-struggle leadership. ■

Corrections

In *WV* No. 535 (27 September), the article "Serbia-Croatia War Ripping Apart Yugoslavia" incorrectly stated that Croatian Ustashi fascist leader Ante Pavelic was executed for war crimes. A reference in the book by Milovan Djilas, *With Tito and the Partisans*, indicates that Pavelic escaped from Yugoslavia at the end of World War II and took refuge in Argentina and Spain, and allegedly died in Madrid in 1959.

In *WV* No. 538 (8 November), the article "Polish Elections: Protest Against Walesa 'Shock Treatment'" mistakenly referred to the Liberal-Democratic Congress of economic czar Balcerowicz. The LDC is headed by Walesa prime minister Bielecki.

What Did Kirov Workers Do on August 20th?

The bourgeois press has presented the giant Kirov metal works in Leningrad as a bastion of support for capitalist-restorationist Boris Yeltsin and his ally, Leningrad mayor Anatoly Sobchak. Various leftist cheerleaders for Yeltsinite counterrevolution have also written of a "Kirov workers strike" to buttress their lie that the Soviet working class supposedly mobilized to oppose the Moscow coup last August. We have received the following communication from a former Kirov worker telling what actually happened at the plant during those three days.

First thing in the morning Mayor A.A. Sobchak, President Yeltsin's accomplice in the coming counterrevolutionary coup d'état, came to the Kirov complex. Provisional director Krikunov was sitting in the plant office. The discussion was plenty nasty, sharp, and in the old days it would have ended with Sobchak giving the ultimatum, "Either do it or leave your party card on the table!"

Krikunov had to submit and endorse the mayor's order for the plant strike. A short meeting was held in front of the office next to Lenin's monument. After the meeting there was a bus brought around to go to Palace Square. Engineers and those workers who were willing went "by their own means."

How many people left work and how many of those who left got to Palace Square was not possible to count and nobody even tried. But it was advertised all over the Soviet Union that "a column of Kirov plant workers" came out to a meeting to support Yeltsin and Sobchak.

It's more than eleven kilometers from the plant's location at Strike Prospect to Palace Square and it would have taken at least an hour and a half to get there. If you go there by metro to the nearest station, Nevsky Prospect, it's still practically impossible to get any number of people from there to Palace Square along the perpetually crowded Nevsky Prospect.

Nevertheless, the "Kirovers" were supposedly present in a 150,000-strong crowd of "democracy" defenders, idlers and curiosity-seekers. The plant office workers somehow made it back by the end of the day. They could have been anywhere, but one place they could *not* have been was Palace Square.

Where were the workers? Some departments, such as the assembly line, took a break in the morning and into the evening shifts. Some worked as usual. Those who answered Sobchak's call were above all staff and management. Where were the workers when they got their day-pass cards and left the territory of the plant? The question is not a terribly pressing question for victorious "democracy."

They say that Sobchak threatened to base himself in the Kirov plant if the "putschists" captured the Marinsky Palace. Supposedly, the plant was his reserve headquarters. Let's look at what was actually going on. Neither the administration nor the trade-union committee knew anything about any "headquarters." At one point they wanted to phone Sobchak for some reason or other. But in any case they did not manage because nobody knew his telephone number.

Now in point of fact the headquarters in case of having to go "underground" did indeed exist! It worked unofficially, and consisted of certain leaders of a so-called working "Committee for Yeltsin's Defense." It was organized in March and consisted of 67 representatives of various departments and offices. These people at that time represented 1,200 workers. That is only 3 percent of the workforce. From March to August the only thing that was known about the committee was that they gathered several times and discussed something. No information got to the workers, not to the brigades, not even in the main departments.

So on August 20 members of this committee were on telephone duty at their number which was undoubtedly known to the Lensoviet (city council). It would appear that the only orders that they received were for a partial strike and the call to bring out the maximum number of people to Palace Square.

In the electrical brigade where a committee leader (a worker) left his work for others to do for the whole day, his workmates complained bitterly. So it turns out that the brigade where a local (Lech) "Walesa" was working didn't go on strike either. That was the way Sobchak's "headquarters" worked on August 20!

The administration supported the Yeltsinites that day—although not enthusiastically. The CPSU party committee and the trade-union committee didn't do anything and the overwhelming majority of the workers in fact did not support the strike. Nor did they come out to defend Sobchak and his Lensoviet windbags.

At the same time among the white-collar workers the "support of democracy" was more widespread. The Petrograd Borough of the Leningrad Admiralty Association on August 20 *forced* its workers to go to the Palace Square meeting. Otherwise they threatened to withhold the day's pay. Those who refused to be idlers got to lose their day's wages! My friend "M" is a milling machine operator in a department of 100 machinists. Out of that workforce only two went to Palace Square. The next day "M" asked those who went to that demonstration:

—How was it?

—A bunch of bullshit. Nothing good. Only talk.

At the famous LenVest (a joint venture) one shift was allowed to go to the meeting and the other was prevented from entering the plant by management switching off all the lights. Nevertheless piece-workers stayed on to work while staffers went home.

Transport, shops and city services witnessed neither strikes nor calls for strikes.

If on August 20 in Leningrad less than 150,000 participated in a meeting in support of Yeltsin's dictatorship it means that (if we exclude kids and the elderly) something like 2,850,000 people didn't actively support the counterrevolutionary coup d'état. For every "activist" (and not all the people who came were rightist activists) there are 19 people who are "passive."

Why did an absolute majority of the population behave so indifferently to the so-called "August Revolution"? And isn't it more accurate to call it a counterrevolutionary coup d'état of Yeltsin and Gorbachev?

It seems to us that the main reasons for the apathy of the broad masses are:

1. Nonstop worsening of living standards.
2. People are fed up with quasi-democracy.
3. Their estimation of the two putsches is nothing more than a squabble between ruling fractions of the hureaucracy.
4. Illusions about capitalism (the market).
5. Long pent-up hatred of the CPSU.
6. Disorganization of the working class.

The CPSU leadership led by the bastard Gorbachev betrayed rank-and-file party members as well as the working class in general. If only there was a workers Marxist-Leninist party the attempted reactionary coup d'état would have failed.

How is it going now in the Kirov plant in November? Wages have not been able to keep up with prices even though the price of the K-701M tractor has increased over the last two and a half years from 21,000 rubles to 200,000 rubles. There are cuts of the workforce on the main assembly line of 50 workers. Even so since August the rest have nothing to do. The waste of whole shifts has become commonplace due to the lack of parts and because of the disorganization of production. They have raised salaries on two occasions since March so wages are not linked to quantity, to say nothing about quality, of work. Of course Yeltsin's promises from March of this year turned out to be a lie.

Vanya, a railway worker
Leningrad
November 1991

Defeat Yeltsin-Gorbachev-Bush Counterrevolution!

Lenin-Trotsky Fund Needs Your Support!

The resources of the International Communist League are sparse, our current tasks mammoth. We have recently printed 70,000 copies of the Russian translation of "Soviet Workers: Defeat Yeltsin-Bush Counterrevolution!" We have reprinted the first Russian-language *Biulleten Spartakovtsev*, "What Is Trotskyism" (pictured at right), of which 25,000 have already been sold throughout the Soviet Union. As sales of thousands of copies of the special supplement and the Spartacist hulletin on Revolution Day show, pro-socialist Soviet workers are thirsting for Trotskyist literature. But economic realities dictate that we must heavily subsidize our publications to keep them affordable. Printing costs, travel and other expenses mean that an internationalist intervention in the Soviet Union costs money. Help forge the Trotskyist nucleus needed to lead the Soviet working people in struggle against counterrevolution.

Make donations payable/send to: Spartacist, Box 1377 GPO, New York, New York 10116. Earmark: "Lenin-Trotsky Fund" (or simply "L-T Fund").

BT "Forgets"...

(continued from page 4)

RTTers joined with the AFL-CIO and sundry other pro-imperialist forces in "defense of Solidarnosc and the working class against the Stalinists." As an SL speaker noted from the floor during this "debate," it's not surprising the RTT didn't notice the BT's paper position on Solidarność given their cozy cohabitation in the pop-front milieus in which "Solidarity with Solidarność" has been the *sine qua non*. Like their copycat call to "Break the Blockade of Iraq" a year ago, which the BT dropped in seeking an "antiwar" coalition with pro-"sanctions" liberals, its pop-front pals know the BT isn't serious in hailing the flopped coup.

So it's small wonder that the BT was incapable of taking out the Solidarność-lovers of the RTT—who are quite clear about which side of the barricades they are on. Despite their calls for "independent mobilization of the working class" during the Moscow coup, and their professed opposition to their fraternal allies in the British Workers Power group, which was for a "united front" with the counterrevolutionary Yeltsin, the "principled" centrists of the RTT argue: "...no united front with Yeltsin was permissible. That does not mean that a common struggle against the coup could not be waged alongside the workers, soldiers and others who had illusions in Yeltsin"! So it is wrong to unite with Yeltsin but right to fight together with those who stood with him!

Now that the forces of Yeltsinite counterrevolution are ascendant in the Soviet Union, we read in the "Revolutionary Trotskyist Tendency Resolution on the Coup in the USSR" that "the workers who actively supported Yeltsin were the *rearguard* of the working class, not its *vanguard*. They supported Yeltsin mainly because he promised them material improvement under capitalism." But from tailing Solidarność to hailing the rabble which gathered behind Yeltsin, the traitors who would besmirch the name of Trotskyism have long had their noses firmly planted in the rear of the forces for capitalist counterrevolution.

As the imperialists celebrate the "death of Communism," the fake-left is also positively gleeful over the collapse of Stalinism in the Soviet Union. As they see it, the thorny issue of the Russian question has been removed from the agenda and now they can get down to some real pro-Democratic Party popular-front "unity." The BT, which has written off the Soviet Union as no longer any kind of workers state, more than shares this view. So again one is struck by its peculiar obsession with the Spartacists at the expense of fulfilling their ohviously antithetical political appetites.

In its perverted fashion, the BT pays tribute to the revolutionary consistency of the International Communist League. ■

Pearl Harbor...

(continued from page 1)

provoke Japan into greater intransigence or retaliation?"

The situation today is different from before World War II. Then the Japanese were economically weak and lashed out militarily. Today the Americans are economically weak and militarily assertive, but the Japanese are also economically very vulnerable. And the U.S. and Japanese economies are deeply intermeshed. There is tension and rivalry, and also a lot of cooperation. But the drive for trade advantage can be dangerous, particularly since the Stalinist collapse in Moscow has undercut the unifying strategic axis of obsessive anti-Sovietism.

Already over 100,000 Iraqis were slaughtered when the U.S., goaded by the economic dynamism of Japan and Germany, launched its one-sided Persian Gulf war to secure a stranglehold over world oil supplies, implicitly threatening import-dependent Japan with oil cutoffs if it didn't kowtow to the U.S. Tokyo reluctantly contributed a few billion to the U.S. war, and began taking the wraps off its "defense force." In Tokyo a fistfight broke out in a Diet committee this week as the government pushed through a bill authorizing the dispatch of Japanese troops to foreign duty for the first time since World War II, under the guise of "UN peacekeeping."

Today even mainstream American bourgeois analysts are worrying about the "calamity" of "all-out trade war." Karel van Wolferen, in a lengthy *New York Times* (2 December) op-ed page essay, warns of a collision set off by "Japan's single-minded, politically driven and evidently unstoppable economic expansion." And a widely read book by American liberal academics George Friedman and Meredith LeBard, *The Coming War With Japan* (1991), bluntly states: "As in the 1930s, both [Japan and the U.S.] will engage in a cold war against each other which will, *in extremis*, spill over into a hot war." In the interlocking economic conflict, they say, war will become "historically unavoidable." But the spectre of imperialist World War III is by no means "unavoidable," *if* the world proletariat overthrows these decadent ruling classes.

National Archives

Roundup of Japanese Americans in California during World War II for "internment" in concentration camps.

Kobayashi/Newsweek

Frenzied right-wingers hail Japanese dead in World War II, as imperialist tensions escalate.

Reviving Old Myths and Grudges

A central myth which served well to whip up war fever in the U.S. in 1941 was that the Japanese had launched a "sneak attack" on a totally unsuspecting, innocent United States. *The Coming War With Japan* has documented once again that the attack was no surprise but simply the logical culmination of the pressures and provocations Japan was subjected to as a result of calculated policy in Washington: "the U.S. tried to restrain Japanese political influence and military power by threatening to stop sales of raw materials. This threat heightened Japan's sense of vulnerability, causing it to become even more aggressive."

The Naval Limitation Treaty of 1922 limited Japan's naval growth to an inferior status vis-à-vis the U.S. and Britain, laying the basis for a grudge which was ultimately answered at Pearl Harbor (so much for imperialist "disarmament" conferences as the road to peace). As an island totally dependent on imports for raw materials, Japan was vulnerable to an embargo—in 1937 Japan got 80 percent of its oil from California. And as President Franklin Roosevelt prepared to take the U.S. to war, he began tightening the screws, first abrogating the American-Japanese Treaty on Commerce and Navigation in 1939, then moving on to an embargo on scrap iron exports in 1940. With the Japanese invasion of Indochina in 1941, FDR imposed a freeze on Japanese assets in the U.S., leading to a de facto embargo on oil to Japan.

Secretary of War Stimson even noted in his diary a meeting with Roosevelt two weeks before Pearl Harbor, in which FDR suggested that "we were likely to be attacked" by Japan very soon and "the question was how we should maneuver them into the position of firing the first shot without allowing too much danger to ourselves." Many bourgeois commentators are now noting that FDR received decoded transcripts of Japanese transmissions on the evening of 6 December 1941 and reportedly muttered something like, "This means war." But the U.S. Navy evidently never got the message.

Right-wingers like John Toland in his book *Infamy* have suggested that FDR knew that the attack was coming at Pearl Harbor and deliberately did nothing: the subsequent attack would and did make a previously pacifist population eager to go to war. Whether or not this was the case (Roosevelt was certainly capable of such cynicism), the whole thing amounts to a factional dispute within the American ruling class as to how to go to war. Strategically they were united: Democratic Secretary of War Knox declared that "the United States must police the world for the next 100 years," Republican Henry Luce (publisher of *Time*) proclaimed the "American Century."

Racist War

The U.S. bourgeoisie's war on Japan was fueled by a deepgoing racism. Ernie Pyle, the GI reporter who described the war at the front to Americans at home, reflected the racist attitude when he transferred from Europe to the Pacific in 1945: "In Europe we felt that our enemies, horrible and deadly as they were, were still people," he wrote. "But out here I soon gathered that the Japanese were looked upon as something subhuman and repulsive; the way some people feel about cockroaches or mice." The media often pictured the "Japs" in racist lingo as ape-like creatures. In 1942 some 120,000 Japanese Americans were rounded up by FDR's troops and sent to concentration camps, while their land and possessions were stolen. But this genuine infamy merited only one whitewashing page in *Time*'s 40-page special, and nary a mention in *Newsweek*.

As we wrote in reviewing John Dower's book, *War Without Mercy* (1986), which documented the pervasive racism:

> "The racist attitude permeated not only the media but the scientific-military establishment as well. One of the reasons the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor was a 'surprise' was that many Western military leaders could not believe the Japanese were capable of designing and manufacturing such a powerful plane as the Mitsubishi Zero, even though the plane was effectively used against the Chinese in 1940. Moreover, American 'scientists' believed the Japanese as a race suffered from defects of the tubes of the inner ear and were generally myopic, hence they could not make good pilots! The curator of the Division of Physical Anthropology at the Smithsonian Institution even claimed in a letter to FDR that the Japanese were 'as bad as they were' because their skulls were 'some 2,000 years less developed than ours'."
>
> —*WV* No. 459, 12 August 1988

In fact, the Pacific War was a perfectly racist war on both sides, virtually devoid of ideology. While the most common American epithet for the Japanese was "yellow monkeys," the Japanese described their enemy as cowards, mongrels, beasts and hairy barbarians. Racism served as the rationale for virtually limitless brutality by both belligerents. American soldiers found it amusing to tell Japanese prisoners they could escape—and tuck a live grenade in their back pocket. On the Japanese side, atrocities such as bayoneting American prisoners were justified by the notion that anyone who surrendered was a coward utterly without honor, and thus deserved to die.

Cherished notions of Japanese "racial purity" and superiority fueled the savagery of the war on China. *War Without Mercy* describes the 1937 Rape of Nanking: after it was taken, "for the next six weeks Japanese troops engaged in the widespread execution, rape, and random murder of Chinese men and women both in the captured city and outlying communities. The total number of Chinese killed is controversial, but a middle-range estimate puts the combined deaths from both the shelling and subsequent atrocities at two hundred thousand."

The American ruling class consciously planned not merely to defeat Japan but to inflict genocidal mass murder. U.S. Chief of Staff George Marshall, bragging about his bomber forces early in the war, looked forward to mounting "incendiary attacks to burn up the wood and paper structures of the densely populated Japanese cities." In 1945 his sinister designs were carried out, as the U.S. launched massive firebomb raids on Tokyo, Osaka, Kobe and Nagoya. In a single raid over Tokyo in March 1945 some 100,000 people perished. By August, 58 cities had been destroyed by firebombing. Then came 6 and 9 August 1945, when the U.S. A-bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki, slaughtering over 200,000 people and leaving tens of thousands to suffer excruciating burns, radiation sickness, cancer and genetic disorders.

The nuclear targets had been selected according to criteria drawn up by Secretary of War Stimson, who stipulated that there should be a "war plant employing a large number of workers closely surrounded by workers' houses." It was deliberate mass murder of civilians (including many Korean forced laborers), unlike Pearl Harbor, a naval base, where 2,300 U.S. servicemen died.

Revolutionary Opposition to Imperialist War

Throughout the war, the reformist American Communist Party, following Stalin's line of "anti-fascist" alliance with the imperialist Allies, supported the "war effort," denouncing strikers and Trotskyists as "Hitlerite fifth columnists." The CP even expelled its own Japanese American members as they were being sent off to concentration camps, and eventually cheered the A-bombing of Japan. The very day that Congress declared war on Japan, the CP's *Daily Worker* (8 December 1941) proclaimed, "Communists Pledge Government Their All in Country's Defense." In contrast, on that same day, 18 leaders of the Trotskyist Socialist Workers Party and the Minneapolis Teamsters union were sent to federal prison for their revolutionary internationalist opposition to the imperialist slaughter. As SWP leader James P. Cannon remarked:

> "Nothing could better symbolize our irreconcilable opposition to the imperialist war, and to the capitalist state preparing and waging the war; and nothing, also, could better symbolize our enemies' recognition of our attitude than this unexpungeable fact: that they declared war and sentenced the party leaders to prison on the same day and at the same hour—December 8, 1941."
>
> —"The Workers and the Second World War" (October 1942)

The SWP defended coal strikers and blacks fighting for equal rights, and opposed the racist roundup of Japanese Americans, which it denounced as "a repressive measure, based purely on racial discrimination and motivated chiefly by the desires of Big Business for additional profits, which is presented as a necessary part of the 'war for democracy'" (*Militant*, 30 May 1942). At the same time the Trotskyists stood on the side of the Soviet Union in its war against Nazi Germany.

We of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) continue the fight to banish the scourge of war through the fight for international socialist revolution. Our comrades of the Spartacist Group Japan fight against resurgent right-wing nationalism as we in the U.S. oppose chauvinist protectionism and Japan-bashing war propaganda. As we wrote in "The Agony of Japanese Americans in U.S. Concentration Camps" (*WV* No. 139, 7 January 1977): "The Spartacist League stands in solidarity with the revolutionary tradition of the Trotskyists who, in the face of terrible persecution themselves, courageously stood up for the rights of the oppressed against all odds and opposed the imperialist war aims of the U.S." ■

Marchers Protest Cop Execution of Tomás Vizueta

On November 16 angry protesters marched through the predominantly Hispanic Washington Heights area of Manhattan with placards denouncing the coldblooded execution of Tomás Vizueta, a young Ecuadoran killed by the New York City police, and other recent victims of cop terror. SL signs said: "We Will Not Forget the Murder of Tomás Vizueta" and "Stop Racist Cop Terror!" Some bystanders yelled out their solidarity with the march and condemnation of the NYC police, notorious for their vicious hatred and arrogant contempt toward minorities.

As the protesters finished their march at the entrance to the 34th Precinct, they were met by a cordon of uniformed cops who tried to force the marchers across the street. As Laura Nieves, the mother of another recent victim of police terror, Federico Pereira, was addressing the marchers, the cops attempted to provoke a bloody confrontation, closing in from all directions with metal barriers. The crowd stood their ground firmly while some shouted angrily at the cops. The father of the victim, Tomás Vizueta Sr., shaken by the provocation he had just witnessed, denounced his son's death at the hands of Dinkins' killer cops and mentioned the names of other recent victims of the police.

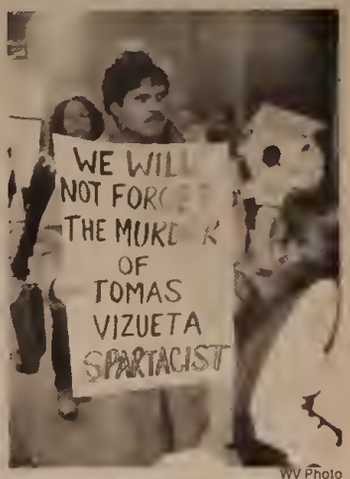
In the early morning hours of October 5, two cops from the 34th Precinct stopped 22-year-old Tomás Vizueta at 188th Street and Amsterdam Avenue. They told him to raise his arms. When he did, killer cop McCormack shot Tomás in the leg, then in the stomach. When Vizueta fell to the ground, McCormack shot him in the head killing him instantly. Witnesses later saw a cop with a briefcase who took out a gun, placed it on Tomás' hand and removed it quickly, wrapping it in a red cloth. Following their standard practice, the police are claiming their dead victim had a gun.

Tomás had lived in the country for only eight months. Collections were made among his friends to allow his parents to bury him in Guayaquil, Ecuador.

At a Spartacist forum at predominantly Hispanic Hostos Community College in the South Bronx on November 14, Tomás Vizueta Sr. gave powerful testimony of the tragedy of losing his son at the hands of the racist NYPD. In an interview with *WV*, he recalled reading in the papers how thousands of Iraqi soldiers had been buried alive by the American army: "I think that is a slaughter, mass murder, and it's similar to what's happening to us here in this city and in the United States.... It seems like this could be a strategy, after this apparent victory of the U.S. in the Middle East, they are seeking to subjugate the peoples," as was the case with his son. "My son represents the aspirations of Ecuadoran youth who migrate to *El Norte* and Europe for economic reasons due to underdevelopment and the IMF's austerity policy in my country."

At the protest two days later, Thomas Stickel, the lawyer representing the families of Luis Lebrón, David Cotto, Federico Pereira and Tomás Vizueta, all of them killed by the cops, stressed that the Vizueta case was not an isolated occurrence, pointing to a Spartacist placard listing victims of police killings. And in hearings before the Human Rights Commission, Stickel noted the extremely high percentage of Hispanics killed by the cops in recent years:

> "Fifty-six percent of all deaths while in police custody are Hispanics, while that community represents just 24 percent of the total population of the city. Each time the police see a Hispanic they think he is a drug dealer. And they think that all drug dealers should be executed; this way they are the accusers, juries, judges and street-corner executioners."
>
> —*El Diario/La Prensa*, 20 November



WV Photo

Protest at 34th Precinct in Washington Heights, NYC, November 16.

The ongoing siege of the minority population in New York City underlines the need for labor/black/Hispanic mobilization against deadly terror by the cops and racist mobs. The labor movement in this city, with its heavy component of black and Hispanic unionists, must take the lead in defending the beleaguered ghettos and barrios, and demand *full citizenship rights for all immigrant workers*. The ferocious attack against minorities in this country is the domestic side of Bush's "New World Order." To stop the wholesale killings will ultimately take a socialist revolution led by an internationalist workers party. ■

Haitian Refugees...

(continued from page 12)

"Voyage of the Damned," in which about a thousand Jewish refugees from Nazi Germany on board the *St. Louis* were barred from entering the U.S. in 1939 and were forced to return to Europe.

In this case, the Coast Guard initially repatriated by force all Haitians picked up at sea and dumped them on the docks of Port-au-Prince where they faced victimization at the hands of Haiti's bloody rulers. However, when a federal judge last week ordered a temporary halt to the repatriations, the Coast Guard loaded up the refugees by the hundreds on the decks of their boats where, as on slave ships, they survived in the rain and sweltering heat without adequate food or medical care.

Other Haitians have been thrown into makeshift "holding camps," which were set up (after Washington showered local governments with blood money) in Venezuela, Belize, Trinidad and Honduras. Here the refugees are penned in by concertina wire and guarded by soldiers toting automatic rifles. At the Guantánamo naval base in Cuba where some 3,500 refugees have been crammed on the decks of boats anchored in the bay, the U.S. is constructing a tent city to hold the refugees so that the ships can load up further cargoes of desperate human beings.

It is no accident that the U.S. has been centering its activity on Guantánamo Bay. (One of its first acts after the Haitian coup was to rush 500 Marines to the base.) The imperialists' real target in the region is Cuba, as they dream of crushing the gains of the revolution and restoring a new Batista in Havana. Anyone who wants to aid the Haitian masses had better be aware of what Washington is up to here. It is the duty of all those who defend the downtrodden peoples of the region to raise the banner of defense of Cuba against Yankee imperialism.

The racist treatment meted out by the U.S. to Haitian refugees has provoked outrage on the part of Haitians in the U.S. Demonstrations have taken place in Brooklyn and, almost daily, in Miami's Little Haiti. Haitians are at the bottom of the list of those granted asylum in the U.S., and immigration authorities have used every rotten trick in the book to keep it that way. In the early '80s they rejected Haitians with the spurious claim that they had a high risk of bringing in AIDS. Today they claim that the Haitians are simply fleeing poverty and therefore do not qualify for refugee status.

Coast Guard seizes boatload of desperate Haitian refugees who brave death by drowning to escape starvation and massacres by kill-crazed army.

The racism and anti-Communism underlying U.S. policy is underscored by the contrast between the abuse meted out to Haitians and the open-arm reception accorded any flotsam that drifts in from Cuba. Cuban *gusanos* are automatically declared political refugees and, in accordance with a 1966 anti-Castro law, granted permanent resident status. This year alone 2,000 Cubans have been admitted.

Haitian refugees are up against a 1981 treaty signed by President Reagan and the then puppet dictator "Baby Doc" Duvalier which allows the U.S. to patrol Haiti's coastal waters and return any Haitians it picks up. Thus Haitians are denied the right to appeal which is accorded to those already in the U.S. who apply for refugee status. Of the 24,000 refugees from the terror regimes in Haiti who were intercepted by the Coast Guard through the end of 1990, a grand total of *five* (5) were granted political asylum!

Yet Washington has pursued a virtual open-door policy with regard to the Tonton Macoute terrorists. When the hated strongman Prosper Avril was driven out of Haiti by a popular uprising in March 1990, he was flown on a U.S. military transport to Miami where he now resides in a luxurious mansion in a country club suburb. So many Duvalierist butchers have been welcomed to Miami that the southwest quarter of the city has been dubbed by Haitians the "Macoute zone." These sinister goons have sown deadly terror among Miami's Haitian community, targeting prominent supporters of Aristide. Creole-language radio commentators Jean-Claude Olivier and Fritz Dor were gunned down in the weeks following the December 1990 election of the popular radical priest.

No to U.S. Intervention in the Caribbean!

The massive flight of those risking death to escape from Haiti gives an idea of the dreadful ordeal the population is enduring under the regime of General Raoul Cedras. In the weeks following the coup, the sadistic killers in uniform wantonly machine-gunned hundreds in the poor quarters of the cities, provoking a massive flight from urban areas to the countryside.

To bring down the hated military gangsters requires a revolutionary mobilization of the Haitian working population, in alliance with the proletariat of North America where Haitian workers are strongly represented. Yet Aristide, in the hope of being returned to office, has held out his hand to the imperialist tormentors of the Haitian people. In order to curry favor with Bush, *Aristide has pointedly refused to oppose the 1981 agreement* granting the U.S. Coast Guard the "right" to patrol the Haitian coast. As the wave of refugees rose, Aristide obediently went on the Voice of America calling on Haitians to "stay at home."

The Haitian left has followed Aristide in counting on the U.S. imperialists to introduce democracy in Haiti. After explaining why a U.S. military intervention in Haiti would not be a good thing, *Haïti Progrès* (23 October) concludes that it is necessary to "remain mobilized in order to force Washington to impose the sanctions" decreed by the OAS under U.S. leadership! But how do they suppose sanctions will be "imposed" without the intervention of U.S. warships?

No doubt many Haitians, having already endured unspeakable suffering, are prepared to submit to additional hardships caused by the sanctions in the hope that restoring Aristide to office would be a step toward democracy. However, it is a cruel hoax to pretend, as do Aristide and his leftist camp followers, that the imperialist jackals will do anything to alleviate the misery of the Haitian masses. A "government of national unity" such as Aristide is touting, if it came about, could only be window-dressing for continued rule by the sadistic killers in uniform.

To achieve even a semblance of democracy in Haiti will require a social revolution, led by an internationalist workers party, that uproots the Macoute cancer by overturning the capitalist system. ■

WORKERS VANGUARD

Hundreds Drown at Sea

Down With Racist Ban on Haitian Refugees!

U.S. Out of Guantánamo! Defend Cuba!

Desperate to flee the reign of terror unleashed by the Haitian military since it threw out President Jean-Bertrand Aristide last September, thousands of Haiti's poor and oppressed have sought to make the perilous journey to a hoped-for refuge in the United States. Packed into leaky fishing boats and battered by tropical storms, hundreds have perished in the shark-infested waters. Those who survive are prevented from reaching U.S. soil by a fleet of Coast Guard cutters ringing their island country. Over 5,000 refugees have been plucked from their boats and forced back to Haiti or dumped in detention centers around the Caribbean, including the U.S. naval base at Guantánamo, Cuba.

Stravalc/AP

Haitian refugees picked up at sea by U.S. Coast Guard are dumped on docks of Port-au-Prince where they face persecution at hands of murderous military regime.

In one tragic shipwreck as many as 135 Haitian refugees drowned when their sailboat capsized in a storm off eastern Cuba. Cuban rescue services immediately launched a massive search by air and sea for survivors, and a special camp was set up at Cape Maisí, the easternmost point in Cuba, to provide food and medical care. Yet the U.S. Coast Guard, which cynically professes to be "rescuing" Haitian refugees, kept its boats safely at anchor because of the high seas, and declared it "could not confirm" the disaster.

Recently the INS ran a lottery granting permanent resident visas to 40,000 overwhelmingly white applicants, but Haitians are undergoing a special kind of life-and-death lottery. As many as half of those who try to make the week-long run to Florida, with gusting winds sometimes whipping up seas ten feet high, may be perishing unnoticed. Yet as one Haitian declared as he prepared to board a rickety boat: "Many people have told us we will never make it, because the boats never arrive. But everywhere we went the soldiers were arresting people and going through neighborhoods and shooting. I couldn't take it anymore" (*New York Times*, 24 November).

U.S. Immigration Policy: Racism and Anti-Communism

In an article titled "Passengers from Nowhere," the Miami-based *Haïti en Marche* (20 November) noted how the plight of the Haitian refugees recalls the

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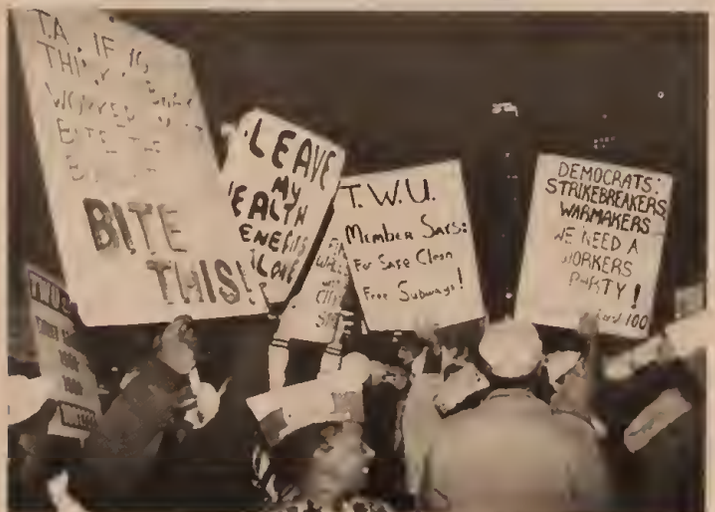
Drug Testing Witchhunt in the TWU



WV Photo

Over a thousand transit workers protest November 19 at TA headquarters to demand a contract.

Rip Out the Turnstiles! For Free Mass Transit!

Sonny Hall just can't say no to the TA. The president of Transport Workers Union Local 100 and his compliant executive board have joined with the Transit Authority in imposing drug and alcohol testing on thousands of New York City transit workers. And there won't be anything "random" about it. Union militants, black and Hispanic workers, anyone on the TA's hit list, look out—they want to put you "out of service." When the TA kills another track worker, or drags another rider down a platform, they'll test first...and you try to get your job back later.

To top it off, the MTA is proposing to stick it to the working people who have to ride the trains by hiking the fare to as much as $1.50! It's high time the TWU demanded *free mass transit*—stop fare gouging, rip out the turnstiles!

Last August, there was a tragic derailment at Union Square in which five passengers died. Even before the results from the drug test on the motorman involved came back, Hall held a press conference to announce that he had agreed "in principle" to "random" drug and alcohol testing of thousands of workers in "safety sensitive" jobs. The motorman, Robert Ray, who showed high blood alcohol but no drugs in a test taken 13 hours after the accident, has been indicted on charges of *murder*. It is MTA chairman Stangl and TA chief

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WORKERS VANGUARD

25¢

No. 541 27 December 1991

Explosion of Workers' Anger Looms Against "Free Market" Misery

Yeltsin Knifes the USSR

DECEMBER 16—Not four months after he spearheaded the counterrevolutionary forces against the botched Moscow coup last August, Russian president Boris Yeltsin staged a coup against the remnants of Gorbachev's central government. After meeting at an isolated official retreat near Brest on the Polish border, Yeltsin along with Ukrainian leader Leonid Kravchuk and the head of Byelorussia issued a statement December 8 proclaiming: "The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, as a subject of international law and geopolitical reality, is ceasing its existence." U.S. Secretary of State Baker chimed in, declaring "the Soviet Union as we've known it no longer exists." And the imperialist press gave it their imprimatur: "Soviet Union Declared Dead," was the full-page headline of the London *Independent*. But while issuing proclamations from the top, Yeltsin and the other would-be gravediggers face an increasingly desperate and frustrated population.

Spartacist

Moscow, November 7—Thousands gather at Lenin's statue to honor Bolshevik Revolution and oppose Yeltsin counterrevolution.

Following the overwhelming vote for independence on December 1, Ukrainian president Kravchuk declared: "A new Ukraine is born." Yeltsin immediately recognized Ukrainian independence, sticking the knife into Gorbachev's attempts to cobble together a new union treaty. A week later, the Slavic troika proclaimed the old Soviet Union dead and announced the formation of a new "Commonwealth of Independent States." The would-be master of Russia, Yeltsin, of course made sure to first phone his master in Washington, Bush, before announcing the agreement. Yeltsin's aim is to restore capitalism at a forced-march pace. As real wages plunge, prices on necessities are set to skyrocket after January 2, which could spell mass starvation for the Soviet working people. In seeking to destroy the homeland of the 1917 October Revolution and consolidate a counterrevolutionary regime, Yeltsin and his cohorts are deepening the economic chaos, and with it the likelihood of an explosion of working-class anger.

Gorbachev called the Brest proclamation a new "coup d'état" and appealed for support to the heads of the Central Asian republics, who had been conspicuously rebuffed by the unilateral declaration. Kazakhstan president Nursultan Nazarbayev denounced the pan-Slavic agreement as a "throwback to the Middle Ages." Over the next few days, however, the five Soviet Central Asian republics announced their readiness to join as cofounders of the new "commonwealth," with several other republics discussing a similar move. But whatever comes out of this maneuvering, the project of capitalist restoration will further unleash fratricidal nationalism threatening to engulf the interpenetrated Soviet peoples in blood. Already a murderous gun battle between ethnic Russians and Moldavian police has prompted the Moldavian republic to break off talks about joining the "commonwealth."

For now, the only thing certain in this rapidly changing situation is that Gorbachev's figurehead position as Soviet president is gone. A leader of the parliamentary "Rossiya" faction remarked, "To get rid of Mikhail Gorbachev we got rid of the whole state." To which another hardline "conservative" replied: "At least we got rid of Gorbachev" (*New York Times*, 13 December).

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Reforge the Soviet Union on Leninist Principles!

THE BANKRUPTCY OF AMERICAN CAPITALISM

Robert Fox/Impact Visuals

Unemployment line in Brooklyn.

U.S. Economy Dead in the Water

Michigan Welfare Massacre

Down and Out in Bush's America

Latino Workers: New Force for Labor Struggle

Racist Industrial Murder in Hamlet, N.C.

See Pages 4-10

For Workers Revolution to Rebuild America

Trotskyists in Moscow Clean Defaced Monument

Honor Karl Marx

Spartacist

ICL organizes cleanup of Marx statue in central Moscow.

Among the monuments defaced by Yeltsin's counterrevolutionary mobs last August was the statue of Karl Marx opposite the Bolshoi Theater in central Moscow. On December 1 a communist cleanup brigade armed with brushes, rags and paint remover came out to erase the reactionary filth. Responding to an appeal by the International Communist League (reprinted below), several dozen people gathered behind the flag of Trotsky's Fourth International, the Soviet flag and a banner reading "No to Capitalist Restoration! Yes to the Gains of October!" Among them was a delegation from the Committee to Defend the Lenin Museum.

Over 300 pieces of Trotskyist literature were sold to passers-by, some of whom, including a visiting group of South Korean Communists, joined in the cleanup effort.

The action attracted newspaper, radio and television reporters from Japan and four West European countries, as well as two pro-Yeltsin Russian newspapers. *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* (3 December) carried a report headlined "Trotskyist *Subbotnik* in Moscow: Supporters of the IV International Cleaned the Monument to Marx"—referring to the tradition of a Saturday of voluntary work for the community. While the Trotskyist *subbotniki* could not remove all the filth from the statue, they did not leave until cleaning the inscribed appeal by the founder of modern socialism (which the Moscow city council wants to erase): "Workers of the World, Unite!"

In Defense of the Statue of Marx!
"His Name and His Cause Shall Live Through the Ages!"

Comrades!

Jackals like to tug at the tail of a fallen lion. That's the way of jackals. But their feast is not to be: the lion lives!

People who yesterday hypocritically knelt before the figures of Marx and Lenin, the founders of the great Soviet state, today deface and destroy monuments, supposing that the great victories achieved by a century of struggle by the toilers can be diminished by their filth and spatterings.

The counterrevolutionary crusade, inspired by the Yeltsinites and aimed against the gains of the October Revolution, began with the defacing of monuments of the revolutionaries F. Dzerzhinsky and Y. Sverdlov. The defiling of these monuments was an opening test of strength by the consolidating Yeltsin-Gorbachev-Bush counterrevolution. Now they are aiming their blows at the economic, political and social gains of the working class.

The monument has become a symbol.

And today we come out in struggle with this symbolic act—the cleaning of the statue of Karl Marx. It must become a symbol of our fight against the vile attempts to tarnish the monument to the genius of Marx in a vain attempt to re-impose capitalist slavery on the Soviet working people. Our banner, the banner of Great October, the banner of the Left Opposition, the banner of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky, remains untarnished. Marx must not be made to pay for Stalin & Co.!

We will not surrender our statue!

The peak of the "democratic" hysteria is behind us, and their attempt at capitalist restoration is calling forth growing protest by the Soviet working class. We remain loyal to our ideals: the struggle for Marx's cause. At the call of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) we have gathered here, because we consider it our duty to arm the Soviet workers with the program of Marx, Lenin and Trotsky—that is, the program of Great October.

Our standard remains as before, Marx's slogan:

WORKERS OF THE WORLD, UNITE!

International Communist League
(IV Internationalist)
1 December 1991

TROTSKY

LENIN

Break the Chains of Capitalist Exploitation!

The real wages of U.S. workers have fallen for two decades, as union struggles against "givebacks" are sabotaged and betrayed by the labor bureaucracy. The decline in living standards reflects the deterioration of productive capacity and deindustrialization of America. As Karl Marx stated over a century ago, workers' struggles to maintain their wages must, to be effective, lead to the revolutionary overthrow of the capitalist system.

The very development of modern industry must progressively turn the scale in favour of the capitalist against the working man, and...consequently the general tendency of capitalistic production is not to raise, but to sink the average standard of wages, or to push the *value of labour* more or less to its *minimum limit*. Such being the tendency of *things* in this system, is this saying that the working class ought to renounce their resistance against the encroachments of capital, and abandon their attempts at making the best of the occasional chances for their temporary improvement? If they did, they would be degraded to one level mass of broken wretches past salvation. I think I have shown that their struggles for the standard of wages are incidents inseparable from the whole wages system, that in 99 cases out of 100 their efforts at raising wages are only efforts at maintaining the given value of labour, and that the necessity of debating their price with the capitalist is inherent in their condition of having to sell themselves as commodities. By cowardly giving way in their everyday conflict with capital, they would certainly disqualify themselves for the initiating of any larger movement.

At the same time, and quite apart from the general servitude involved in the wages system, the working class ought not to exaggerate to themselves the ultimate working of these everyday struggles. They ought not to forget that they are fighting with effects, but not with the causes of those effects; that they are retarding the downward movement, but not changing its direction; that they are applying palliatives, not curing the malady. They ought, therefore, not to be exclusively absorbed in these unavoidable guerilla fights incessantly springing up from the never-ceasing encroachments of capital or changes of the market. They ought to understand that, with all the miseries it imposes upon them, the present system simultaneously engenders the *material conditions* and the *social forms* necessary for an economical reconstruction of society. Instead of the *conservative* motto, "*A fair day's wage for a fair day's work!*" they ought to inscribe on their banner the *revolutionary* watchword, "*Abolition of the wages system!*"

—Karl Marx, *Wages, Price and Profit* (1865)

WORKERS VANGUARD

Marxist Working-Class Biweekly of the Spartacist League of the U.S.

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The Spartacist League is the U.S. Section of the International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist)

Workers Vanguard (USPS 098-770) published biweekly, except 2nd issue August and with 3-week interval December, by the Spartacist Publishing Co., 41 Warren Street, New York, NY 10007. Telephone (212) 732-7862 (Editorial), (212) 732-7861 (Business). Address all correspondence to: Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116. Domestic subscriptions: $7.00/24 issues. Second-class postage paid at New York, NY. POSTMASTER: Send address changes to *Workers Vanguard*, Box 1377, GPO, New York, NY 10116

Opinions expressed in signed articles or letters do not necessarily express the editorial viewpoint

No. 541 **27 December 1991**

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Yeltsin...

(continued from page 1)

The agreement is sufficiently vague as to mean all things to all people. It rules out any central government role and outlaws "the activity of organs of the former USSR on the territory of the members of the Commonwealth." Yet it vows to "preserve and support common military and strategic space under a common command" and to develop "a common economic space." The *New York Times* is charging full speed ahead, publishing a two-page spread on Gorbachev's political obituary. But spokesmen for Western financial sectors are more wary. The *Financial Times* (11 December) commented: "Notice of the demise of the Soviet Union appears to have been somewhat premature." The *Wall Street Journal* (13 December) added: "Cracks Appear in Yeltsin's New Union."

The big wild cards in all this are the Soviet military and the Soviet people. The country teems with talk of a new coup—this time with the military playing a major role—and/or a popular upheaval sparked by economic dislocation and growing hunger. Economic dislocation and sabotage have reached the point that over a hundred airports are shut down for lack of fuel. Assembly lines in many factories have been reduced to one shift or shut down altogether. State stores are all but empty, with most food items available only at outrageous prices from private stores and black marketeers. "I will not allow my children to starve" is a commonly voiced sentiment on the streets of Moscow. Since August the price of a kilogram (2.2 pounds) of sausage has already skyrocketed from less than 3 rubles to upwards of 160 rubles.

Not surprisingly Yeltsin's popularity rating in Moscow has been plummeting, and Moscow workers get visibly disgusted when they talk about those who manned his barricades in August. Now the prospect of prices rising up to 15-fold on food and other necessities threatens to ignite an explosion of popular anger. The potential for mass working-class resistance to the ravages of "free market" misery was demonstrated when up to 90,000 turned out in Moscow on November 7 to celebrate the 74th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution. What is needed to combat the impending catastrophe, reverse the restorationist drive and save the Union, is a Bolshevik program and leadership aimed at mobilizing the multinational Soviet proletariat in *revolutionary class unity*.

Who Controls the Military?

Gorbachev's fate was effectively sealed in late November, when the central treasury announced it was broke and Yeltsin took over the payroll for all Soviet government employees, including the military and the foreign service. Then came the Ukrainian vote, and Kravchuk, a former Stalinist hack turned pro-capitalist nationalist, announced that he would have nothing more to do with any central Soviet government. Should the Ukraine—which accounts for a fifth of the population and productive capacity of the country—really go independent, that would definitely be a deathblow to the Soviet Union. But that would require the establishment of a separate economic structure—including a separate currency—and cracking the command structure of the Soviet military along national and republic lines.

No sooner had the ink dried than Yeltsin and Kravchuk made it clear they had different understandings of their "agreement." Kravchuk proclaimed his control over military units stationed in the Ukraine and continues preparations for a separate Ukrainian currency. Yeltsin insists that the "commonwealth" will have a unified military command and a single currency. Meanwhile, the forces of counterrevolution are falling out with one another. Yeltsin has been under constant attack from Leningrad mayor Anatoly Sobchak and Moscow mayor Gavriil Popov, who announced he was resigning. Dismissing the commonwealth agreement as a "fig leaf pasted over chaos," Popov said: "The Presidents who signed the agreement, just like our Russian President, do not control the situation in their own republics."

Which way will the military go? Following the Brest proclamation, Gorbachev addressed the entire high command, unsuccessfully appealing to them to back his halfhearted union proposal. Yeltsin met with the commanders the next day, reminding them who paid their bills and promising a 90 percent pay increase for officers. The 14-15 December *Financial Times* reported: "The Soviet High Command yesterday huddled together in its square white fortress on Moscow's Arbat Square, cancelling all engagements and refusing to take calls." Now, according to Kiev, the Soviet defense ministry has agreed to negotiate transfer of control over troops based on Ukrainian soil. The Red Army newspaper *Krasnaya Zvezda* (12 December) complained: "Our officers wake up in the morning wondering for whom they are working. 'We serve the fatherland!' is our motto—but when you think about it...which fatherland?"

At the same time, senior military figures have been increasingly outspoken in recent weeks insisting that something must be done to put a stop to the economic chaos and nationalist disintegration. *Financial Times* correspondent John Lloyd observed (4 December):

> "The military is in a febrile state. There has been no post-coup purge of any dimensions: officers who were sympathetic to the aims of the coup remain in place, or have been moved sideways.... 'Two weeks ago, a statement from the ministries of defence and internal affairs warned that any attacks on bases, anywhere, would be fought off with the use of force, a line which contradicted the earlier emollience of Mr Yevgenny Shaposhnikov, the defence minister, and suggested that he is not fully in control."

Moreover, Yeltsin's policies have been under attack by his own vice president, retired air force general Aleksandr Rutskoi, who came out against implementing the proposed price rises and subjecting military industry to market forces. Rutskoi dismissed Yeltsin's economic advisers as "young boys in pink shorts, red shirts and yellow boots." *Izvestia* commented that Rutskoi's attacks "were not an accidental episode, but the reflection of an anti-market mood among certain circles." However, what motivates Rutskoi and his ilk is not opposition to the introduction of a capitalist market economy but concern over weakening of the Soviet military establishment.

AFP

Soviet KGB officers study protest petition against Yeltsin "free market" policies. Which way will the Soviet military go?

The military officer corps is the only remaining genuinely multinational Soviet institution. *Yet to preserve the multinational Soviet state and army requires salvaging the socialized property upon which it was created.* The military "patriots" are no more capable of undertaking independent, decisive action to stop the dismemberment of the USSR than were the Kremlin coup plotters last August. Hardline "patriot" Colonel Viktor Alksnis, who has just joined with semi-fascists in forming a Russian-nationalist party, declared in *Sovetskaya Rossiya*: "There is no longer anyone in sight who could still save the Union at this point" (*Der Spiegel*, 16 December). Meanwhile, U.S. imperialism is rubbing its hands over the prospect of completely dismantling the Soviet nuclear arsenal—Congress recently allocated over $500 million to "assist" the various republics in this task—and thus removing what has been for decades a major obstacle to Washington's ambitions for world domination.

Der Spiegel

"Free market" starvation: women pick through garbage dump outside Moscow.

For Real Workers Soviets!

What will be decisive in defeating Yeltsin's attempt to erect a new bourgeois state is if the Soviet working class moves into action. There is plenty of tinder building up for an explosion in this coming winter of starvation. The grain crop has dropped over 13 percent below average, the potato crop 10 percent and meat production 4 percent. But this by no means accounts for the widespread shortages facing the population, which are a result of massive hoarding by farmers, distributors and retailers, as well as diversion of goods by speculators anticipating massive price increases. *Business Week* (16 December) estimates that 130 million tons of grain have been stowed away, *three-quarters* of the entire harvest. One frustrated shopper remarked:

> "Everybody seems to be working, yet nothing comes of it. Trucks go here and they go there, but what they are carrying and where it ends up, no one knows. And still there is no one who will say concretely what has to be done to put things in order."
>
> —*New York Times*, 13 December

There is a way to establish order—*proletarian order*. What is called for is mass workers mobilizations organized from the factories to *commandeer* the food supplies being stolen from the mouths of Soviet citizens by greedy speculators—and to sweep a few of these profiteers away in the process. As we wrote last month:

> "Workers committees must be set up to *oversee the distribution of food*, smashing the stranglehold of parasitic petty traders, black marketeers and pro-capitalist bureaucrats who would become Russia's new capitalist exploiters. The vast quantities of foodstuffs they are hoarding must be seized and defended, which requires the formation of *workers defense committees*, i.e., the nucleus of workers militias, in coordination with pro-socialist elements of the Soviet Army."

Such committees, extended to the shopfloor to prevent layoffs and privatization by taking control over production, could lay the basis for genuine soviets, drawing into their ranks collective farmers, oppressed minorities, working women, Red Army pensioners—all those who will be victimized by the "new order." Such action, even if initially confined to one area, would electrify the increasingly desperate working masses.

Commenting on the overwhelming support for Ukrainian independence, including in predominantly ethnic Russian areas, Yuri Boldyrev, a leader of the Donbass (Donets Basin) miners strike committee, remarked: "If Russia had more sausage than us, then people would probably have voted against independence" (*Independent* [London], 7 December). But if the Ukraine is right now relatively better off than Russia in terms of food supplies, Kravchuk's capitalist measures will be no less destructive than Yeltsin's. The Donbass is threatened with utter devastation, and miners are talking about possible strike action in the coming months.

It is critical that the workers of different republics and nationalities cut through the schemes of the nationalist leaders to dismember the Soviet Union and set one people against another. That requires a struggle against all manifestations of nationalist bigotry and anti-Semitism—multinational workers defense guards must be organized to sweep away the Great Russian fascists of Pamyat and the fascist gangs coming to the fore in other republics, who are trying to channel popular discontent over "free market" misery into anti-Semitic demagogy. At a protest in Moscow's Gorky Park, a fascistic demonstrator carried a sign saying "Meat Is Scarce, Kill the Big Zionist Pig Yeltsin."

The situation facing the Soviet proletariat, six and half decades after the Stalinist bureaucratic usurpation of power, is desperate indeed. The hour for struggle against the counterrevolution is growing late. The International Communist League (Fourth Internationalist) is for returning to the principles and goals that animated the Bolshevik Party and led to the victory of October. We fight to build a Leninist-Trotskyist international party, which through vying for leadership with other pro-Soviet parties can incorporate the great masses of the Soviet Union in struggle for a better, anti-capitalist future by returning to the foundations of the 1917 October Revolution.

Defeat the restorationist drive and restore the proletariat to its rightful place: those who labor must rule. *Soviet workers: Form soviets to prevent starvation and save the Union!* ■

Two Decades of Falling Wages

U.S. Economy Dead in the Water

Two years ago Mollie James—a black woman in her late 50s—was laid off her job as a stamping-machine operator at Universal Manufacturing in Paterson, New Jersey, where she had worked for 33 years. The company had been bought out by Southern California takeover artist Andrew Galef, who financed the deal through Michael Milken's junk-bond operation. Galef then shut down the Paterson plant, shifting its manufacturing operations to lower-wage factories in Arkansas and Mexico. When she is 65, Mollie James will be entitled to pension benefits of $100 a month. That is half of what Galef spends to feed, groom and care for his pet dog.

Such is the way of economic life at the center of the "New World Order." Even as the ideologues and spokesmen of U.S. imperialism crow about the supposed victory of "free market" capitalism in the Cold War, the American economy is in a shambles. The Pentagon's awesome military firepower, which laid waste to Iraq, rests on a shrinking and obsolete industrial base, a bankrupt financial system, and a working class whose conditions of life have been deteriorating for two decades. Now the patriotic hoopla over the Gulf War has disappeared, as a lingering recession adds to the overflow of economic misery. Bush's posturing as master of the world is increasingly resented by working people, who cannot make ends meet whatever they do.

Today Russians are being sold a bill of goods on the prosperity that capitalism would supposedly bring them, while Poles are experiencing the bitter reality of soup kitchens. Yet American newspapers and magazines are filled with articles on the desperate economic straits of the "middle class" (a term now used to include everyone except the very rich and the very poor). Where last year they were chortling over the "death of Communism," this year they're all writing about the "death of the American dream." Young couples, both working full-time, are making far less than their parents did with only one wage-earner.

Now, with the recession, millions of people have lost or face losing even their poor-paying jobs. During the fall a number of major corporations announced big layoffs: Xerox (2,500), TRW (10,000), IBM (20,000), GM (20,000). Pan Am was the third American airline to go belly up this year, and more have filed for bankruptcy protection. "The layoffs sweeping the computer industry," says the *Wall Street Journal* (12 December), represent jobs that "aren't coming back." Business economists note that a few years ago "layoff was a dirty word," while "now it has become a badge of good management." The first task of new CEOs is to "cut heads." Audrey Freedman of the business research Conference Board estimates 25 *million* people will be unemployed at some time this year—one out of every five people in the workforce.

The mood in this country is turning angry and bitter. After Bush's pollyannish "prosperity is around the corner" talk last summer, there's a widespread feeling that the president is playing golf while the economy burns. Polls show 75 percent of the population has no confidence in his economic policies, 48 percent say their biggest concern is unemployment, and consumer confidence is at the lowest point in a decade.

Hille/Philadelphia Inquirer

Demolition of Campbell Soup factory in Camden, New Jersey in November. Profit-hungry capitalists loot and destroy American industry.

For Workers Revolution to Rebuild America

It's not just the recession either. People are beginning to realize that for many years the rich have gotten a lot richer while everyone else has gotten shafted.

During the 1980s, 80 percent of American families saw their real incomes fall while the top 5 percent increased theirs by an average of 25 percent and the top 1 percent hiked their earnings by half! The CEOs of the country's largest corporations now average $2 million a year in salaries, over *90 times* the annual earnings of a production worker. And then there are the perks. The head of Merrill Lynch, the giant securities outfit, was ferried by company helicopter from lower Manhattan to his home in Princeton, New Jersey while the firm was laying off thousands of employees. Shortly before declaring bankruptcy, the top executives of Drexel Burnham—the Wall Street junk-bond machine—paid themselves $350 million in bonuses.

Even *Wall Street Journal* economics editor Alfred Malabre, Jr.—a genuine, old-fashioned conservative—is appalled by the sight of abject misery alongside opulence:

> "By the late 1980s I found it impossible to walk more than a block or two in mid-Manhattan without encountering shabbily clothed men and women camping on sidewalks; many appeared reasonably cogent and simply down on their luck, while others were deranged and in need of psychiatric care. Mid-Manhattan was dismaying for anyone cherishing the egalitarian premise of the American dream."
>
> —*Within Our Means*
> (Random House, 1991)

Malabre is not simply expressing personal moral indignation. As a responsible spokesman for American capitalism, he is concerned about popular revulsion against the whole rotten, rags-amid-riches system.

Facing a groundswell of anger and resentment over the economy, some Democrats are beginning to mouth pseudo-populist rhetoric about taxing the rich, as they prepare to run against Herbert Hoover Bush. And the arrogant master of the "New World Order" is starting to act panicky. The imperial president just sacked his greedy chief of staff while Republican politicos are sniping at one another. Right-wing Republican Congressman Vin Weber lectures Bush that unless something drastic is done about the economy, in 1992 "it's going to be very difficult for us to win, at the Congressional level and the Presidential level" (*New York Times*, 24 November).

However, the Democrats have nothing to offer except Japan-bashing trade protection and promises of a few hundred dollars in income tax cuts for the "middle class." Meanwhile, the slick fascist David Duke and other racist demagogues are trying to channel the growing economic desperation of lower- and middle-class whites against black welfare mothers. The situation cries out for a socialist revolution to sweep away the people who ruined this country—the wage-gouging corporate bosses, the rapacious Wall Street sharks and their protectors in Washington, Republican and Democrat alike. Only a workers party with a strong base of support among blacks, Hispanics and other oppressed minorities can put an end to economic deterioration, homelessness,

Philadelphia Inquirer

Mollie James' job was wiped out by corporate raiders and junk bond swindlers.

racist terror and degradation, and the overall decay of American society.

American Capitalists Increase the Rate of Exploitation

Liberal Democrats as well as the Republican "populist" Kevin Phillips and fiscal conservative Alfred Malabre all blame the sorry state of the American economy on the sins of Reaganomics. Phillips decries the seduction of Washington in the early '80s by the snake-oil salesmen of "supply-side economics." Malabre lashes out at the "spend now, pay later" philosophy prevailing in the U.S. Treasury and Fortune 500 boardrooms. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* (20-28 October) published a nine-part series titled "America: What Went Wrong?" Their answer: deregulation and changes in tax laws which encouraged corporate raiders to buy up and tear down long-established firms. Both the Reaganites and their bourgeois critics share the same basic *false* premise, that the government can effectively control the capitalist economy through taxation and monetary policy, through financial and corporate regulation or lack thereof.

Yet the watershed in the decline of the postwar U.S. economy was *not* the inauguration of Ronald Reagan in 1981. Rather, it was the 1974-75 world depression. Real wages in this country *peaked in 1973* and have been falling ever since. Likewise, the shrinkage of the manufacturing sector, the deceleration of industrial productivity and the deterioration of basic infrastructure (roads, bridges, water supplies, etc.). Since the mid-1970s other economic indices have experienced explosive growth—namely, imports of manufactured goods and personal, corporate and government debt.

During the late 1960s, investment in new plant and equipment in the U.S. declined sharply compared to its main capitalist rivals, Japan and Germany. The Vietnam War further weakened American capitalism as hundreds of billions were spent trying and failing to defeat the revolutionary workers and peasants of Southeast Asia. Nixon's "New Economic Policy" of August 1971 (devaluing the dollar against gold and moving toward trade protection) signaled that U.S. imperialism was no longer the hegemonic power in the capitalist world. The 1974-75 depression devastated the profits of corporate America, which could no longer compete as effectively in the world market and even its own home market.

The owners of capital responded by shifting manufacturing operations to poor countries, especially in the Far East, while slashing wages and benefits for workers at home. In the words of Karl Marx, they increased the rate of exploitation. Between 1969 and 1983 imports into the U.S. from *American-owned* factories abroad skyrocketed from $2 billion to $22 billion, adjusting for inflation. That was an increase of almost 100 percent a year. Harvard economist Robert Reich noted:

> "Much of America's stubborn trade imbalance during the 1980s was due not to the predations of foreign nations and corporations, insistent on selling more to us than we sold to them, but to American-owned firms making things abroad (or, more precisely, contracting with foreigners to supply them with particular goods and services, which the firm then sold in the United States)."
>
> —*The Work of Nations*
> (Knopf, 1991)

Shifting manufacturing operations to Third World countries was key to American capitalism's drive to slash the wages of their workers at home. By threatening to move offshore, corporate bosses forced unprecedented givebacks from workers, who were sold out by the wretched union bureaucracy. With manufacturing employment shrinking, older workers were desperate to hold on to their jobs even as their wages and

continued on page 8

Michigan Welfare Massacre

Under the guise of "cost cutting," the government—from cities and states to the federal level—is implementing a policy of racist *genocide*. On October 1, the state of Michigan eliminated "general assistance" welfare, condemning nearly 90,000 people to homelessness, destitution and, for many, death. Forty thousand of those affected live in Detroit, once the "Motor City" of America, where the collapse of American industry has thrown thousands out of work and now has severed their last lifeline. The welfare ax was wielded by Republican governor John Engler and the Democratic-controlled state House of Representatives, as "mainstream" capitalist politicians carry out murderous racist programs little different in effect from that brandished by fascist David Duke.

Gerald Miller, Michigan's director of social services, described it as "a really interesting social experiment" which would "break the cycle of dependency." Under this macabre "experiment" every single adult welfare recipient not totally disabled is being totally cut off the already criminally inadequate income from the state. Infirm 63-year-old men were declared "able-bodied" and told to "get a job" in the face of 13 percent unemployment—or die. The "Michigan plan" is being closely watched by other states. Already California governor Wilson has launched a "Tax Payers Protection Act" that would slash Aid to Families with Dependent Children by up to 25 percent! Meanwhile, San Francisco mayor-elect Frank Jordan talks about shipping the homeless off to work camps.

The Michigan plan is truly a policy of coldblooded murder. When the checks that provided for Eva Frederick's hypertension medicine were cut off, she tried to extend her existing supply by taking half the dosage. She collapsed from an aneurysm in the brain and died November 20 in a Traverse City hospital. Shortly after the cutoff went into effect Detroit cops shot and killed Stephen Mondack, who was distraught at the elimination of his General Assistance check of $160 per month. The cops alleged he "lunged" at them with a knife, but neighbors described a normally calm man put over the edge by the killer cuts. "You can't just put a man out like a dog," said one.

In largely black Detroit, where homelessness is expected to triple and there have already been attempts at mass evictions from the city's rat-infested welfare hotels, seven homeless people died by early December. For some the cause of death is "hypothermia," a fancy word for freezing to death. Two were killed by carbon monoxide fumes from a barbecue grill they had used to heat their room. Just two days before Governor Engler vetoed all health care expenditures for recently cut-off welfare recipients, his Department of Social Services actually reinstated a program for funeral services for the poor. But even this effrontery was funded at a level that would deny anyone a proper burial.

Budget-ax murderer John Engler is a longtime Bush supporter and state Republican stalwart who was narrowly elected in 1990 over incumbent Democrat James Blanchard. Engler killed funds for raises for state workers, sought to wipe out job training and OSHA programs, and vows to make abortion illegal if *Roe v. Wade* is overturned. And now Engler announces a campaign for homeless shelters—*for dogs and stray animals*—for the Lansing Humane Society. A labor movement worthy of its name would lead contingents of workers and unemployed from throughout the state to converge on the capital in Lansing, evict budget-ax murderer Engler from the governor's mansion, and move the homeless in!

Jim West/Impact Visuals

Detroit—Outside the Jeffries public housing project the day after Coleman Young's cops evicted homeless from vacant apartments.

In Detroit, "Englerville" tent sites have been set up to protest the cuts and coordinate efforts by the city's tens of thousands of homeless to occupy public housing, *which is 43 percent vacant*. These have been met by vicious persecution by liberal black Democratic mayor Coleman Young and his cops. On October 29, eight homeless activists were dragged from the Jeffries Project, whole sections of which are unoccupied. On November 11, five activists were arrested in a tent site near the project, including one person whose arm was run over by a cop car. The next day more than 60 were evicted from the same tent site and later seven were thrown in jail from a tent site in a church parking lot.

Coleman Young is the archetypical "friend of labor" Democrat, a former labor organizer and CP supporter in the National Negro Labor Council, who has been in office since 1973 when he was first elected with the backing of the UAW bureaucrats. He has been the classic black front man for the Big Three auto bosses. Now Young complains that homeless shanties fail fire-code standards and the squatters haven't filled out the proper forms: "What they're doing is illegal and if I allow any group to promiscuously violate the law anytime they feel like it, I might as well give up control of this goddamn city." Young's "solution" to the homeless crisis has been to set up "warming centers" where the homeless are searched, forced to fill out forms, allowed to sit for a few hours and then thrown back onto the frigid streets.

The viciousness with which American capitalism treats what it considers "expendable human resources" is monumentally grotesque. Hundreds of thousands of proletarians—black sharecroppers from the South, impoverished East European immigrants, Arabs from Yemen—flocked to Michigan when it was the automobile capital of the planet. But when their profit rates plummeted, the auto companies dumped hundreds of thousands of workers like so much refuse. General Motors' economic devastation of Flint, Michigan, where 30,000 families were hit by plant closings, was captured in Michael Moore's tragicomic documentary, *Roger and Me*. One scene shows GM's CEO Roger Smith unctuously intoning about the piety of Christmas, while an oily deputy sheriff oversees an eviction where a Christmas tree and presents are among the belongings thrown out in the street.

Now Engler and Young are finishing the job. Their message to the victims of capitalist immiseration is: "Drop dead." Liberal Democrats have a "recall Engler" movement going, as if having somebody like Coleman Young—or Blanchard, who began the cuts—as governor would change things much. The key is a fight in the unions to mobilize labor's power in defense of the unemployed and homeless. Particularly in Detroit, union-backed workers defense committees should be formed to stop evictions and occupy the thousands of units of abandoned public housing. In addition to the miles of abandoned homes, kept empty by the laws of private property and the guns of the cops, the Detroit area has hundreds of vacant factories, which could be efficiently heated to provide emergency refuge from the freezing cold.

Decaying American capitalism and its lieutenants in the labor movement such as the criminally complicit UAW bureaucracy offer no way out of this cruel and callous system. Only a socialist America can provide for the massive redistribution of wealth, the massive public works and housing projects, and the reindustrialization of the country that can provide everyone with the foundation of a decent life. ■

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Down and Out in Bush's America

Winter 1991-92 in America—tent cities and cardboard box "homes" for the freezing homeless, overwhelmed soup kitchens for the hungry, escalating unemployment. Last month the government reported another 241,000 jobs "disappeared," unemployment is over 12 million and the number of people officially living in poverty jumped to 33.6 million. And President Bush wants to stimulate the economy by buying some *socks* in the local mall! Decaying American capitalism's answer to the plight of the down and out is more police sweeps to hide the homeless, but the devastation of human lives is so pervasive that a recent survey found that over half of all Americans say they see homeless people every day in their neighborhood.

The onslaught against the poor is relentless nationwide. The London *Economist* (29 June) notes:

> "Chicago's O'Hare airport has been closed to the homeless. Santa Barbara has banned sleeping on public streets, and Atlanta's mayor, concerned about the image of his Olympic city, has proposed a bill that would impose criminal penalties (including, absurdly, fines of up to $1,000) for aggressive begging."

In New York City, the bourgeoisie has told City Hall they're tired of living in "Calcutta West." Last summer, an army of NYC cops in riot gear tore down shanties in Tompkins Square Park. Then they rampaged through nearby vacant lots to evict the homeless again. This winter liberal black Democratic mayor David Dinkins vowed to "clean up" the Port Authority 42nd Street bus depot so that suburbanite commuters don't have to step over homeless people on their way to Midtown. When they're dumped out of the terminal, some of the destitute seek shelter in subway tunnels, where 49 homeless were killed last year by trains or electrocution on the third rail.

At a City Hall press conference on December 9, homeless people whose shantytowns were bulldozed by Dinkins' cops protested the grotesque hypocrisy of the mayor's fist-raised salute to township squatters in South Africa during his recent junket there. The protesters carried a sign reading "Lord Mayor Dinkins Visits South African Shantytowns Because None Exist in New York, God Bless America." Dinkins screamed at the squatters, "Just shut up!" then lectured them on how to behave. Apparently their ingratitude disqualified them from getting invites to Dinkins' fancy meal with the homeless a few days later.

In a cynical publicity stunt, a group of 100 homeless women hand-picked by Dinkins' aides were treated to a four-star dinner at Gracie Mansion while a jazz pianist played "New York, New York." *Newsday* (13 December) described it: "It was like a scene out of 'Bonfire of the Vanities': Mayor David N. Dinkins, dressed in a tux, and his wife, Joyce, svelte in a black coat-dress and pearls, threw their first party of the Christmas season." Dinner started with duck pâté and ended with cake topped with raspberries and shaved chocolate that was prepared and served up by the elite Les Dames D'Escoffier. The homeless women were sent off with Ritz-Carlton shopping bags filled with candy and bagels.

Mario Ruiz

Homeless huddled outside NYC court building before Dinkins' cops fenced area off.

Dinkins isn't the only capitalist politician with hypocritical "sympathy" for the homeless. At a "celebrity hunger banquet" sponsored by the anti-hunger Oxfam group, Congressmen sat on the floor eating rice with a group of students and staffers while a few people representing the privileged classes sat nearby dining on gourmet food. This "symbolic" event is being replayed around the country from Boston to Hollywood. The liberal politicians hope everyone will forget that the killer cutbacks started in the Democratic Carter administration and received bipartisan Congressional support as they accelerated rapidly under Reagan and Bush.

'Tis the Season of "Compassion Fatigue"

Ronald Reagan once declared that the homeless "prefer" to live a life of misery. Today the liberal *Newsweek* (30 September) headlines an opinion piece by one L. Christopher Awalt, titled "Brother, Don't Spare a Dime," saying that the homeless "have become a danger to public safety" and "must bear the greater part of the blame for their manifold troubles." And Manhattan's trendy Tribeca Grill—owned by celebrity partners Robert DeNiro, Sean Penn, Mikhail Baryshnikov and Bill Murray—threatened to leave the yuppie-infested Tribeca neighborhood if a drug treatment clinic was built. (DeNiro later denied he was concerned.) It's a growing phenomenon called NIMBY (Not in My Back Yard).

But the homeless are increasingly in everyone's backyard. Not only are there an estimated three million homeless people, but two straight decades of industrial decline and union-busting in the U.S. have driven down real wages and living standards for the American working class, especially minorities. And the charities so touted by Bush are being overwhelmed by the dimensions of the human wreckage that capitalism is producing. In the Bronx alone, a half-dozen food pantries have closed in the past six months. "Foundations and corporations don't want to fund emergency services; it's not fashionable, and they are tired," said a Food & Hunger Hot Line director. "It shows the fallacy of relying on corporate donations to fill the role of federal government."

Under the "magic of the marketplace," housing, education, medical care, even food are provided for profit, not for human need, and "the devil take the hindmost." And under racist American capitalism, the poorest are the blackest. Besides fighting racism to get a job, black workers are being hit disproportionately by layoffs in government, where they have found more jobs than in private industry. A whole generation of ghetto youth have been consigned to oblivion without hope of a decent job while being targeted with racist violence by the cops and courts. Feeding off this backlash, fascist David Duke is now a nationally prominent Republican vying for the same voters as George Bush by railing about "welfare abuse."

Already, government aid to the poor has been gutted. A *Harvard Business Review* article reports that today, the maximum amount of AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) payments, including food stamp benefits, is $367. This is barely *half* the monthly welfare benefit for a family of three in 1970 ($635 in 1991 dollars). In a country which could easily feed the entire world, 5.5 million children under the age of 12 suffer from hunger. And one direct cause of homelessness has been the slashing of public housing. The December *Scientific American* notes that "between 1980 and 1987, new commitments for the construction of public and Section 8, or subsidized, housing fell from about 173,249 to 12,244 apartments."

How to Abolish Homelessness

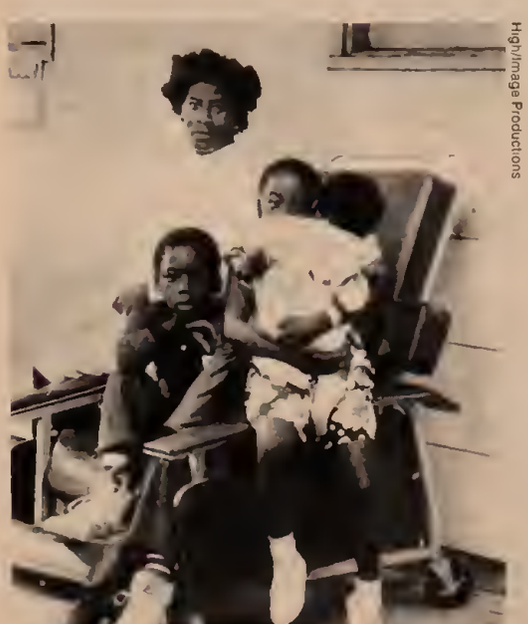
For sheer viciousness, the antics of Bush and Congress are hard to top. From her palace at Versailles, Marie Antoinette said the starving masses should eat cake. Today Bush cavalierly announces from the golf course his veto of a bill extending unemployment benefits. But a lot of people don't accept this sorry state of affairs. "I think in a country as rich as the United States, we should not have people who are homeless. I think people who need work should get a job," said an Atlanta social worker (*Los Angeles Times*, 15 July 1990). She added: "Does that sound socialistic or something?"

Twenty-five years ago, you heard a lot about the "war on poverty." Worried about America's cities burning down in urban unrest over cop brutality and social degradation, the JFK/LBJ administrations brought in social democrat Michael Harrington, whose book on *The Other America* threw a spotlight of publicity on poverty in Appalachia and elsewhere. The so-called "Great Society" programs designed then have come and gone, but today conditions are far worse. As ghetto blacks face economic devastation surpassing that of the 1930s Depression, it should be clear that the issue is not "pockets of poverty," but a rotting system that reproduces poverty for the masses to provide the fabulous riches of the ruling class.

The question of homelessness and hunger was succinctly addressed by Karl Marx's comrade Frederick Engels a century ago:

> "The so-called housing shortage, which plays such a great role in the press nowadays, does not consist in the fact that the working class generally lives in bad, overcrowded and unhealthy dwellings. *This* shortage is not something peculiar to the present; it is not even one of the sufferings peculiar to the modern proletariat in contradistinction to all earlier oppressed classes. On the contrary, all oppressed classes in all periods suffered more or less uniformly from it. In order to make an end of *this* housing shortage there is only *one* means: to abolish altogether the exploitation and oppression of the working class by the ruling class."
>
> —*The Housing Question* (1872)

Then we can begin the socialist reconstruction of America which will provide jobs, housing, food and medical care as the rights of the working masses. ■



High/Image Productions

Housing crisis 1991: Young children, entire families increasingly thrown onto the streets because they can't pay sky-high rents.

Down With "English Only" Bigotry

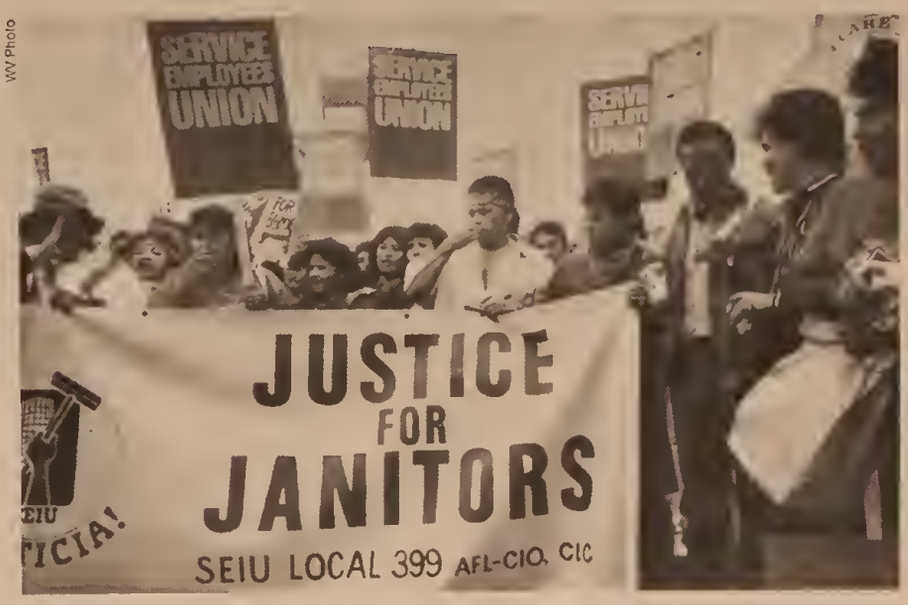
Latino Workers: New Force for Labor Struggle

Over the past decade there has been a dramatic increase in the number of foreign-born workers in the United States—a social change comparable to the massive increase in the number of women in the workforce. In 1989, the total number of immigrants admitted as "permanent residents" topped one million—the highest figure for any single year since 1914. When you add in the far larger number of "illegal" immigrants, the percentage of the U.S. population that is foreign-born is now higher than at any time since the early 1920s. With immigrants now constituting almost 10 percent of the U.S. labor force, the figure is even higher among blue-collar workers. The appearance of a new layer of young and class-conscious immigrant workers, many with experience in militant union struggles in Central America, is having an energizing impact on the American labor movement.

As a result of this wave of immigration, according to the 1990 census, the Asian population doubled over the last decade to 7.3 million, while Hispanics increased 53 percent to 22.4 million. And that's only the official figures. According to independent estimates, taking account of the systematic undercount in minority neighborhoods, the number of Hispanics is over 25 million. Today, the U.S. is the fifth-largest Spanish-speaking country in the world. California alone has an estimated 7 million immigrants (3 million in the last decade). In Los Angeles, Latinos have officially surpassed whites as the largest racial/ethnic group—with 40 percent of the total population and a majority of students. More than 80 languages are spoken in the L.A. schools. "Today Los Angeles has the largest Japanese, Iranian, Thai, and Filipino communities in the country" (*New York Review of Books*, 10 October).

The impact of this social change can be seen in the labor movement, where the overwhelmingly minority high school students joined L.A. teachers on the picket lines in 1989; where heavily Latino hotel workers struck against the Hyatt chain later that year; where the 70 percent Latino teachers assistants walked out in early 1990, and the mainly Latino janitors waged a militant strike which faced down police attack and won union recognition. This fall the workers of the SEIU, one-third black, one-fifth Latino and over half women, staged "rolling strikes" against L.A. County. Meanwhile, the L.A. cops have lashed out against all minorities. The racist LAPD terror symbolized by the brutal beating of black motorist Rodney King was also shown in the cop execution of two Samoan brothers at their house in February, and the police murder of a Latino youth in the East L.A. Ramona Gardens project in August.

At the same time that they are a potential force for labor militancy, immigrant workers are in a vulnerable position. The U.S. government has stepped up attacks on foreign-born workers. The 1986 "Immigration Reform and Control Act" was passed amid a barrage of Reaganite rhetoric about "controlling our borders." This was a bipartisan effort to get control of the huge influx of immigrants in exchange for regularizing the status of those already here. But while the number of "illegal aliens" arrested at the border and deported fell by almost half to 850,000 in 1989, it has since shot back up to over one million in 1990 and 1991. Moreover, as part of the "drug war" of Bush and the Democrats, the 2,000-mile U.S.-Mexican border is being militarized.



Militant Los Angeles janitors beat back police repression to win union at Century City last year.

The *El Paso Herald-Post* (18 May) noted that the Border Patrol thugs are "increasingly using deadly force," armed with sophisticated electronic intrusion and heat sensors, radar, helicopters, and fixed-wing aircraft with night-scopes, courtesy of "Operation Desert Storm." A protest march of 500 people to the U.S. consulate in Juárez in May denounced killings by U.S. authorities, saying that "at least 75 Mexicans have died at the hands of the Border Patrol" in the last two years (*El Fronterizo*, 16 May). And local officials in the lower Rio Grande valley in Texas have reported finding 203 unidentified bodies near the border over the last nine years (*Filo Rojo*, 13 September).

Along with the traditional racist slurs like "wetbacks" and "greasers," INS agents commonly refer to undocumented workers as "tonks," described as "slang for the noise made when you hit somebody on the head with a flashlight." A taste of the routine racism can be gleaned from the Agency's "Practical Spanish Grammar for Border Patrol Officers," which includes such helpful phrases as "Interrogative: Why do you always lie?" "Progressive action: You are lying right now." "Present perfect: He has not told the truth." "Familiar command of irregular verbs: Tell her that her husband is lying" ("Racist Shop Talk on the Border," *San Francisco Chronicle*, 28 April).

Contrary to the famous inscription on the Statue of Liberty, U.S. immigration policy has always been racist, from the horrific anti-Asian bigotry which the first Chinese railroad laborers faced over a century ago, to the treatment currently being meted out to desperate Haitian refugees fleeing military dictatorship. Yet while cracking down on impoverished black, Hispanic and Asian refugees, the INS rolls out the red carpet for white immigrants from Ireland, who will be guaranteed 48,000 green cards over the next three years under Teddy Kennedy's "Irish Lottery"! The new 1990 "Immigration Reform" also provides "affirmative action" immigration quotas for Polish, Italian and other "underrepresented" European nationalities. And for the first time, U.S. citizenship can be bought outright, by those with a million dollars to invest in U.S. companies!

McKiernan/Sipa

***La Migra* terror stalks the border—U.S. Border Patrol "increasingly using deadly force."**

With the racist U.S. ruling class deporting Latin American refugees back to death squad terror and consigning Haitians to drown at sea, Reaganite right-wingers like Patrick Buchanan and KKK-Nazi demagogue David Duke (who once mounted a "Klan Border Watch") are both campaigning on "America First" platforms targeting "illegal aliens" along with "welfare queens" as the supposed cause of declining living standards. Paralleling the official racism, anti-immigrant attacks have surged, an ominous trend extending from fascist death squad attacks on Mexicans at the San Diego border crossing to the "Light Up the Border" campaign by the local Republican Women's Club, who shine car headlights at the fence to help the Border Patrol hunt down Mexicans.

Nationwide, this nativist chauvinism is mobilized by the "English Only" movement, pushing laws to make English the official language (thus discriminating against non-English-speakers). A favorite target of these fanatics is bilingual education, which the government too wants to knife. Last month the dean of the bilingual center of Hudson County Community College in New Jersey prohibited workers from speaking Spanish. And a December 5 Phil Donahue Show on the question broadcast from Miami quickly degenerated into a racist rally against Spanish-speaking people. As Donahue ran around bleating ("this is not my view, but..."), one blow-dried suburban ignoramus after another spewed their venom over "the deliberate arrogance" of those who don't speak the "official language." One Ms. Piggy complained (to wild applause): "I can't even understand that lady over there, with her 'dese' and 'dat'"!

The highlight of the show was the appearance of two black women who had recently won a court case against a maid-service company which used Spanish-language job applications. Ruling-class racists would love to get oppressed blacks to jump on the anti-"foreigner"

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U.S. Economy...

(continued from page 5)

benefits were cut. The overwhelming majority of new jobs in the U.S. over the past 20 years have been in the low-wage, non-union service sector (e.g., retail store clerks, file clerks, fast-food countermen). The increase in the rate of exploitation was concentrated on young workers entering the job market, who with the "two-tier" wage system are now literally superexploited.

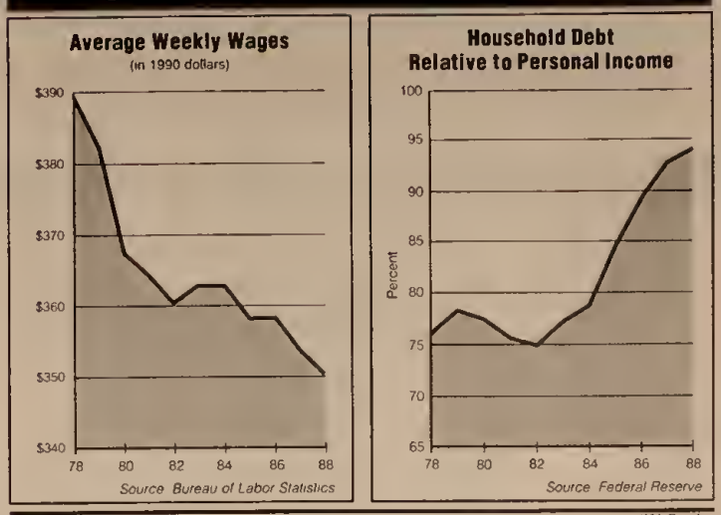
Even more so than young workers as a group, the deindustrialization of America has devastated the black community. For blacks were disproportionally represented in the unionized industrial proletariat. The bleak cities of the Midwest rust belt—South Chicago-Gary, Detroit, Cleveland—are heavily black. A young black male high school graduate working full-time is on average earning *44 percent* less in real wages (adjusted for inflation) than a black high school graduate in the early 1960s! That is the main reason why half of all black children are now living below the official government poverty level.

Statistics on wages—appalling as they are—do not fully capture the savagery of the capitalist attack on working people. For non-wage benefits have been cut even more. In 1982, 75 percent of employees of medium and large companies were covered by some form of health insurance. By the end of the decade less than half had medical benefits. Hundreds of thousands of families have had their life's savings eaten up after their medical insurance was eliminated by one means or another.

The *Philadelphia Inquirer* recounts the particularly poignant case of Christopher and Billie Neimann of Fort Smith, Arkansas. Chris was working for a small trucking company when he contracted a rare bone cancer in his late 20s. While he was on medical leave, the company went bankrupt due to the rate wars following trucking deregulation. A few months before he died, the M.D. Anderson Cancer Center billed the Neimanns for $30,000 in treatments. Of course, they couldn't pay. After his death, the hospital's collection department harassed his widow for the money.

Millions of American families have staved off poverty only because more women with children have taken jobs and those with jobs are working more hours. By the late 1980s married women were on average working 50 percent more hours than ten years earlier. Their husbands, too, were working overtime and holidays to try to make ends meet. After pointing out that in 1989 the American labor force was working three and a half weeks longer a year than a generation ago, radical economist Doug Henwood observed: "This intensification of work has been virtually unknown in industrialized countries since Marx wrote the first volume of *Capital*" (*Nation*, 9 September).

Wages Falling, Personal Debt Rising



WV Graphic

In addition to working more, American families have tried to preserve their standard of living by going ever deeper into debt. Household debt jumped from a little over 70 cents for every dollar in annual income in the mid-1970s to 94 cents by the late '80s. Now with millions laid off or on short time, defaults on mortgages, auto loans and charge cards have soared. Business is booming for Sid Schneider, a New York lawyer specializing in throwing people out of their homes, who exults, "there are so many more foreclosures today than at any time since I started practicing, 35 years ago" (*New York Times*, 11 August). No wonder the desperate economic plight of the "middle class" has moved to center stage of the American political scene.

Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win!

The liberal and other bourgeois critics of the Reagan/Bush "greed decade" present working people as the helpless victims of Wall Street operators aided and abetted by Washington. In *The Politics of Rich and Poor* (Harper, 1991), Republican Kevin Phillips quotes a 1988 article from the *Los Angeles Times* that "not in half a century has the United States seen so many 'givebacks' affecting so many people...from musicians with the Honolulu Symphony Orchestra to lumbermen in the Pacific Northwest, from steelworkers in West Virginia to Greyhound bus drivers in Montana...." What Phillips et al. don't talk about is the desperate attempts by the workers to wage *resistance* against this onslaught.

The Greyhound drivers fought the givebacks but were defeated and sold out in one of the decisive labor battles of the Reagan era—the long, bitter and violent strike of 1983. The company won because it was able to replace the drivers with scabs and so more or less maintain its scheduled service. In major cities throughout the country—most of them run by *Democratic mayors* who loudly denounced Reaganomics—police protected the scab drivers from the union pickets. In Zanesville, Ohio a scab driver ran over and killed picket captain Ray Phillips. The bosses were quite literally waging *class war*.

The Greyhound drivers could have won that war by shutting down the bus terminals through mass picketing, drawing on not only their own ranks but all unionized workers and a legion of potential supporters. This would have meant defying Taft-Hartley and other anti-labor laws and confronting the Democratic mayors and governors who *enforce those laws* as brutally as their Republican counterparts. Instead, the bureaucracy of the Amalgamated Transit Union held back the militant ranks who wanted to stop the police scabherding, leading the Greyhound strike to defeat and the workers to givebacks. Shortly after the Greyhound strike we wrote in our manifesto "Labor's Gotta Play Hardball to Win":

> "No decisive gain of labor was ever won in a courtroom or by an act of Congress. Everything the workers movement has won of value has been achieved by mobilizing the ranks of labor in hard-fought struggle, on the picket lines, in plant occupations. What counts is power. The strength of the unions lies in their numbers, their militancy, their organization and discipline and their relation to the decisive means of production in modern capitalist society. The bosses are winning because the power of labor, its strength to decisively cripple the enemy, has not been brought to bear."
>
> —*WV* No. 349, 2 March 1984

Just look at the current Ravenswood Aluminum strike, a prime example of the corporate takeover/union-busting pattern that has ravaged the American labor movement. In 1989 the West Virginia plant was bought by an outfit headed by notorious metals merchant and arms dealer Marc Rich. Wanted by the U.S. government for over 60 counts of tax fraud, Rich fled to Switzerland eight years ago. This has not prevented him from selling copper to the U.S. Mint or from buying up American companies and axing their workforce.

The new Ravenswood bosses demanded the elimination of the cost-of-living adjustment and a bonus system which accounted for about 10 percent of take-home pay. While negotiating with the Steelworkers, they built up a small army of company goons (from an outfit staffed by U.S. mercenaries for the Nicaraguan contras) and publicly advertised for "replacement workers." When the union contract expired, the company fired most of the workforce, replacing them with scabs who live in trailers on the plant grounds, which have been turned into an armed camp dubbed "Fort RAC."

West Virginia is a state which still has strong pro-union sympathies reflecting the social weight and traditions of the coal mining communities. Tens of thousands of union men and women and their supporters throughout the region should march on Ravenswood, tear down the barricades, smash the company goons and shut down the plant. Given that Marc Rich is a known corporate criminal even by the standards of American bourgeois legality, such a militant labor action would have especially broad support throughout the country.

But, of course, the Steelworkers bureaucracy will do nothing of the sort. They are not even calling on the Teamsters to refuse to handle Ravenswood Aluminum products since this would violate Taft-Hartley. Instead the labor misleaders are holding solidarity rallies, calling for the usual impotent consumer boycott and lobbying the bosses' government to help them. The ranks of labor must oust all the pro-capitalist sellouts and replace them with a leadership committed to class struggle.

The Decay of America's Productive Capacity

Militant labor action can limit the givebacks but cannot in itself reverse the fall in living standards, which is rooted in the decay of this country's productive capacity. This decay, beginning in the late '60s, sharply accelerated in the 1980s as the massive military buildup against the Soviet Union devoured the country's productive investment. The cream of American scientists, engineers and advanced industrial technology was expended on the Star Wars boondoggle and the "smart" bombs finally used to massacre Iraqi men, women and children.

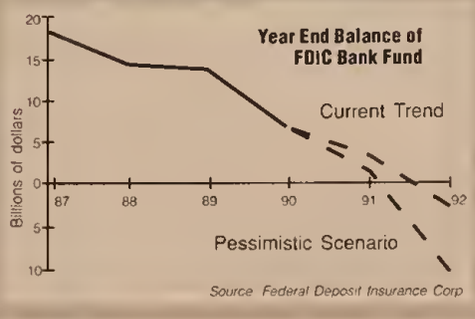
Civilian industry was starved for productive investment and then looted by corporate raiders. During the 1960s expenditure on research and development absorbed 2 percent of the country's gross national product (GNP), and the Pentagon funded half of this. During the '80s total R&D was cut to slightly over 1 percent of GNP, with the military machine now accounting for two-thirds of that total. (In 1985, the figure for R&D in Japan was 3 percent of GNP.) During the 1980s U.S. investment in new plant and equipment was just 2.1 percent of GNP, *the lowest rate ever recorded for such a long period.*

Thus, despite all the givebacks, the two-tier wage system, the gutting of medical and pension benefits, and the sharp depreciation of the dollar in the late '80s, the competitiveness of U.S. industry continued to decline. The U.S. share of world manufacturing exports fell from 21 percent in 1970 to 18 percent in 1980 to 15 percent in 1989. *Competing Economies* (October 1991), a new study on manufacturing competitiveness by the Congressional Office of Technology Assessment, underlined: "*If there are no major changes in government policies of developed nations, we expect U.S. manufacturing competitiveness to continue to sink, compared with Japan.*"

While America's industrial plant be-

Huber/Black Star

THE EVAPORATING BANK-RESCUE FUND



With 900 bank failures in the past four years, the FDIC bank insurance fund is itself on the verge of bankruptcy.

Business Week graph adapted by WV

comes ever more obsolete, the surrounding basic infrastructure is literally crumbling. Half of all paved highways need surface rehabilitation. Forty percent of bridges over 20 feet long are either structurally deficient or functionally obsolete. Major cities are losing as much as 30 percent of their daily water supply because of leaky pipes. The deterioration of the nation's infrastructure is no small factor in U.S. manufacturing inefficiency. Joseph Giglio, a Wall Street specialist in public finance, sums it up:

> "Net of depreciation, we have been investing less than .5 percent of our GNP for some fifteen years. In the developed world, only Great Britain comes close to this dismal record. Net of depreciation, Japan invests 5 percent of its GNP in public infrastructure, Germany and Italy 3 percent."
>
> —*The World & I* (August 1991)

Giglio laments: "For some reason, in the late 1960s and early 1970s, we stopped investing in our future." The reason is that American capitalists—and it is they, not "we," who do the investing—no longer found it profitable to invest in America's future.

U.S. Debt Bomb Implodes

While Reaganomics did not cause the deterioration of U.S. productive capacity and falling living standards, it did usher in an orgy of financial parasitism unparalleled in American or any other country's economic history. The combination of tax cuts for the rich with the biggest peacetime military buildup ever—the Star Wars deficit—produced a bonanza for high-class loan sharks from Wall Street to the City of London to Frankfurt and Tokyo. The fastest-growing component of the federal budget during the Reagan/Bush years was not Pentagon arms procurement but interest on the national debt, which tripled in real terms during the 1980s. Last year the U.S. Treasury paid $175 billion in interest, an amount greater than the *combined* federal spending for health, education, infrastructure and the conservation of natural resources.

The financial parasitism of the Reagan/Bush White House extended to its friends and beneficiaries on Wall Street. Corporate raiders like Carl Icahn and Henry Kravis floated high-interest bonds to buy up profitable companies, which they then dismantled and looted to meet the debt service. This was the biggest tax scam of all time, since the interest paid on junk bonds was written off as a deductible expense reducing the taxes on corporate profits. In other words, American taxpayers have subsidized the dismantling of American industry!

Back in the 1950s, U.S. corporations invested three times as much in new plant and equipment as they paid out in interest. During the '80s, for every dollar spent to expand productive capacity, corporations were paying $1.60 to the moneymen of Wall Street and Tokyo. The year after Henry Kravis took over RJR Nabisco in 1989 for $25 billion —the leveraged buyout of the decade—the country's biggest food processor cut its capital spending by more than half.

The Reagan White House and Wall Street raiders were able to turn the United States into the world's biggest debtor by the mid-1980s because international financiers, especially the Japanese, found it lucrative to lend them hundreds of billions—*for a time*. At some Treasury auctions agents of Tokyo banks bought two-thirds of new T-bonds, while Japan Inc. provided about a third of the money for the Wall Street takeover binge. And Japanese financiers and industrialists went on a small takeover binge of their own. In 1988, with the dollar depreciating sharply against the yen, Tokyo financial operator Kenichi Ohmai quipped: "Some of America's most competitive 'exports' today are land, houses and companies."

While real estate and corporations may have been a cheap buy for foreign moneymen, they did not turn out to be a good bargain. In 1989 the junk bond and real estate markets collapsed, corporate bond defaults and bankruptcies rose sharply, and interest rates fell. Suddenly the Japanese were no longer bullish on America. In the first half of this year direct foreign investment was running *80 percent below* the 1989 peak of $70 billion. The Japanese have actually sold off $60 billion of their capital assets in the U.S. in the past few years. The slowing of foreign investment to a trickle contributed to the present recession, while the dismal business conditions encourage the outflow of capital.

UPI

WJKW

Boston mounted cops protect scab drivers against Greyhound pickets in 1983. Inset: driver and picket captain Ray Phillips, labor martyr.

This particular recession expresses above all the implosion of the U.S. debt bubble. Since 1987, almost 900 commercial banks have failed, battered by bad loans to corporate raiders, real estate speculators and Latin America juntas. The federal government agency which insures commercial bank deposits up to $100,000 is itself on the verge of bankruptcy, its funds nearly depleted. The Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) projects a deficit of $30 billion in two years.

The FDIC's solvent bank members are resisting increasing their contributions, pleading their profits are already too low. *Business Week* (9 December) reports, "a growing number of Democrats and Republicans on Capitol Hill believe a taxpayer bailout is all but inevitable." So we are facing a replay of the mammoth S&L scam. For all their ritual praise of the "free market," whenever a banker or corporate CEO starts losing money he always cries out for the socialization of his debts. A taxpayer bailout is the capitalist's last defense against bankruptcy.

If U.S. banks are in no position to lend more, U.S. corporations are in no position to borrow more. Quite the contrary. Management is now using every spare dollar of profit to reduce their mountain of debt rather than rehire laid-off workers, much less expand their facilities. Retrenchment is the order of the

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AP

Racist Industrial Murder in Hamlet, N.C.

On September 3, less than a dozen workers made it out of the Hamlet, North Carolina poultry plant unharmed. Almost 60 were injured, many critically. Twenty-five, mostly black women, were killed. They left behind 42 school-age children.

This was no "industrial accident." To stop the alleged theft of a few cents worth of chicken parts, the fire doors were padlocked shut. When a huge vat of grease exploded in flames, these workers didn't stand a chance. It was murder for profit, pure and simple.

The charred bodies dragged out of the Imperial Food Products factory show the grotesque reality of racist American capitalism, in which more than 10,000 workers are killed each year by workplace injuries and up to 100,000 die from occupational diseases. Slave wages and industrial murder: that's the story of Hamlet, N.C., which only a year before the fire was designated an "All American City."

For top pay of $5.60 per hour, Imperial workers endured terrible conditions. Brutal repetitive-motion injuries. The stench of rotten poultry and gas. No sprinkler system. Imperial was a classic runaway shop: owner Emmett Roe has left a string of closed plants and bad debts from Pennsylvania to Georgia. Now state officials and politicians want to "create jobs" by setting up a nuclear waste dump in Hamlet!

In "business friendly" North Carolina, Roe had no fears of even the usual cursory "OHShit" safety inspections. In a state with 28 inspectors for 180,000 businesses, no one had bothered to look at the plant in the eleven years it was open. But none of the guilty—not the owners, not state labor officials—will serve a day in jail. Just three weeks after the fire, Roe and Imperial left Hamlet, notifying the survivors of the fire by mail that the plant was closed for good

The injury rate in poultry plants, concentrated in the South, is among the highest of all industries. North Carolina is a shining example of Bush's "New World Order," as unions in private industry—poultry, textiles, furniture, tobacco—are virtually nonexistent.

In mid-October after the fire, a handful of AFL-CIO union tops like William Wynn, the hangman of the Hormel strike, traveled to Hamlet with Jesse Jackson to lead a small rally. Jackson intoned, "This becomes the place where we draw the line for the new South." But this "New South" that the Democratic Party politicians hope to run is an "open shop" industrial plantation dressed up with some Rainbow "empowerment" rhetoric.

After the 1911 Triangle Shirtwaist Co. fire in New York, where 146 young women were killed, outrage sparked union organizing drives in the needle trades. Today, while the capitalist media seeks to bury the memory of Hamlet along with the victims, ossified AFL-CIO bureaucrats mumble about "organizing the South."

But as Barbara Griffith has documented (*The Crisis of American Labor: Operation Dixie and the Defeat of the CIO* [Temple University Press, 1988]), after World War II, CIO tops undercut their own organizing drive by teaming up with the AFL piecards to *destroy* integrated union locals in the South, like at R.J. Reynolds in Winston-Salem, rather than see them led by reds.

Like the 1979 Greensboro martyrs—leftist, labor and civil rights organizers who were gunned down by Klan and Nazi killers—the 25 workers who died desperately trying to escape the flames in Hamlet will not be forgotten by the multiracial revolutionary workers party that's urgently needed to sweep away the racist capitalist system forever. ■

U.S. Economy...

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day. Last spring respected Wall Street economist Henry Kaufman predicted: "The impact of debt on corporate spending will result in a weak recovery...." Kaufman—known on the Street as Dr. Doom—turned out to be too optimistic. Not only has there been no recovery, but the recession is deepening.

For Socialist Revolution, Not Liberal Reforms

The publication of attacks on the economics of the Reagan/Bush "greed decade" has become one of the few growth industries in the U.S. today. Yet one is struck by the contrast between the severity of the diagnoses and the mildness of the proposed remedies. Most of the liberal/populist programs amount to more taxes on the rich, using the additional revenue for education, infrastructure, scientific research and the like. Kevin Phillips supports higher taxes on luxury consumption. The *Philadelphia Inquirer* series calls for eliminating the deduction for interest payments in the calculation of the corporate profits tax.

But the rich are rich because they *own and control* the means of production. They are therefore in a position to offset any increase in their taxes even if they cannot find new loopholes and dodges. What would happen if interest payments were no longer a deductible expense against corporate profits taxes? After-tax corporate profits would decline sharply. Under these circumstances, management will surely try to increase the rate of exploitation (demanding further wage and benefit cuts, speedup, loosening safety standards) and, where feasible, shift operations to low-wage countries.

But lower after-tax corporate profits would hardly mean the owners of these corporations are about to sell their mansions to move into apartments, trade in their Mercedes for Toyota Corollas, or send their children to the local public high school instead of Andover. Instead of cutting their personal consumption, wealthy stock and bond holders will demand cuts in corporate investment for new facilities, R&D and other productive activities. This is just what the liberal advocates of taxing the rich don't want to have happen. But it is the rich who determine the disposition of profits in a capitalist society, not the tax collectors.

The Work of Nations by Robert Reich of Harvard's Kennedy School is being touted as the latest word in liberal economic wisdom. The book jacket lists endorsements from such diverse figures as the president of the American Stock Exchange, Senate Democratic leader George Mitchell and social-democratic ideologue Irving Howe. Reich recognizes that since the late 1960s manufacturing enterprises in the United States have been decreasingly able to compete in the world market or (insofar as it is not protected) the American market.

AP

Cop Terror U.S.A.: New Jersey cops pumped 41 rounds into van in June, murdering two black youth. The killers were not even indicted.

However, he argues that the United States can become prosperous *without* regaining industrial competitiveness. He envisions a kind of yuppie utopia. Let workers in South Korea, Taiwan and Mexico make everything from autos to televisions to wearing apparel. Educate all of America's youth to become financial and marketing analysts, corporate lawyers, design engineers, computer technicians, in short, all of the professions which prospered in the 1980s.

Reich's views dovetail with those of Jesse Jackson and other liberals who preach that education is the way out of ghetto poverty for black youth. Certainly, education has enormous personal and social value. But the notion that education in itself is the key to economic prosperity—whether individual or national—is a liberal myth. If every black person in their mid-20s had earned a master's in business administration from an Ivy League university, this degree would have as much value in the job market as a diploma from Martin Luther King Jr. High School in South Chicago or Atlanta.

The number and income level of financial and commercial middlemen and the technical intelligentsia depend on the *surplus value* extracted from the direct producers, to use Marxist terminology. That is the difference between the hours a worker works and the hours needed to produce what he is paid. Because American capitalists intensified the rate of exploitation during the 1980s, they could indulge in an orgy of financial parasitism which provided well-paid jobs for the yuppies who served as gofers for the Milkens, Kravises and Trumps.

But that party is definitely over. Since the 1987 stock market crash, Wall Street firms have cut their labor force by 20 percent, including securities analysts, traders, paralegals, accountants, etc. On the other end of the country, Silicon Valley—the garden of high tech—is also depressed. The market for computerization was becoming saturated even before the recession further reduced demand. Highly trained systems analysts, hardware technicians, consultants and salesmen have gotten their pink slips.

"This recession is hitting white collar workers, the middle manager types, and this is not the traditional group that has faced layoffs before," noted Jay Muzychenko of the National Foundation for Consumer Credit, who is worried that the big spenders of the '80s are defaulting on their BMW and American Express payments. So much for the notion that America can prosper as a high-tech/service economy.

And so much for the bourgeois liberal solutions to the decay of the U.S. economy. Early this year the country's best-known radical journalist, transplanted Anglo-Irishman Alexander Cockburn, teamed up with academic economist Robert Pollin to produce a manifesto titled "The World, the Free Market and the Left" (*Nation*, 25 February). When they expose the ravages of capitalism from Latin America to East Europe, Cockburn/Pollin are on the mark.

But when it comes to their own program for the United States, they offer the stale formulas of West European (specifically British) social democracy. The core of their program is "social control of investment":

> "Through the public allocation of credit, public ownership of key firms and industries or other mechanisms, public institutions must at least set a framework to channel the energies of private profit-seeking.... In other words, the commanding heights of the economy must be governed democratically, not through the dictatorship of private capital ..."

"Democratic" control over "the commanding heights of the economy" was a watchword of the 1945-51 British Labour government. Clement Attlee & Co. actually cribbed the slogan from Lenin while giving it a parliamentarist and reformist content. That Cockburn/Pollin do not acknowledge the paternity of Major Attlee and Nye Bevan for their economic program is scarcely surprising. They can hardly hold up pre-Thatcher Britain as a model of economic equality or efficiency. Between 1945 and Thatcher's election in 1979, Britain was considered a "welfare state" and had one of the largest nationalized industrial sectors of any advanced capitalist country. Yet during this period the standard of living in Britain went from the highest in West Europe to the lowest. By the mid-1970s the real income of a worker in a Midlands factory did not compare favorably with a Spanish worker living under Franco.

What happened? In brief, British industrialists and financiers undermined and sabotaged the social-democratic "welfare state" with the lowest rate of productive investment of any advanced capitalist country. Instead they invested abroad, notably in the U.S., where the British own more capital assets than any other foreign nationality. The decades-long deterioration of the British economy and manifest bankruptcy of Labourism set the political stage for the ascendancy of Margaret Thatcher, who then took an ax to the "welfare state." Cockburn and Pollin share the same basic fallacy as the liberal advocates of taxing the rich. As long as the means of production, distribution and finance are in private hands, the capitalists can and will sabotage any reforms that go against their interests.

AP

Fascist David Duke, made "respectable" by mainstream politicians' racism, announcing presidential bid this month.

Cockburn/Pollin's remoteness from the realities of class struggle and class power is especially obvious in their demand for "social information." "People who eat Perdue chickens," we are told, "not only should know the chicken's price; they should know that the price reflects Perdue's antilabor practices—a high proportion of workers receiving minimum wages, no benefits and suffering from repetitive-motion illnesses due to speedups—as well as brutishness toward animals." The American ruling class is never going to let the mass media be used for pro-labor agitation. And when information is socialized under a workers government, Frank Perdue will be feeding chickens on a state farm, not marketing them.

Cockburn and Pollin write as if American society had no capitalist parties, union bureaucrats...or racist demagogues like David Duke. Over the past

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NOTICE

***Workers Vanguard* skips a week in December. Our next issue will be dated January 10. The closing date for news in this issue is December 17.**

Berlin Demo Demands:

Fourth Reich: Hands Off Honecker!

DECEMBER 16—On December 11, the Russian government of Boris Yeltsin announced its intention to deport Erich Honecker to Germany, where the former head of East Germany (DDR) would face a show trial. Because of his anti-fascist underground organizing in Nazi Germany, Honecker was jailed for ten years during the Third Reich. Today the triumphalist Fourth Reich of German imperialism wants to put him behind bars again. He would be "tried" by the same judicial system that emerged intact from fascism and took over the bloody judges or gave them honorary pensions. Today the bourgeoisie of Auschwitz wants to take revenge on Honecker for the victory of the Red Army over Nazi Germany.

In response to this outrage, our comrades of the Spartakist Workers Party of Germany (SpAD) and the Committee for Social Defense (KfsV) immediately initiated a protest demonstration demanding "Fourth Reich: Hands Off Honecker!" and "Down With the Anti-Communist Witchhunt!" The protest on December 13 in front of the Tiergarten court in Berlin also called for defense of former DDR border guards being tried there, for hands off Markus Wolf, the former head of East Germany's highly successful espionage service, and freedom for former DDR defense minister Heinz Kessler and former state security minister Erich Mielke, who are being held for trial charged with state crimes.

In addition to the SpAD and KfsV, a representative of the KPD (Rote Fahne) spoke at the Tiergarten protest. In response to the demo call, the Berlin state government's Social Democratic (SPD) justice minister Jutta Limbach said that she would not be deterred by a couple of ultraleft organizations. She has a cell waiting for Honecker in Moabit prison, next door to the court where Rosa Luxemburg was jailed during World War I and where she was supposedly to be locked up in January 1919 when she was murdered with the help of Limbach's SPD forebears. As in the annexation of the DDR by the capitalist West in 1990, the Social Democrats continue to act as bloodhounds of the counterrevolution.

Meanwhile, in Moscow, Honecker received temporary refuge in the Chilean embassy. From there he issued a statement declaring his threatened expulsion to be against international law, as he had applied to the Soviet Union for asylum from political persecution. Since the deportation order was announced, Yeltsin and Gorbachev have reportedly received hundreds of letters daily demanding that Honecker be granted asylum. As the SpAD was demonstrating in Berlin, hundreds of leftist protesters began surrounding the Chilean diplomatic mission in Moscow with Soviet flags and singing communist songs. ICL representatives in Moscow have joined these demonstrations and delivered a protest to the Chilean embassy.

The media report that North Korea has offered to take the 79-year-old Honecker for medical treatment (he is suffering from cancer), but the Russians are refusing. In the Chilean embassy, he is the personal guest of Ambassador Clodomiro Almeyda, a leading figure in the Socialist Party, who had received political asylum for ten years in the DDR—as did many left-wing refugees from rightist terror—following the bloody Pinochet coup of 1973. Almeyda was earlier refused sanctuary by the prime minister of the West German state of Baden-Württemberg, the notorious Nazi *Blutrichter* (bloody judge) Hans Filbinger.

Berlin, September 1991: Spartakist Workers Party demands: "Hands Off Border Guards and Honecker!" "Stop the Anti-Communist Witchhunt!" Right: Erich and Margot Honecker.

The grotesque persecution of Erich Honecker is part of a generalized witchhunt against all representatives of the former DDR. Former state security chief Mielke is being tried on charges stemming from the Third Reich, and former defense minister Heinz Kessler is hated because he deserted from the Wehrmacht during World War II and then fought against the German army as a Red Partisan in Byelorussia. With the deportation of Honecker the forces of capitalist counterrevolution in the Soviet Union want to make a blood sacrifice to German imperialism, opening the floodgates for the pillaging of the Soviet working people and strengthening Germany's "drive to the East."

Turning Erich Honecker over to the vengeful rulers of German imperialism is a slap in the face of all Red Army veterans who fought against the Nazi invasion. Yeltsin spits on the graves of the millions of Soviet citizens who were killed in freeing humanity of the genocidal Nazi regime, to which the Federal Republic of Germany is the legal successor. As SpAD spokesman Renate Dahlhaus said at the December 13 protest: "In Germany immigrants are persecuted; Soviet Jews, refugees and Soviet soldiers are under attack from Nazi gangs. The Fourth Reich means racism in the streets and anti-Communist witchhunting, such as we experience here at this court." ■

Berlin: Anti-Fascists Win in Moabit Trial

On December 4, after a defense campaign lasting almost three years, a Berlin court dropped charges against Spartakist Workers Party spokesman Renate Dahlhaus and acquitted SpAD supporter Michael Philippsen, rejecting the accusations brought by the state on behalf of the leader of the fascist Republikaner party in Berlin. A report on this victory for self-defense against Nazi terror will appear in the next issue of *Workers Vanguard*.

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two decades the American working class has suffered a decline in its living condition worse than anything since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Yet during this period the Republican right gained and maintained political ascendancy by channeling the economic frustrations of lower- and middle-class whites against the black poor.

Under the impact of this recession, we are now seeing a certain change in the popular mood. There is growing resentment directed against the top of the American economic order—the corporate raiders, Wall Street sharks, S&L bandits. This resentment extends to the Bush White House which, more so than the Democrats, is identified in the popular mind with the Milkens, Trumps and Keatings. But if the growing anger against the rich simply results in Bush being replaced by a Democrat in 1992, this will be a *defeat* for the working class and the black and Hispanic poor. For nothing fundamental will change.

What is needed is a workers party which leads the masses of workers and oppressed in a struggle for socialist revolution, to transform society from top to bottom. Under a workers government, there will be no unemployment as the country's enormous productive potential under socialist economic planning is used to rebuild the antiquated factories and the crumbling roads and bridges, to construct decent housing for all as well as more schools and hospitals. The bitter competition between whites, blacks and Hispanics for good jobs and good schools for their children—competition which fuels the poisonous racism of American society—will be eliminated along with "free market" capitalism.

A workers America would also right some historical wrongs, for example, providing hundreds of billions for the Vietnamese, Iraqis and other peoples whose countries were devastated by U.S. imperialism, granting independence to Puerto Rico and returning some of the lands stolen from Mexico.

The deterioration of the U.S. economy means not only greater immiseration for the American working class and the black and Hispanic poor but also intensified economic conflicts with the resurgent German Fourth Reich and Japan Inc. As we stated a few months ago in Part 2 of "'New World Order': A Step Toward New World War" (*WV* No. 534, 13 September):

> "A disintegration of the Soviet Union could sharply escalate interimperialist rivalries, with Germany exploiting the resources of European Russia and the Ukraine as Japan pounces on Siberia. The predators' feast would feed into an imperialist race to redivide the world."

Only socialist revolution can halt the drive toward World War III. Under a workers government, the United States will play a key role in creating a genuine new world order based on the socialist principles of internationalism, equality and economic efficiency. This internationalist task requires above all the reforging of Trotsky's Fourth International as a world party of socialist revolution. To this goal the Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League, dedicates itself. ■

Latino Workers...

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bandwagon, thus forestalling any possibility of joint struggle against their common oppressor. And in this reactionary period, there is no shortage of black misleaders to peddle this poison. In September, Hazel Dukes, New York State NAACP president, gave a disgusting interview blaming Latino "foreigners" for "taking jobs from black men." When blacks are pitted against Hispanics, only the racist ruling class is the winner.

And Hispanic immigrants must understand that the oppression of blacks in this country that was built on slavery has historically been key to ruling-class domination of the workers and poor—and still is today. The Republicans are now seeking to use Hispanics against blacks. Thus after the riots by Latinos against cop brutality in Washington, D.C. last May, the Bush administration intervened in several Congressional redistricting disputes supporting Hispanics against blacks. Talk of "classless" Latino unity is a nationalist myth. While former Reagan official Linda Chavez has sought to blame Puerto Ricans for their poverty with the usual litany about "welfare dependency," Chavez' publicity tour for her new book *Out of the Barrio* provoked an angry response from Hispanic students at Hostos College in the Bronx last month.

The answer to anti-foreigner racism will come from united working-class struggle, in which the increasingly highly unionized immigrant workers can play a leading role. Examples of this range from the valiant Mexican women garment workers striking against the sweatshops of El Paso, to the Los Angeles "Janitors for Justice," many of whom got their experience fighting for union rights in El Salvador, to combative New York hotel workers and the heavily black and Hispanic Hospital Workers Local 1199 who are in the front line of the fight for health care against life-threatening budget cuthacks.

Not by competing for scarce crumbs from the bosses, but through unity with militant black workers and white workers fighting to defend their unions against a brutal ruling-class offensive, Latino workers can play a vital role in sparking revolutionary class struggle in this country, and in forging international links as well. It is necessary to mobilize the most conscious sectors of the labor movement against the racist poison of protectionism, particularly in the auto and textile unions, and to fight for union organization of the unorganized. Above all, what is needed is a revolutionary workers party which is a champion of all the workers and oppressed: black, Latino, Asian and white.

The Spartacist League, U.S. section of the International Communist League, calls for full citizenship rights for all foreign-born workers, for the right of self-defense and for labor/black/Hispanic mobilizations against racist attacks, in fighting for world socialist revolution. ■

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WORKERS VANGUARD

1991 SUBJECT INDEX

4 January to 27 December 1991 (Issues Nos. 517-541)

GUIDE TO THE SUBJECT INDEX

- This subject index covers issues of *Workers Vanguard* published during 1991, from issue No. 517 (4 January) through the end-of-the-year issue, No. 541 (27 December). During this time, *WV* was published biweekly.
- The fullest listing is by SUBJECT. Subject headings are arranged alphabetically. Entries are listed chronologically with two exceptions: all entries comprising a series are listed together immediately following the first entry of the series; corrections immediately follow the relevant entry. An asterisk (*) after the page location of an entry indicates that a correction follows.
- Entries are listed under subject heads. In some cases, subject heads are broken down into subcategories. These subcategories are listed immediately after the initial subject head and preceded by a dot (•). The numbers following each entry headline give the issue number, date and page number(s) for the article. Thus:

  Near East Flashpoint, #527, 24 May (12, 10, 11)

  means the headline of the article, issue No. 527, 24 May, beginning on page 12 and continuing on pages 10 and 11.
- No entry is listed twice; refer to cross references for guidance in locating the subject head for particular articles. Cross references are of two types: those following the word "see" deal centrally with the subject head; those following the words "see also" are related articles. Subject heads in cross references are separated by a semicolon, while subcategories of subject heads are separated by a comma. Thus:

  Bush, George—See **Persian Gulf War: General; U.S.: General, International Relations.**

  means that articles on George Bush can be found by going to the subject head **PERSIAN GULF WAR** and looking under the subcategory **General**, and by going to the subject head **UNITED STATES** and looking under the subcategories **General** and **International Relations.**
- Individuals mentioned in articles are usually not listed separately unless the article is primarily about the given person.
- Entries relating to foreign countries are listed under geographical headings and not necessarily under any other subject heading. Unless listed separately for some unusual reason, all foreign political organizations are listed under appropriate countries, while U.S. political organizations are listed under their organizational names.
- Abbreviations used in entries are:

  C Correction
  L Letter
  S Series
  Sup Supplement
  YSp: *Young Spartacus* article

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